

PVBLI VERGILI MARONIS
AENEIDOS
LIBER QVARTVS

EDITED BY
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LIBER QVARTVS

SIGLA

<i>A</i> = Augusteus; Vat. Lat. 3256 + Berol. 2, 416	S. IV
<i>F</i> = Vat. Lat. 3225	S. IV
<i>G</i> = Sangallensis 1394	S. IV
<i>M</i> = Mediceus; Laurent. 39, 1	S. V
<i>P</i> = Vat. Palat. 1631	S. IV-V
<i>R</i> = Romanus; Vat. Lat. 3867	S. V
<i>V</i> = Veron. XL, 38	S. IV
<i>O. P. 1099</i> = Oxyrhynchus Papyri, no. 1099	S. V
<i>Pap. Fl.</i> = Papyrus Florent. (<i>Pap. gr. e lat.</i> 1 (1912), 47, no. 21)	S. V
<i>a</i> = Bern. 172 + Paris. Bibl. Nat. 7929	S. IX
<i>b</i> = Bern. 165	S. IX
<i>c</i> = Bern. 184	S. IX
<i>f</i> = Vat. Lat. 3225 (<i>Aen.</i> 4, 93-120)	S. X
<i>m</i> = Minoraugiensis	S. XII
<i>p</i> = Paris. Lat. 7906	S. IX
<i>r</i> = Rehdigeranus (Vratislaviensis) 136	S. XII
<i>a</i> = Mediol. Ambros. 35	S. XIII-XIV
<i>γ</i> = Guelferbytanus Gudianus 2, 70	S. IX
<i>π</i> = Pragensis S. Viti L. 86	S. IX
<i>dett.</i> = <i>codices deteriores</i>	

For minor MSS, seldom cited, see p. 79.

Testimonia are listed under the line at which they first appear, and numbers in brackets refer to that line, an asterisk indicating that a variant reading will there be found.

1. At regina gravi iamdudum saucia cura

1-38: *FGMPR.* (a)d G, ad γ. iamdudum *MPP*, iamdudum *FGP²Rγbc*.

1-2. at . . . igni: *Prisc. Inst.* 17, 163 (G. L. K. 3, 190) — iamdudum *NO*, iamdudum *ML*; uolnus *MO*, uolnus *cel.* —; *Aldhelm. De Septen.* (*Patr. Lat.* 89, 181) — uolnus; igne —. 1. at . . . cura: *Prisc. Partit.* 4 (G. L. K. 3, 478); *Mar. Vict. Art. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 6, 71); *Attil. Fortun. Ars*, 2 (G. L. K. 6, 279); *Vel. Long. De Orthogr.* (G. L. K. 7, 69); *Diff. Serm.* (*Anecd. Helv.* 276); *Isid. De Propriet. Serm.* (*Patr. Lat.* 83, 1332); *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 100 (1, p. 53 *Riese*); *Map, De Nug. Curial.* 3, 2 — iamdudum graui —. 1. at regina gravi saucia cura: *Mar. Vict. Art. gram.* 3 (G. L. K. 6, 120); 4 (G. L. K. 6, 155); *Terent. Maur.* 1950 (G. L. K. 6, 384). 1. at regina gravi: *Mar. Vict. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 10); *Anth. Lat. no.* 653, 25 (2, p. 122 *Riese*); no. 654, 17 (2, p. 126 *Riese*). 1. at regina: *Gl. Ansil.* 30, 635 — ad regina —. 1. gravi cura: *Gl. Abstr.* 43, 30. 1. iamdudum . . . cura: *Mar. Vict. Art. gram.* 3 (G. L. K. 6, 121) — dudum *AB⁵* —; *Terent. Maur.* 1843 (G. L. K. 6, 380); *Philargyr. in Ecl.* 10, 22.

1. at: the conjunction links this book more closely with the preceding than is usual in the *Aeneid* (cf. however the disputed first two lines of Book Six), and at the same time gives it a fresh start. The *Diff. Serm.* (*Anecd. Helv.* 276 Hagen), derived from Suetonius, distinguishing *initia* from *principia*, state: *inveniuntur tamen initia quae natura sui carent et speciem principii habent, ut 'at regina . . . cura,' etc.* The preceding books have centred about Aeneas and his experiences; this book is to be focussed upon Dido. Yet not only does *at* introduce sharply contrasted characters, as in lines 156, 279, 296, 393, and 504 below (cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2, 999), but, as Servius (*ad loc.*) notes, it offsets to the calm repose of Aeneas in the last sentence (3, 718: *factoque hic fine quievit*) the wakeful anxiety of Dido (4, 5; cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 301), thus creating, with the same actors, an entirely new situation, to which a close parallel is found in 4, 529, where *at* contrasts all the rest of nature (including Aeneas) in slumber with Dido in sleepless watching. We may also cf. the situations in *Il.* 10, 1-4 and *Od.* 6, 1-3. Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) notes that various books of Homer similarly begin with *αὐρά* (cf. *Il.* 3; 9; 15; 22, 3; 23; *Od.* 6; 11; 12; 14; 19; 20;

22). Mackail (ed. of the *Aeneid* (1930), 129) remarks that the words *at regina* here and in lines 296 and 504 introduce three main sections of the fourth book. For the emotional connotations of *at* cf. Rebert in *Cl. Phil.* 24 (1929), 175. On the assonance of the five opening lines, with their alliterations of *a*, *c* (*qu*), *g*, *h*, *m*, *ur*, and *v*, cf. Loewe, *Symbolae ad enarrandum Sermonem Poetarum Lat.* 2 (1873), 9-10; Headlam in *Cl. Rev.* 34 (1920), 24-25. The passage is recalled by *Hist. Apoll. Reg. Tyr.* 18 (Rec. A): *sed regina sui iam dudum saucia cura Apolloni figit in pectore vultus verbaque, cantusque memor credit genus esse deorum* (4, 12 infra). *nec somnum oculis nec membris dat cura quietem.* For *at regina* cf. 12, 54; Vida, *Scacchia*, 139.

1. *regina*: at the beginning of the tragedy of Book Four the loftiness of its characters is emphasized, in Dido's case by this word, in that of Aeneas by lines 11-12; cf. Arist. *Poet.* p. 1453a 10-11. Whether or not *regina* was, for the Romans, free from the bad connotations attaching to *rex*, as DeWitt holds (*The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 47) — though, as pointed out by Ussani in *Atene e Roma*, 10 (1907), 270, in view of Cleopatra this may be doubted —, Virgil intended to emphasize throughout the

2. volnus alit venis et caeco carpitur igni.

()lnus P, uulnus FGMRbb, uolnus γ, uul. nus C. uenus P, uenis P². carpitur (r pr. add. sup.) C. ig() G, igni FMPR, igne P¹.

[1*] 2. volnus . . . igni: *Prisc. Inst.* 7, 68 (G. L. K. 2, 345) — uulnus; ceto; carpitur (r pr. add. sup. G) —; *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C.* 1, 18, 14 — uulnus —; C. 1, 27, 12 — uulnus —. 2. volnus . . . venis: *De dub. Nomin.* (G. L. K. 5, 593) — uulnus —; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 67 — uulnus —; [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 1, 27, 11–12 — uulnus —. 2. alit venis: *Gl. Ansil.* 45, 247. 2. et . . . igni: [*Serg.*] *Explan. in Donat.* 1 (G. L. K. 4, 497) — ut ceto F —; *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 173 (1, p. 68 Riese). 2. caeco igni: *Gl. Abol.* 110, 25; *Gl. Arma.* 10, 150 — igne —. 2. carpitur igni: *Anth. Lat. no.* 654, 17 (2, p. 126 Riese). 2. carpitur: *Gl. Abstr.* 17, 51. 2. igni: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 2: same 'igni' pro 'igne,' *dativus pro ablativo*; *Gl. Ansil.* 105, 33 — c(a)eco igne —.

queenliness of Dido (Glover, *Virgil* (1912), 185–186), as Horace (C. 1, 37, 30–32) did that of Cleopatra.

1. *gravi*: Servius (*ad loc.*) says: *bene regina, quia contra dignitatem amor susceptus gravior esse solet*. For this adjective as applied to *cura* cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 4, 1474, 36–39; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 161; also *Hor. C.* 1, 14, 18: *curaque non levis*; the same metaphor being frequent in other languages; e.g., *βαρυπενθής* and other compounds of *βαρύς*.

1. *iamdudum*: indications of Dido's interest in Aeneas have appeared at various times from their first meeting; e.g., 1, 613; 1, 628–630; 1, 657–690; 1, 712–722; 1, 749. The objections of such writers as Crump (*Growth of the Aeneid* (1920), 59, n. 1) and Cartault (*op. cit.*, 1 (1926), 301) that *iamdudum* is awkward, when only one night has elapsed, need not force us to any particular theory of the composition of the books of the *Aeneid*; to a lover like Dido the time seems long, however short it may objectively be, and her infatuation had occupied a relatively large part of the brief period of her acquaintance with Aeneas. Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 122–125) perhaps goes too far to the other extreme in contrasting the suddenness of Medea's love for Jason with the gradual (cf. 1, 720: *paulatim abolere Sychaeum*) effect of Dido's passion for Aeneas, for in 1, 613 the word *obstipuit* may suggest a sudden but deep initial impression, and I cannot entirely accept the attempts of Kvíčala (*Vergil-Studien* (1878), 159–160) to minimize

the hints which Virgil has delicately given of the oncoming of Dido's love.

1. *saucia*: Dido's passion is described under a variety of metaphors, as a wound (*saucia*, *volnus*, and the simile of the smitten deer in 4, 69), a fire (cf. 4, 2, n. (igni)), a poison (1, 688: *veneno*), a disease (4, 389: *aegra*; cf. Liban. *Progymn. Chriae*, 4 (8, 97 Foerster) on the subject *Θεόφραστος ἐρωτηθεὶς τί ἐστὶν ἔρως ἐφῆσε πάθος ψυχῆς σχολάζουσας*; *Hor. C.* 1, 37, 10; Smith on Tib. 2, 5, 109–110; etc.), or a madness (4, 8: *male sana* (and n.); 4, 69: *furens*; 4, 78: *demens*; 4, 301: *bacchatur*; 4, 642: *effera*; and similar words); cf. Preuss, *Die metaphorische Kunst Vergils in der Aeneis* (1894), 18; DeWitt, *op. cit.*, 19; 25; 71–72; Preston, *Stud. in the Diction of the Sermo amatorius in Rom. Comedy* (1916), 5–8; 47; also Plut. *De Amore*, 2: οἱ μὲν γὰρ νόσον τὸν ἔρωτα οἱ δ' ἐπιθυμίαν οἱ δὲ μανίαν οἱ δὲ θεῖόν τι κίνημα τῆς ψυχῆς καὶ δαιμόνιον, οἱ δ' ἄντικρυς θεὸν ἀναγορεύουσιν. While there are plenty of literary parallels for Virgil's use of these metaphors it seems likely that most if not all are ultimately derived from popular psychology rather than from literary invention.

There here appears a double result of Cupid's weapon and of fire, as in *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 286–287: βέλος δ' ἐνεδαλετο κόρυη / νέρθεν ὑπὸ κραδίῃ; cf. 3, 291–297: ὡς δὲ γυνὴ μαλερῶ περι κάρφεια χεύατο δαλῶ / χερνήτης, τῆπερ ταλάσια ἔργα μέμηλεν, / ὥς κεν ὑπωρόφιον νύκτωρ σέλας ἐντύναιτο, / ἄγχι μάλ' ἐγρομένη τὸ δ' ἄθεσφατον ἐξ ὀλίγοιο / δαλοῦ ἀνεγρόμενον σὺν κάρφεια πάντ' ἀμαθύνει / τοῖος ὑπὸ κραδίῃ εἰλυμένος

αἰθερο λάβρη / οὖλος ἔρως (for imitation of Apollonius in the opening lines of this book cf. Kakrides in *Hermes*, 45 (1910), 463; Rütten, *De Vergilii Studiis Apollonianis* (1912), 66); Cornutus, 25: ὁ ἔρως . . . τοξότης . . . ἐπεὶ πληγῇ τινι ὁμοίον ἀπὸ τῆς προσήκειας οἱ ἀλίσκόμενοι αὐτῷ πάσχουσιν . . . [ἀποδίδονται δὲ καὶ λαμπὰς αὐτῷ πυροῦν δοκοῦντι τὰς ψυχὰς]; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 124, 3–4: ἀλλ' ἤδη θοὰ τόξα νέοι κήρυουσιν ἔρωτες, / Δυσίδικη, καὶ πῦρ τέφεται ἐγκρήφειον; 5, 180, 1–2: ἔρως τὰ πυρίπνοα τόξα / βάλλει; 5, 188, 2–3: βέβλημαι δ' ἐκ δολίου κέρσας, / καὶ πᾶς τεφροῦμαι; 5, 189, 3–4: οὐ γὰρ ἔρωτα / Κύπρις, ἀνιπρόν δ' ἐκ πυρός ἤκε βέλος; *De Metiocho et Parthenopoe*, 20–25 (*Erol. Frag. Pap.* 23 Lavagnini): (εἴη δὲ) ἂν κάκεῖνο παντελῶς ἀπίθανον, εἴπερ βρέφ' οὐκ ἐστὶν ὁ ἔρως, περινοστεῖν αὐτὸν π(ερὶ τὴν οἰκον)μένῃ (καὶ) τοξέειν μὲν τῶν ὑπαν(τῶν)των (τὰς ψυχὰς), τῶν (δὲ) οὐκ ἂν αὐτὸς ἐβελή(σῃ) πυρ(πο)λεῖν. (καὶ φασι) μὲν ταῖς τῶν ἐρώντων ψυχαῖς ἐγγίνε(σθαι) γλυκερόν πνεῦμα π(ῶρ) οἶον θερμώτα. The combination of a weapon with a flame may be a mixture of two distinct metaphors (as in 4, 66–67, below), or we may suppose that the dart is a fiery one, wounding both by heat and by incision; cf. Sen. *Phaedr.* 275–276: *Cupido / impotens flammis simul et sagittis*; 283–293; *Isid. Etym.* 8, 11, 80: *sagittam et facem tenere fingitur* (sc. *Cupido*). *sagittam quia amor cor vulnerat; facem quia inflammat*.

With this use of *saucia* cf. also Enn. *Med.* 254: *Medea animo aegro amore saevo saucia*; Catull. 64, 250: *multiplices animo volvebat saucia curas*; Lucr. 4, 1048: *mens unde est saucia amore*; Tib. 2, 5, 109: *iaceo cum saucius*; Ov. *H.* 5, 152: *e nostro saucius igne fui*; 12, 57: *ut positum tetigi thalamo male saucia lectum*; Sil. 2, 422: *ipsa pyram super ingentem stans saucia Dido*. For *saucia* in the sense of *vulnerata* (cf. 12, 652) see Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 200.

1. *cura*: used, almost solely in poetry, for the passion of love (e.g., 1, 662; 4, 5; 4, 332), often in the plural (e.g., 4, 394; 4, 448; 4, 488; 4, 528; 4, 531; 4, 551; 4, 608; 4, 639; 4, 652; 6, 444; 6, 474; 7, 345; *Hor. Epod.* 2, 37; *Ep.* 2, 3, 85; Ov. *H.* 7, 34); cf. Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 203–204; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 4, 1474, 80–1475, 41; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902),

120; Preston, *Stud. in the Diction of the Sermo amatorius in Rom. Comedy* (1916), 8; Kroll, *Stud. zum Verständnis der röm. Lit.* (1924), 264–265 (on figures in amatory writing). In Greek μέριμνα and μελεδών are so used (cf. Kvíčala, l.c.).

2. *volnus*: cf. 4, 1, n. (*saucia*); Pichon, *op. cit.*, 302; 4, 67 infra: *tacitum vivit sub pectore volnus*; Auson. Parent. 9, 15: *volnus alit*; *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 607, 2 Bücheler: *volnus habet venis et celo carpitur ipse*; also Eur. *Hipp.* 392: μ' ἔρως ἔρωσεν; Xen. *Mem.* 1, 3, 13; Theocr. 11, 15; Lucr. 1, 34: *volnere amoris*; 4, 1120: *tabescunt volnere caeco*; *Hor. C.* 1, 27, 11–12: *quo beatus / volnere, qua pereat sagitta*; Prop. 3, 22, 7; Ov. *H.* 4, 20: *urimur, et caecum pectora volnus habent*; Rem. Am. 283; M. 9, 721; Maximian. 4, 16 (P. L. M. 5, 337); Heliod. *Aethiop.* 7, 10; *Hist. Apoll. Reg. Tyr.* 1: *pectoris vulnus ferre non posset*; 18: *vulnus amoris tolerare*; Petr. Remensis, *Vit. S. Eustachii*, 143 (*Notices et Extraits*, 31 (1884), 68): *vulnus . . . cecum*. The metaphor is frequent in other literatures; e.g., Shakesp. *As you like it*, Act 3, Sc. 5, 30–31: “the wounds invisible / that love's keen arrows make”; Racine, *Phèdre*, 1, 3, 253: *de quel amour blessée*.

2. *alit*: *Schol. Dan.*: *ut curam pascit*; cf. 1, 36: *servans sub pectore volnus*; Val. Fl. 6, 660: *quas alit inscia curas*; *Anth. Lat. no.* 83, 85 (1, p. 117 Riese): *sed sua victus amor tantummodo vulnera pascit*; Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 1, 45, 8: *che (i.e., amor) sì nutre d'affanni, e forza acquista*; Pichon, *op. cit.*, 82. Conington (*ad loc.*) compares Aesch. *Suppl.* 620: *ἐμύχανον βόσκημα πημονῆς*; Soph. *Philocl.* 313: *βόσκων τὴν ἀδηφάγον νόσον*.

2. *venis*: cf. Cir. 163: *venis hausit sitientibus ignem*; Cic. *Tusc.* 4, 24: *fervor concitatioque animi . . . tamquam in venis medullisque insedit*; Sen. *Phaedr.* 279–280: *labitur totas furor in medullas / igne furtivo populante venas*; 642: *(ignis) penitus medullas atque per venas meat*; Serv. *ad loc.*: *quia per venas amor currit, ut sanguis; nam in sanguine anima, in anima amor est; aut sicut venenum*; and he compares 1, 749. Henry, comparing the Ciris passage, thinks *venis* means ‘with her veins,’ but I incline to the ablative of place.

2. *caeco*: fulfilling the instructions of

3. multa viri virtus animo multusque recursat

{m}ulta GP. recusat R, r() G, recursat (rsa in corr.) b, (r sup. u add.) c, re add. sup. γ.

3-5. multa . . . quietem: Ioann. Saresb. Policr. 2, 15, p. 429a — herent infixi in pectore uultus —. 3-4. multa . . . honos: Sen. Ep. 102, 30 — multumque primo BA; recusat codd. BA —; Diomed. Art. gram. 2 (G. L. K. 1, 447) — recusat M —. 3-4. multusque . . . honos: Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 506). 3. multa . . . animo: Donat. in Ter. Eun. 1079 — uiri u. a. (uir. ui. a. V, uitia C) —.

Venus to Amor (1, 688): *occultum inspires ignem fallasque veneno*; cf. G. 3, 210: *caeci stimulos avertere amoris*; Catull. 67, 25: *mens caeco flagrabat amore*; Lucr. 4, 928: *ex igni caeco consurgere flamma*; 4, 1120: *tabescunt volnere caeco*; Ov. M. 3, 490: *et caeco paulatim carpitur igni*; 8, 516-517: *caecis torreris viscera sentit / ignibus*; F. 2, 762: *caeco raptus amore furit*; H. 4, 19-20: *urimur intus; / urimur, et caecum pectora vulnus habent*; Pers. 4, 43-44: *ilia subter / caecum vulnus habes*; Sen. Med. 591: *caecus est ignis stimulatus ira*; Mantuan, Ecl. 2, 102-103: *flammasque tuendo / hausit et in pectus caecos absorbit ignes*; Flodoardus Rem. De Christi Triumphis, 5, 2, 124 (Patr. Lat. 135, 678): *caecoque miserrima carpitur igne*; Guilelmus Blesensis, Alda, 165: *et caeco carpitur igne*; Cayado, Ecl. 7, 45: *caeco si carpinur igne*; Leopardi, Le Ricordanze, 109-110: *per cieco / malor*; Racine, Phèdre, 1, 1, 134: *un feu secret*; Pichon, op. cit., 96. In most of these cases *caecus* has a passive sense, meaning not 'blind' but 'invisible'; cf. 3, 232; 10, 733; Thes. Ling. Lat. 3, 45: 45-82. Alington (ed. of Bks. IV-VI (1922), ad loc.) compares Browning's phrase of the moon, "blind to Galileo on his turret." Virgil probably thinks of this flame as invisible to Dido up to the beginning of Book Four (and to Anna till Dido there reveals it), to the public until after the cave scene, when Rumor spreads the tidings of it (4, 173), and to Aeneas until Mercury's message to him (cf. 4, 281-284; 4, 291-294). In a very different sense are the *caeci* . . . *ignes* of 4, 209 (where see the note).

2. *carpitur*: Schol. Dan.: *carpitur autem paulatim consumitur, ut carpit enim viris paulatim* (G. 3, 215); cf. 4, 32; Hor. C. 4, 9, 32; Ov. M. 10, 369-370: *at virgo Cinyreia per vigil igni / carpitur indomito*; Thes. Ling.

Lat. 3, 495, 12-56; Pichon, op. cit., 100. The phrase is perhaps imitated by Val. Fl. 3, 365: *aegro assidue mens carpitur aestu* (cf. Stroth, Stud. 2. Val. Flacc. (1905), 58); Gesta Apollonii, 317 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 493).

2. *igni*: hardly a dative (*dativus pro ablativo*, say the Schol. Dan.), for *igni* is the preferred ablative form in Virgil (cf. Wetmore, Index Verborum Vergilianus (1911), 220), occurring in many cases where it cannot be construed as a dative.

Fire is perhaps the commonest of the metaphors associated with passion, being expressed by such words as *φλέγεσθαι τῷ πῶδι*, *ἐκφλέγεσθαι*, *ὑποτεύεσθαι*, *κεκαύσθαι*, *θερμαίνεσθαι ἐπὶ τινι* (cf. Pollux, 3, 7, 68), and *accendo*, *ardeo*, *ardesco*, *caleo*, *flagro*, *flamma*, *ignis*, *incendo*, *tepeo*, *uro* and compounds. In general cf. Plat. Phaedr. p. 251 A: *ιδόντα δὲ αὐτὸν οἷον ἐκ τῆς φρίκης μεταβολὴ τε καὶ ἰδρῶς καὶ θερμότης ἀήθης λαμβάνει· δεξιόμενος γὰρ τοῦ κάλλους τὴν ἀπορροήν διὰ τῶν ὀμμάτων θερμαίνθη, κτλ.*; Arist. De Motu Anim. 8, p. 702a 3: *θάρρη γὰρ καὶ φόβοι καὶ ἀφροδισιασμοὶ καὶ τὰλλα τὰ σωματικά λυπηρὰ καὶ ἡδέα τὰ μὲν κατὰ μόριον μετὰ θερμότητος ἢ ψύξεως ἐστὶ, τὰ δὲ καθ' ὅλον τὸ σῶμα.*

Among Virgilian illustrations may be cited: G. 3, 244; 3, 258; Aen. 1, 660; 1, 662; 1, 673; 1, 688; 1, 713; 4, 23; 4, 66; 4, 101; 4, 697; 8, 389-390; Cir. 163. Cf. also Sappho, 2, 9-13: *λέπτον δ' / αὐτίκα χροὶ πῦρ ὑπαδερόμακεν / . . . / ἃ δὲ μ' ἰδρῶς κακχέεται* (imitated by Catull. 51, 9-10: *lenius sub artus / flamma demanat*; cf. also what [Longinus], De Subl. 10, says of the passage); Apoll. Rh. 3, 286-287: *βέλους δ' ἐνεδάλετο κοῦρη / νέρθεν ὑπὸ κραδίῃ*; Theocr. 2, 26; 2, 29; 2, 131-134: *καὶ μετὰ τὰν Κῆρυιν τὴ μευτέρη ἐκ πυρὸς εἶλεν, / ὦ γύναι, ἐσκαλέασα τεὸν ποτὶ τοῦτο μέλαθρον / αὐτῶς ἡμίφλεκτον*. Έρωσ δ'

ἄρα καὶ Λιπαράω / πολλάκις Ἀφαιστοῖο σέλας φλογώτερον αἰθεῖ; 3, 17; 7, 56: *θερμὸς γὰρ ἔρως αὐτῷ με καταίθει*; 7, 102: *ὥς ἐκ παιδὸς Ἄρατος ὑπ' ὀστέον αἰθεῖ* ἔρωτι; 11, 52; Mosch. 1, 22-23: *πολὺ πλεον ἂ δαῖς αἰτῶ* [sc. Love] / *βαῖα λαμπὰς ἐοῖσα τὸν ἄλιον αὐτὸν ἀναίθει*; Ael. fr. 69 Hercher: *ὁ τοῖνον Μέλῃτος φλεγόμενος τῷ ἔρωτι*; Anth. Pal. 5, 139, 6: *πυρὶ φλέγομαι*; 5, 239, 1-6; 5, 290, 5; 12, 79, 2; 12, 80, 1-4; 12, 82, 1-6; 12, 83, 1-6; 12, 89, 3-4; 12, 90, 2-7; 12, 91, 1-8; 12, 92, 7-8; etc.; Long. Daph. et Chloe, 2, 8: *οἱ ἔρωτες . . . καθέβδεν οὐ δύνανται . . . κάεσθαι δοκοῦσι, καὶ παρ' ἡμῖν τὸ πῦρ*; Anon. in Powell, Collectanea Alexandr. (1925), 177-178, lines 15-16; 24; Catull. 64, 92-93: *quam cuncto concepit corpore flammam / funditus atque imis exarsit tota medullis*; 64, 124; 64, 197; Cic. 2 Verr. 5, 92: *amoris turpissimam flamma*; Lucr. 4, 1138; Publil. Syr. 39: *amans, sicut fax, agitando ardescit magis*; Hor. C. 1, 4, 19; 1, 13, 9; 1, 19, 5: *urit me Glyceræ nilor*; 1, 19, 7; 1, 25, 13; 1, 27, 15-16; 1, 27, 20; 3, 7, 11; 4, 11, 33; Epod. 14, 9; 14, 13; etc.; Ov. H. 4, 19-20; 5, 152; 7, 23; F. 2, 779; 3, 545: *arserat Aeneae Dido miserabilis igne*; 6, 575-576; Tr. 2, 383; Sen. Phaedr. 190-191; 640-644: *pectus insanum vapor / amorque torret. intimis fervet ferus / [penitus medullas atque per venas meat] / visceribus ignis mersus et venas latens / ul agilis altas flamma percurrit trabes*; Sil. 2, 517: *sui flagrantem inspirat amorem*; Val. Fl. 6, 663; Maximian, 3, 56 (P. L. M. 5, 335); Heliod. Aethiop. 7, 9; Hist. Apoll. Reg. Tyr. 1: *flamma concupiscentiae*; 1, 17: *vulneris saevo carpitur igne*; on three fibulae (C. I. L. XII, 5698, 18; XIII, 10027, 167-168; cf. Carm. Lat. epigr. no. 39 Engström): *uror amore tuo*; Inscr. Lat. sel. 8757 Dessau (a love charm): *ουραθου φουρενς αμορε ετ δεσιδεριο μεο, ανιμα ετ χορ ουραθου; Rom. 1, 27; 1 Cor. 7, 9: κρείττον γὰρ ἐστιν γαμεῖν ἢ πυροῦσθαι*; Dante, Par. 9, 97.

For general treatments of the metaphor cf. Spitta, Quaest. Vergilianae (1867), 42; Braumüller, Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis, 1 (1877), 28; Biese, Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls bei den Griechen (1882), 142, n. 91; Preuss, Die metaphor. Kunst Vergils in der Aeneis (1894), 18; Pichon, De Sermone amatorio (1902), 301; DeWitt, The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of

Virgil (1907), 71; Crawley, The mystic Rose, 2 ed. 1 (1927), 237-238: "There is an universal connection, seen in all languages, between love and heat"; id., 2 (1927), 20: "heat, natural or artificial, is a concomitant of sexual desire"; Burris in Cl. Weekly, 24 (1930), 44. The Second Vatican Mythographer (35) explains that Cupid is represented with a torch, *quia turpis amor cum calore et fervore quodam accenditur*.

3. *multa* . . . *multus*: for the polyptoton cf. Breazeale in Stud. in Philol. 14 (1917), 314, n. 19; and on the use of *multa* (*multus*) cf. 2, 429-430: *plurima . . . / . . . pietas*; 11, 312: *plurima virtus*; Loewe, Symbolae ad enarr. Serm. Poet. Lat. (1876), 6. The repetition emphasizes the two advantages to Dido from a marriage with Aeneas: (i) in uniting herself with such a person as his appearance and the recital of his adventures have indicated him to be, and (ii) in connecting herself and her new city with such a race; cf. 4, 11-12 and the recognition by Anna of the same two motives: 4, 38: *placito . . . amoris* (the personal motive); 4, 47-49 (the political). With her thoughts of Aeneas cf. Apoll. Rh. 3, 453-458: *προπρὸ δ' ἄρ' ὀφθαλμῶν ἐτι οἱ ἰνδάλλετο πάντα, / αὐτὸς θ' οἷος ἔην, οἰοῖσι τε φάρεσιν ἔστο, / οἷα τ' ἔειπ', ὥς θ' ἔξερ' ἐπὶ θρόνου, ὥς τε θύραζε / ἦεν· οὐδὲ τιν' ἄλλον δίσσατο πορφύρουσα / ἔμμεναι ἀνέρα τοῖον· ἐν οὐασὶ δ' αἰὲν ὀρώρει / αὐδὴ τε μῦθοι τε μελίφρονες, οὓς ἀγόρευσεν*, which, as Conrady (De Vergilio Apollonii Rhodii Imitatore (1904), 15) notes, probably suggested lines 3-5, 11-13, and 83 (where cf. my n. on *absens absentem*). Buscaroli (ad loc.) notes the imitation of our lines by Tasso, Rinaldo, 9, 56, 5-9, 57, 3: *la regina però, cui rio veleno / tacito per le vene ognor serpea, / non dava gli occhi stanchi in preda al sonno, / che le cure d' amor dormir non fanno. / ma rivolgea nell' agitata mente / del nuovo amator suo l' alta beltate, / e l' valor così raro ed eccellente*. For the verse tag *multa viri* cf. 5, 433.

3. *viri virtus*: *figura etymologica*; cf. Cic. Tusc. 2, 43: *appellata est enim ex viro virtus*. For the four qualities here set forth (*virtus, gentis honos, volutus, verba*) cf. 4, 11, n. (*quem, etc.*). Note also Mackail on Aen. 1, 91 for Virgil's frequent use of *vir* to avoid the pro-saic is (*viri = eius* 13 times in the Aeneid).

4. gentis honos, haerent infixi pectore vultus

(g)entis GP. infixi (i sup. alterum i add.) M. pector(e uoltus) G. uultus MPRbcp, uoltus F, uoltus (o corr. in u, t m. 2) γ.

[3*] 4-5. haerent . . . quietem: *Macrob. Somn. Scip.* 1, 3, 6 — uultus —; *Cento Probae*, 640-641 — herent (corr. in herere m. 2) P; uultus; placida menbris T; curam P —. 4. multus gentis honos: *Gl. Ansil.* 372, 145. 4. gentis honos: *Gl. Ansil.* 265, 191; 265, 192 — (h)onous —; *Gl. Abstr.* 43, 10. 4. haerent . . . vultus: *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 142 (1, p. 55 *Riese*) — uultus —; *Asper*, 535-536 *Hagen* — uult —.

3. animo . . . recursat: cf. 1, 662; 12, 802; *Tac. H.* 2, 78: *recursabant animo vetera omina*; *Sil.* 2, 519-520; 6, 555; *Vida*, *Christias*, 5, 3-4: *facta viri virtusque animo egregiique recursat / oris honos*; *Placek, Re in den Compositis in Vergilis Aeneis* (1882), 32. Servius well emphasizes the frequentative sense of the verb.

4. gentis honos: "either the glory of Aeneas' ancestry, or that of his nation, opposed in either case to his personal merits" (Conington, *ad loc.*).

4. haerent: for the asyndeton cf. *Loewe, op. cit.*, 12 (with collection of instances in this book). On the meaning of *haerent* see *Ov. H.* 7, 25-26: [*Aeneas oculis semper vigilantis inhaeret*], / *Aenean animo noxque diesque refert*; *Maximian*, 4, 17-18 (*P. L. M.* 5, 337): *singula visa semel semper memorare libebat*; / *haerebant animo nocte dieque meo*; also *Cic. Phil.* 2, 64: *infixus haeret animo dolor*. With Dido's memories cf. *Ov. F.* 2, 769-774, especially 773: *hos habuit vultus, haec illi verba fuerunt*. That lovers constantly see in imagination the objects of their love is a commonplace; cf. 4, 83, where, as here, the recollection is of both words and appearance (cf. my note there on *absens absentem*); *Achill. Tat.* 1, 9. Reminiscences of this passage are found in *Hier. Ep.* 125, 7, 2: *quarum vultus cordi tuo haereant*; *Petrarch, Sonnets*, 68, 12-13: *e 'l volto e le parole che mi stanno / allamente confitte in mezzo 'l core*.

4. pectore: the seat of life and intelligence seems to have been early localized in the liver, and thence to have migrated to the diaphragm (as in Homer), the heart (as in most classical authors), and finally, with Alcmaeon of Croton and others, to the

brain; cf. *Pease on Cic. De Div.* 1, 16, p. 95; *id.*, in *Cl. Phil.* 20 (1925), 277-278. While the lower emotions tended to linger behind (as Horace frequently considers the liver as the seat of anger and passion; cf. *C.* 1, 13, 4; 1, 25, 15; 3, 4, 77; 4, 1, 12; *Epod.* 5, 47), reflection and memory, which belong in the higher group, are in Greek often localized in the στήθος and by Virgil commonly placed in the pectus (e.g., in this book, in lines 67, 412, 448, 530, 553, 563; cf. 4, 528: *corda oblita laborum*; *La Cerda (ad loc.)* well compares *Artemid. Oniocr.* 3, 40: *κατὰ δὲ τοῦ στήθους γενόμενον* (sc. *τραῦμα*) ἢ τῆς καρδίας νέος μὲν καὶ ἀνδράσι καὶ γυναιξὶν ἔρωτα σημαίνει), and though he several times mentions the cerebrum it seems to be for him a part of the body rather than the seat of any psychic process. The use of the ablative is paralleled in *Cic. Phil.* 2, 64, quoted above.

For the rhythm of the end of this line cf. 4, 67: *pectore volnus*; for imitation *Carm. Lat. epigr.* no. 454, 10 *Bücheler*: *heret et in fixo pectore volnus*; no. 490, 5: *eretque in pectore volnus*.

4. vultus: the poetic plural, frequent in Greek, described by *Arist. Rhet.* 3, 6, p. 1407b 33, and noted also by *Quintil.* 8, 6, 28 (who takes *vultus* as an example), falls in several distinct categories (as classified by *Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. der lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 82-86), of which one consists of parts of the body (this type in Latin first in *Cicero's Aratea*). Cf. also *Maas in Archiv f. lat. Lex. u. Gram.* 12 (1902), 479-550; *Witte, Singular u. Plural* (1907), 14-21 (on Greek cases); and the works cited by *Kroll, Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 258, n. 27.

5. verbaque, nec placidam membris dat cura quietem.
postera Phoebea lustrabat lampade terras

(u)erba G, uerbor F (uerba F¹). membris (is m. 2 in ras.) γ. dat (cura quietem) G.
(p)ostera P, (p)ostea FG (postera F¹). phebea G (phoebea G¹). ter(ras) G.

[3, 4*] 5. nec dat cura: *Gl. Ansil.* 386, 44.

6-7. postera . . . umbram: *Diomed. Art. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 1, 461) — postea M; u. a. p. d. u. —; *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 466) — humentemque; umbras B —; *Iulian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris*, 6, 53 — humentemque —. 6. postera . . . terras: *Non. p.* 335 M. (p. 529 L.); *Schol. Virg. G.* 1, 431 (in *Jahrb. f. cl. Philol.* 4 *Supplbd.* (1867), 879). 6. Phoebea lampade: *Gl. Ansil.* 237, 3 — febea —; 430, 3 — pebea —; *Gl. Abol.* 127, 28 — febea —; *Gl. Aa*, 250, 458 — foedera lampada —.

5. nec, etc.: on the sleeplessness of lovers cf. 4, 9, n. (*insomnia*); *Smith on Tib.* 1, 2, 76; *Achill. Tat.* 1, 9, 1; *Long. Daph. et Chloe*, 2, 8 (quoted in 4, 2, n. (*igni*), above); *Heliod. Aethiop.* 4, 4; 4, 7; 7, 9; *Chariton*, 6, 7; also (stated or implied) in the *paraclausithyron* (cf. *Canter in Am. Journ. of Philol.* 41 (1920), 355-368). Homer often alludes to wakefulness or troubled sleep; cf. *Bassett in Cl. Weekly*, 27 (1934), 114.

5. placidam . . . quietem: a frequent phrase, occurring in the same metrical position in *Cir.* 343; *Ov. F.* 6, 331; *Claud. Carm. min.* 2, 5; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 4, 3; *Mart. Cap.* 5, 425; *Aonius Palearius, De Anim. Immortal.* 2, 33; and in different positions or in prose in *Aen.* 1, 691: *placidam per membra quietem*; 9, 187; *Varr. Atac. Argon.* 3, 2 (*F. P. R.* 333); *Lucr.* 1, 463 (cf. 6, 73); *Ov. M.* 9, 469; *F.* 1, 205; *Octavia*, 717-718; *Stat. Silv.* 2, 2, 140; *Apul. M.* 8, 7: *placidae quieti*; *Nazar. Paneg. Const. Aug.* 35, 3: *placidam . . . rerum quietem*; *Boeth. Cons.* 3, poet. 10, 5; *Ekkehard, Waltharius*, 390: *nec placidam membris potuit dare cura quietem*; *Cayado, Ecl.* 2, 67: *placidae . . . quieti*; the seal of Massachusetts bears the inscription: *ense petit placidam sub libertate quietem*. See also *McCartney in Cl. Phil.* 22 (1927), 196, and n. 11 (on modifiers reflecting the etymology of the words modified), who compares as similar phrases *pax tranquilla*, *placida pax* (*Aen.* 1, 249; 8, 325), *secura quies* (*G.* 2, 467), to which add *Aen.* 4, 522: *placidum . . . soporem* (and n.); *Cic. Tusc.* 4, 10: *placidam quietamque constantiam*; *Venant. Fort. Misc.* 9, 7, 59 (*Patr. Lat.* 88, 307);

Gualterus, Alexandreis, 4, 334: *placidae torpore quietis*; *Getty in Am. Journ. of Philol.* 54 (1933), 8. *Serv. Aen.* 1, 691 well remarks *aut epitheton est quietis, aut ideo placidam dixit quia est quies quae potest etiam somniorum terrore turbari* (cf. also his n. on the present line).

5. membris . . . quietem: cf. 10, 217: *neque enim membris dat cura quietem* (where a different sort of *cura* is described); also 8, 30: *seramque dedit per membra quietem*; and the collocation of *membra* with *quies* or *sopor* in 5, 837; 8, 406; *Cul.* 158; 213. On Virgilian phrases for 'sleep' cf. *Preuss, Die metaphor. Kunst Vergils in der Aeneis* (1894), 24-25.

5. cura: cf. 4, 1, n. (*cura*). With the phrase cf. *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 18, 341: *quamquam neget aegro cura quietem*.

5. quietem: offset to 3, 718: *quieuit*; cf. 4, 1, n. (*at*); for *quies* = *somnus* cf. *Braunmüller, Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 4.

6. postera, etc.: against the view of *Schüler (Quaest. Vergilianae)* (1883), 24-31 and *Sabbadini (L'Eneide commentata, IV-VI, 2 ed. (1898), x-xi)* that lines 6-55, with the first dialogue between Dido and Anna, are not part of the poet's original plan see *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 128, n. 1. The elaborate assonance and alliteration in lines 6-10 is discussed by *Headlam in Cl. Rev.* 34 (1920), 24, who notes particularly the repetitions of *a*, *an* (*am*), *en*, *h*, *l*, *n*, *or*, *os*, *p*, *s*, and *um*. On the slight logical inversion of the order of events in lines 6 and 7 cf. *Serv. on 4, 7*; *Bell, The Latin Dual*

7. umentemque Aurora polo dimoverat umbram,

(u)mentemque GP. aurara γ¹. dimouera(t) G, demouerat F (dimouerat F¹). (umbram) G, umbra p.

[6*]

(1923), 271; also Sabbadini and Buscaroli *ad loc.*

DeWitt (in *Cl. Journ.* 26 (1930), 26) asserts that "Vergil in his treatment of the element of time has chosen to follow the practice of the drama rather than that of the epic. There is no Homeric counting of the days, no rosy-fingered dawn or darkening of the roads. Sunrise and sunset receive mention only when emotionally useful." It is true that in the present case the mention of night leads easily to Dido's narration of her dreams, yet Servius (*Aen.* 1, 223) seems on surer ground in saying *sciendum est Vergilium non semper dicere ortum vel occasum diei, sed aut intellectui relinquere, ut hoc loco, aut negotiis tempora significare. est autem poetica callophistia non omnia exprimere*. He does, however, consider (4, 6) our line as a *circumlocutio orientis diei*. Further, we find some definite time indications which Heinze (*Op. cit.*, 340-341) has arranged to show the chronology of Aeneas's stay at Carthage, divided by days: I. *Aen.* 1, 34-304; departure from Sicily, storm, landing in Africa. II. 1,305-4, 5; night (1, 305), arrival at Carthage, evening banquet (1, 726; 2, 8), Dido's sleepless night (4, 5). III. 4, 5-128; sunrise (4, 6-7), dialogue of Dido and Anna, sacrifice, new evening banquet (4, 77), dialogue of Juno and Venus. IV. 4, 129-168; sunrise (4, 129), hunt, and storm. After these days comes a period of uncertain length (4, 169-197), designated as *hiemem . . . quam longa fovere* (4, 193). A second series of more definite days follows: I. 4, 198-583; the Iarbas incident, dialogue of Dido and Anna with Aeneas, followed by night (4, 522), with the monologue of Dido and the dream and departure of Aeneas. II. 4, 584-5, 41; death of Dido, voyage to Sicily, reception by Acestes. Various other time schemes for the *Aeneid* have been devised, including those of Bentley (published by Stachelscheid in

Rh. Mus. 35 (1880), 313), Chabert (in *Annales de l'Univ. de Grenoble*, 16 (1904), 444-445), and Mackail (edition of *Aeneid* (1930), 89-90).

Into the question of time expressions in the Greek epic we need not enter, but among Latin passages to be compared with the present line are: 3, 588: *postera iamque dies primo surgebat Eo* (followed by 3, 589 = 4, 7); 4, 129; 4, 584-585; 5, 42; 7, 148: *postera cum prima lustrabat lampade terras*; *Ov. M.* 7, 835: *postera depulerant Aurorae lumina noctem*; cf. Preuss, *Die metaphor. Kunst Vergils in der Aeneis* (1894), 21. Cicero had employed analogous phrases: *De Cons.* 2, 2 (ap. *De Div.* 1, 17, where cf. my note): *totum conlustrat lumine mundum*; *De Fat.* fr. 3 Müller (a translation of Homer): *Iuppiter auctiferas lustravit lumine terras*; *Aratea*, 578: *haec sol aeterno convestit lumine lustrans*, and Norden (2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 375), from the likeness of Cicero and Virgil, would suspect Ennius as a source. Cf. also *Sil.* 8, 174: *lustrabit lumine terras*; *Il. Lat.* 870: *luna cava et nitida lustraret lampade caelum*; *Audradus, Carm.* 1, 33 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 74): *ornabat lampade terras*; *Flodoardus Remensis, De Triumphis Christi* (Antioch.), 2, 8, 374: *crastina lux roseo lustrabat lumine terras*; *Gaulterus, Alexandreis*, 3, 274-275; *Waldo, Vita Ansgarii*, 2068-2069 (cited by Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, 2 (1923), 608): *rosea iam lampade Phoebus / terras lustrabat, tenebras Aurora fugarat*; *Albertus Stadensis, Troilus*, 5, 185: *postera Phoebæ lux lustrat lampade terras*; *Vida, Christianas*, 3, 302: *et sol pallentes lustrabat lampade terras*; *Mantuan, Ecl.* 8, 201: *lampas Phoebæ*. Milton (*P. L.* 5, 1-2) uses a similar time device. For descriptions of morning cf. the twelve quatrains in *Anth. Lat.* nos. 579-590 (2, pp. 79-82 Riese); also Preiswerk, *Der Morgen in der gr. u. röm. Dichtung* (*Wiener Blätter*, 1922, 101-105), who traces the sub-

8. cum sic unanimam adloquitur male sana sororem:

(u)m G, (u)m P, tum R. unanimam P, unaanimem M (unanimam M²), unanimem b^c Serv.: *dicimus autem et 'unanimus' et 'unanimis,' sicut 'inermus' et 'inermis.'* adloquitur (d corr. in l) b. mala P (male P²), Schol. Dan.: *et quidam 'malesana' nolunt hyphen legere, nec esse compositum verbum, quia composita unum plerumque corrumpant necesse est, ut 'malesuada.'* (sana sororem) G. soror R.

8. male . . . sororem: *Schol. Dan. G.* 1, 105; [*Acro*] in *Hor. S.* 1, 3, 31. 8. male sana: [*Acro*] in *Hor. S.* 2, 2, 8; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1, 314; *Gl. Ansil.* 354, 424.

ject from Homer to Ambrose, pointing out that Homer indicates rather than describes; Apollonius (following the tragedians) describes; and Virgil returns to mythology but adapts his descriptions to circumstances.

6. **Phoebæ . . . lampade**: on the sun as the torch of Phoebus (probably not in *Cic. De Cons.* 2, 20: *Phoebi fax*, where I have tried (on *De Div.* 1, 18) to show that a meteor is meant) cf. *Aen.* 3, 637; *Phoebæ lampadis instar*; *Ov. Rem. Am.* 256: *Phoebi . . . orbis*; *Sen. Phoen.* 87: *Phoebæ lampas*; *Sil.* 1, 193: *lampade Phoebi*; 10, 111: *Phoebæ lampade*; *Cayado, Ecl.* 5, 19: *Phoebæ lampade*. In Lucretius we find *lampas* similarly used, or employed for the day restored by the torch: 5, 402; 5, 610; 6, 1198. Cf. also Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 31.

6. **lustrabat**: cf. 4, 607; and on this impressive word, combining the ideas of motion, illumination, and purification, Serv. *ad loc.*: *aut inlustrabat aut revera lustrabat, id est, purgabat; nam nox quodammodo polluit mundum; vel circumibat, ut (8, 231) lustrat Aventini montem*; *Ariosto, Orf. fur.* 3, 2, 3: *Febo, che 'l gran mondo lustrì*; *Fowler, Death of Turnus* (1927), 96-98.

7. **umentemque, etc.**: = 3, 589; cf. Georgii, *Über das dritte Buch der Aeneide* (1877), 80, for Virgil's repetitions of his own lines; also Gladow, *De Vergilio ipsius Imitatore* (1921), 23; Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 55-154. The dampness is due to the heavy night dew; cf. *G.* 1, 290: *noctes lentus non deficit umor*; *Aen.* 2, 8: *nox umida* (so 3, 198; 5, 738; 5, 835; 11, 201); 4, 351-352: *quotiens umentibus umbris / nox aperit terras*; 11, 210: *lux gelidam caelo dimoverat umbram*; *Sil.* 2, 469: *umentis rores noctis*; *Ariosto, Orf. fur.* 8, 86,

7: *e fe' l' ombra fuggire umida e nera*. On the moon as the cause of the night dews, as the sun is of the heat of the day, cf. Pease on *Cic. De Div.* 2, 33.

7. **Aurora**: mentioned twenty-five times in Virgil, usually with little personification and in phrases indicating a new day; cf. 4, 129, n. (*Oceanum, etc.*); 4, 584 (*et iam, etc.*).

7. **polo**: from its literal sense of the axis (or end of the axis) of a sphere this word, like πῶλος, came to be applied to the sphere itself, that is, to the starry heavens, as here and commonly in Virgil; cf. 4, 482, n. (*axem*), below.

7. **dimoverat umbram**: cf. *Cul.* 44: *tenebras Aurora fugarat*; *Dante, Purg.* 1, 115-116: *l' alba vinceva l' ora (= ombra) mattutina / che fuggia innanzi* (cf. Scartazzini's n.).

8. **cum, etc.**: in Apollonius Medea, after fearful dreams (3, 618-632), is reluctant to confide in her sister Chalciope (3, 640-673), but in Valerius Flaccus (6, 587) she voluntarily asks her about Jason and later seeks comfort from her (7, 117). For the somewhat similar communication to a sister of an erotic dream cf. the Vestal Virgins in *Enn. Ann.* 1, 35-51. With the phraseology here used cf. *Stat. Silv.* 5, 1, 176: *tum sic unanimum moriens solatur amantem*.

8. **unanimam**: οὐμόφρονα, σύμμόφρονα. Two adjectives occur, *unanimus* and *unanimis*, the former used here and in 7, 335, while in the only other Virgilian case (12, 264) MSS and editors are divided. As Heyne-Wagner (*ad loc.*) realize, the choice between these words, as between *exanimis* and *exanimus*, is made in part on the basis of euphony. In one form or the other the term is applied to parents (*Stat. Theb.* 4, 353-354; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 33, 40), brothers (*Aen.* 7, 335; also *Catull.* 9, 4; *Domitius ap. Philargyr. in Ecl.* 3, 90; *Sil.* 13, 651; *Stat. Theb.* 8, 669; 10,

9. 'Anna soror, quae me suspensam insomnia terrent!

(a)nna G, (an)na P. sorque G (soror quae G¹). quae (a sup. add.) G. suspensa M (suspensam M¹). insomnia(a) G, insonia F (insomnia F¹), insona (corr. in insomnia) b. terrent FMPR (om. G), terre c¹, terret c²; cf. Serv. in explicatione infra citatum.

9. Anna . . . terrent: Macrob. Somn. Scip. 1, 3, 6 — suspensa P —; [Iul. Rufin.] p. 60 Halm; Ioann. Saresb. Policr. 2, 15, p. 429a. 9. Anna soror: Donat. in Ter. Hec. 131. 9. quae . . . terrent: Serv. Aen. 4, 5; Charis. Inst. 1 (G. L. K. 1, 101) — qua me suspensam (corr. in suspensam) insomnia cod. N —. 9. qu(a)e insomnia: Gl. Ansil. 477, 29. 9. insomnia: Gl. Ansil. 310, 1568; q.v.

727), sisters (Auson. Parent. 19, 11; Sanazaro, Ecl. 5, 25), husbands and wives (Catull. 66, 80; Sen. Oed. 773; Stat. Silv. 5, 1, 176; Claud. De III Cons. Hon. 189; Panegy. 231; C. I. L. VI, 12845, 31711 (cf. Harrod, Lat. Terms of Endearment (1909), 46), XIII, 128, 22 (= Anth. Lat. no. 722, 22 (2, p. 207 Riese); Carm. Lat. epigr. 360 Engström), other kinsmen (Auson. Parent. 3, 7), intimate friends (Catull. 30, 1; Stat. Silv. 5, 2, 155; Claud. in Rufin. 1, 105; Hist. Apoll. Reg. Tyr. 39), or military allies (Aen. 12, 264; Sil. 16, 261). Donatus (ad loc.) remarks: cum poeta praemittit sororem, praemittit unanimum, ostendit aliquid Didonem germanae dicturam quod in vulgus non deberet exire. To what extent Anna falls short of being completely *unanimia* the sequel shows; cf. 4, 476-477; 4, 500-502; 4, 675-683. Rébelliau (De Verg. in inform. muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore (1892), 135), however, thinks *unanimam* means, not that both naturally had the same thoughts but that whatever Dido desired or thought Anna seconded. Antigone (Soph. Ant. 1) addresses Ismene as ὦ κοινὸν ἀνδράδελφον Ἰσμήνης κάρα, which DeGraff (in Cl. Weekly, 25 (1932), 149) compares with our line, but Jebb (ad loc.) thinks that the phrase of Sophocles "will not bear the added moral sense, 'having common interests and feelings,'" save so far as that may result from kinship.

8. adloquitur: cf. Wilms, Qua Ratione Verg. in Aen. aut locuturum aliquem aut locutum esse indicaverit (1865), 9.

8. male sana: Bell (The Latin Dual (1923), 293) would here detect an amphibole, taking the adverb both with *adloquitur* (in the sense of *perniciose*, derived from the note of Servius) and with *sana* (in the sense of

minus or non), and translates: "When the queen far from sane with consequences disastrous to herself addresses her loving sister." This perhaps presses too far an adverb very closely phrased with *sana*, like the Greek compounds of *δυσ-*, as *bene* is similarly used in imitation of the Greek *εὖ-* (cf. Wölfflin, Lat. u. roman. Komparation (1879), 14 (= Ausgewählte Schriften (1933), 138-139 — including *bene sanus*); Lejay on Hor. S. 1, 3, 61; Pease on Cic. De Div. 2, 82); in fact, we are told by the Scholia Danielis: *quidam malesana nolunt hyphen legere* (cf. 6, 276: *malesuada*). Other cases of *male sanus* (*sana*) include Cic. Ad Att. 9, 15, 5; Hor. Ep. 1, 19, 3; Ov. M. 3, 474; 4, 521; 9, 600; Colum. 10, 232; Curt. 6, 7, 15; Min. Fel. Oct. 11, 9; Salvian, Ep. 5, 4; Damas. Epigr. 14, 7 Ihm; Auson. Urbes, 19; Cypr. Heptat. Indic. 683 (C. S. E. L. 23, 205); Venant. Fort. Misc. 2, 11, 19 (Patr. Lat. 88, 99); Angilbertus, Carm. 6, 358 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 1, 375); Ermoldus, In Hon. Hludowici, 3, 426 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 53); Carm. Cenomanensia, 5, 14 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 625); Flodoardus Remensis, De Triumphis Christi (Antioch.), 1, 12, 11; Milton, Sylvae, Ad Patrem, 93. Many cases with other adjectives might be cited. Serv. Aen. 2, 23 remarks: *male enim mimutionem habet, non negationem*, and on the present line states: *non plane sana, amore vitata; 'male' enim plerumque 'non,' plerumque 'minus' significat, sicut 've,' ut 'vecors' et 'vesanus.'* Cartault (L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide, 1 (1926), 343) points out the development of the madness of Dido (1, 659: *furentem*; 4, 8: *male sana*; 65: *furentem*; 69: *furens*; 78: *demens*; 91: *furori*; 101: *furorem*; 283: *furentem*; 300: *inops animi*; 374: *demens*; 376: *furiis*; 433: *furori*; 465:

furentem; 474: *furias*; 501: *furores*; 548: *furentem*; 646: *furibunda*; 697: *furore* (cf. also 1, 659), and traces a parallel in the treatment of the passion of Ariadne (Catull. 64). Cf. also 4, 1, n. (*saucia*), above. On the madness of lovers see DeWitt, The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil (1907), 11; Smith on Tib. 1, 4, 24; it seems to have been a stock subject for discussion, to judge from Quintil. 7, 3, 28. It is not unreasonable to suppose that continual dwelling upon her love had destroyed the normal balance of Dido's mind. From somewhat different points of view Hahn (in Cl. Weekly, 25 (1931), 20) compares the ungovernable violence of Dido with that of Amata, and Terzaghi (Virgilio ed Enea (1928), 14) emphasizes the erotic side of her passion, in which he is properly opposed by Fiore (La Poesia di Virgilio (1930), 244, n. 1).

8. sororem: Patin (Études sur la Poésie latine, 1 (1883), 203) notes that, contrary to the Homeric manner, Anna has not been mentioned by Virgil up to this point (cf. Henselmanns, Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis (1914), 124). There seems, however, to have been no previous need of her appearance, for she is a foil to Dido in her private relations, and up to the Fourth Book Dido has appeared only on public or semi-public occasions. The picture of the queen, if judged only by her dialogue with Aeneas (4, 305-387), would be incomplete; we need not only her own monologues but also her unbosoming to an intimate to make these psychologically intelligible; cf. Heinze, op. cit., 332. Whether Anna may have been present at some of the dialogues between Dido and Aeneas there is no evidence, for it is in accord with Virgil's practice in the Aeneid to confine his dialogues to only two speakers at a time (Heinze, op. cit., 404-405) — a rule more restricting than the three-actor limitation of the Greek stage, and in no way demanded by the requirements of a written epic but perhaps the result of his parsimony in the use of definitely delineated characters.

9. Anna, etc.: speeches form an important element in the epic, from Homer to the later Roman writers; cf. Kroll, Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit. (1924), 219. The

proportions of direct discourse to the entire story have been studied, for the Greek epic, by Elderkin, Aspects of the Speech in the later Greek Epic (1906), 6, with the following results: Homer 50% (Iliad 44%, Odyssey 56%), Apollonius 29%, Quintus 24%, Nonnus 36%, Tryphiodorus 20%, Coluthus 37%, Tzetzes 5%. Lipscomb, Aspects of the Speech in the later Roman Epic (1909), 13, has collected figures for the Aeneid: Bk. 6: 54%; 4: 49%; 8: 47%; 11: 44%; 1: 44%; 3: 40%; 2: 36%; 9: 33%; 10: 31%; 12: 30%; 5: 27%; 7: 24%; for the whole poem: 38%, with the average length of a speech 11½ lines. There is thus a considerable variation, but less than in Statius (Theb. 5: 74%; 6: 11%). For features of the technique of Virgilian speeches cf. Heinze, op. cit., 403-465.

With the thought cf. Eur. Hec. 69-70: τί ποτ' αἰρομαι ἔνυχος οὕτω / δέλμασι, φάσμασιν; Apoll. Rh. 3, 617-618: ἄφαρ δέ μιν ἤπεροπῆς, / οἷα τ' ἀκηχεμένην, ὀλοοὶ ἐρέθισκον δνειροι; 3, 636-638: δειλὴ ἐγών, οἶδ' με βαρεῖς ἐφόβησαν δνειροι. / δειδία, μὴ μέγα δὴ τι φέρῃ κακὸν ἢδε κέλενθος / ἡρώων. περί μοι ξείνῃ φρένες ἡρέθονται; 3, 688-691: Χαλκίοπη, περί μοι παιδίων σὸς θυμὸς ἀγῆται, / . . . / τοῖα κατακνώσσουσα μινυθαδίῃ νέον ὑπνῷ / λείσσω δνείρατα λυγρά. The dreams of Medea, however, are recounted; those of Dido, as Cartault (op. cit., 1, 341) objects, are not. But perhaps mystery compensates for more exact knowledge.

For the order Anna soror cf. 4, 634: Annam . . . sororem; also G. 4, 341; 4, 354; Aen. 7, 503; 11, 823; 12, 222; Ov. H. 7, 191: Anna soror, soror Anna. So mater commonly follows the proper name with which it is in apposition; cf. G. 1, 498 (G. 4, 321 is ambiguous); Aen. 6, 778; 10, 76; 10, 172; the usage for pater is divided, with Iup-piter stereotyping the second place for pater, as with the names of Aeneas and Anchises the epithet holds the first; frater in Virgil precedes more often than it follows. Probably metrical considerations play a large part in this question. On the initial position of Anna's name in the speech cf. Kvčala, Vergil-Studien (1878), 53, who notes Virgil's habit of putting a vocative in the first sentence of a speech.

The sisterly relations of Dido and Anna

10. quis novos hic nostris successit sedibus hospes,

(q)uis G, (qu)is P. nouos P, nouus P²cell. se(dibus hospes) G, desedibus F (sedibus F¹).

10. quis . . . hospes: Prisc. Inst. 17, 47 (G. L. K. 3, 137) — nouus —; Donat. in Ter. Hec. 817 — nouus —; Anth. Lat. no. 11, 79 (1, p. 44 Riese) — nouos A —. 10. quis . . . nostris: Schol. Dan. Aen. 3, 591 — nouus —. 10. novos hospes: Gl. Ansil. 397, 343 — nouus —. 10. nostris . . . hospes: Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 507) cod. M. 10. nostris sedibus: Gl. Ansil. 395, 240.

are repeatedly emphasized; cf. lines 31, 420, 435, 438, 456, 476, 478, 492, 501, 549, 634, 673, 675, 682, 686. The Scholia Danielis on this passage and Serv. Aen. 1, 343 discuss the pedigree of Dido and Anna.

Chaucer's rendering of this story in his Legend of good Women, Dido, begins at line 243.

9. suspensam: as in 2, 114; 2, 729; 5, 827; 6, 722. Henry (Aeneidea, 2 (1878), 557) calls this the "agitation between the impulses of her passion on the one hand and the terrific warnings of her dreams on the other." Cf. also the dubiae mentis of 4, 55.

9. insomnia: ἐνύπνια (cf. Meillet, Esquisse d'une hist. de la lang. lat. (1928), 219-220; also, for the formation of this compound, the words inares (ἐνάρια), infula (cf. Skt. bhāla, 'brow'), and perhaps insula (sal or salum). Serv.: si 'terret' legerimus, 'insomnia' erit vigilia . . . sciendum igitur, quia si 'terret' dixerimus, antiqua erit elocutio; 'insomnia' enim, licet et Pacuvius et Ennius frequenter dixerit, Plinius tamen exclusit et de usu removit. sed ambiguitatem lectionis haec res fecit, quod non ex aperto vigilasse se dixit, sed habuisse quietem inplacidam, id est, somniis interruptam, ut intelligamus eam et insomniis terribilam, et propter terrorem somniorum vigilas quoque perpersam. In no other Virgilian passage is the feminine noun insomnia used, though insomnis is found in Aen. 9, 167, while one definite case of the neuter plural noun does occur (6, 896); both words, however, in spite of Servius, appear in classical usage. Yet several considerations favor our construing insomnia here as the neuter plural: (1) the weight of MS evidence is for terrent; (2) bad dreams (and insomnia seem usually to be such; a fair sample is Sil. 10, 357: exercent rabidam truculenta insomnia mentem)

are terrifying, but not mere sleeplessness, characteristic as the latter may be of lovers (cf. 4, 5, n. (nec, etc.); Apoll. Rh. 3, 751; Val. Fl. 7, 6; in a charm (Auddolent, Defix. Tab. 270; Dessau 8757) we read νε σμονονυ χορθωγασ σθε αμορε ετ δεσιδεριο μεο ουραβουρ; cf. Papyr. Gr. mag. 2, pages 17; 28; 30; 39-40; 58; 82-83; 167 Preisendanz; in Gl. Ansil. 310, 1568; 477, 29 insomnia is glossed by vigiliae); (3) Dido had herself previously been led (1, 353-360) by dreams of the murdered Sychaeus to flee from Tyre, and later (4, 460-461) she receives warning intimations from his shrine; (4) Anna's allusion (4, 34) to the manis gains added point if the shade of Sychaeus is thought of as having just appeared to Dido, and if Anna is trying to dispel the reality of such an apparition. As Henry (op. cit., 2, 558) well notes, it is the function of the manes to send insomnia (6, 896); cf. 4, 384, infra. As Dido is warned by dreams (probably, in part, at least, of Sychaeus) from proving false to his memory so Aeneas is later (4, 351-353) stirred by visions of Anchises warning him against the neglect of his mission (though nothing is said of the propriety of his devotion to the memory of Creusa!). Pascal (in Athenaeum, 5 (1917), 252-253) would read tenent but understand insomnia, the plural of insomnium, as meaning 'sleeplessness,' comparing Prop. 2, 25 (3, 20), 47-48 (cf. also Charis. Inst. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 1, 101, 22-25): idem Vergilius insomnia pluraliter pro vigiliis posuit (quoting our passage), quamvis et hic somnia intelligi possint, quibus Dido terreri potuerit), yet the reasons cited above for explaining it as dreams seem more cogent. Getty (in Am. Journ. of Philol. 54 (1933), 1-28) discusses at length the form insomnia, classifying as follows: (A) insomnia (fem.), 'sleeplessness,' only in

11. quem sese ore ferens, quam forti pectore et armis!

(q)uem G.P. oreferens P (öreferens (i.e., o referens) P²). quem forti F (quam forti F¹; cf. Fairclough in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc. 63 (1932), 208, et Serv.: sane subaudis 'est'); quem defend. Valesius (Valesiana (1694), 183) et Markland (in Stat. Silv. 5, 3, 46). fortis π, dell. pect (ore et armis) G.

11-12. quem . . . deorum: [Acro] in Hor. C. 2, 4, 19 — qui sese a V —. 11. quem . . . armis: Isid. Etym. 9, 7, 28 — quam sese (quem sese dell.); o. referens K; quam forti (qua se forte B) —; Hrab. Maur. De Universo, 7, 5. 11. quem sese ferens ore: Gl. Ansil. 477, 44. 11. ore ferens: Gl. Ansil. 416, 155. 11. quam forti . . . armis: Anth. Lat. no. 17, 40 (1, p. 63 Riese) — quem A —. 11. forti pectore: Gl. Ansil. 252, 250.

nom. and abl. sing., from Plautus on; (B) insomnium (neut.), 'sleeplessness,' only gen. and abl. sing., nom., acc., gen., abl. pl.; in the singular from Suetonius, in the plural ('waking visions') from our passage and 6, 896 on; (C) insomnium (neut.), 'dream,' only acc. sing., nom. and acc. pl., from Pliny, N. H. 18, 118 on. His assumption of the second meaning in the present line seems unconvincing, for the fact that line 5 says that Dido did not sleep calmly is no evidence against sleep troubled by distressing dreams, and if Virgil actually coined the word he may as well have done so in the third sense as in the second. Nor does the fact that Dido lay awake the whole night at 4, 529-531, at a more critical stage in her passion, prove anything for the present occasion.

Granted that the word insomnia means 'dreams,' the question still remains whether they were all of Sychaeus, as Henry held, followed by Glover (Virgil, 2 ed. (1912), 187), or rather, as Kakridis (in Hermes, 45 (1910), 463-465; in part after De la Ville de Mirmont, Apollonius de Rhodes et Virgile (1894), 317, n. 5), followed by Stearns (Studies of the Dream as a technical Device in Lat. Epic and Drama (1927), 32, and n. 78), believes, of a marriage with Aeneas, as the dreams of Medea in Apollonius were not divinatory but born of the preoccupations of her waking hours. Stearns feels that the latter explanation (with which cf. Pease on Cic. De Div. 1, 45) better agrees with what Dido afterward decided to do, but it might well be argued that her later determination is taken because the persuasions of Anna reenforced her waking decision to neglect the supernatural warnings of the night, warnings such as actu-

ally induced the less emotional Aeneas to resolve upon flight from Carthage, and I feel that the dramatic effect of the conflict of duty and emotion is heightened by such an interpretation.

For a curious modern parallel to the situation described cf. Hartland, Ritual and Belief (1914), 209. Patroni (in Atti d. r. Accad. di Arch., Lett., e belle Arti (Naples), N. S., 3 (1915), 55-70) tries to find in a variously interpreted Pompeian wall-painting (sometimes called Dionysus and Ariadne) a representation of these dreams of Dido, with a mingling of the cave scene and other details, but he seems adequately refuted by Sogliano (in the same volume, 73-76); cf. Jahn in Jahresb. ü. d. Fortschr. d. kl. Alt. 196 (1924), 288.

10. quis, etc.: for similar situations cf. Od. 11, 335-337: τοῖσιν δ' Ἀρήτη λευκώλενος ἤρχετο μύθων / Φαίηκες, πῶς ὕμιν ἀνὴρ ὄδε φαίνεται εἶναι / εἰδὸς τε μέγεθος τε ἰδὲ φρένας ἐνδον εἰσας; Val. Fl. 6, 587-590: tunc his germanam adgreditur, ceu nescia, dictis: / quis, precor, hic; toto iam dudum fervere campo / quem tueor, quemque ipsa vides? nam te quoque tali / attonitam virtute reor; Chateaubriand, Les Martyrs, 8, 116 (Naylor in Johns Hopkins Stud. in Rom. Lit. and Lang. 18 (1930), 152). Dido is not here asking Anna to supply the name of Aeneas, which was known to her from 1, 544 and 1, 596 onward, as 1, 617 shows. Gercke (Die Entstehung der Aeneis (1913), 46-47) thinks there is an inconsistency between the knowledge of Dido in 1, 617-618 of the divine parentage of Aeneas and 4, 12, where from his demeanor she suspects his heavenly lineage. Hence, he infers, Book I was not clearly outlined when the present passage was composed,

12. credo equidem — nec vana fides — genus esse deorum.

(c)redo G, (c)redeo P, credo (o ex corr.) γ. uano M (uana M¹). gen' (m. rec. sup.) c. (esse deorum) G.

[11] 12. credo . . . deorum: Serv. Aen. 4, 365; Donat. Aen. 4, 365; Isid. Etym. 9, 7, 28 — una pro uana C¹ —; Hrab. Maur. De Universo, 7, 5. 12. credo . . . fides: Anth. Lat. no. 719a, 54 (2, p. 191 Riese). 12. nec . . . fides: Gl. Ansil. 387, 158. 12. genus . . . deorum: De dub. Nomin. (G. L. K. 5, 579) — esse om. MV —; Gl. Ansil. 265, 220.

and quis, etc. may be a genuine seeking for information as to the identity of Aeneas. This may be true, yet there is room for a contrast between the common report, which Dido uses in 1, 617, and her own observation, which leads her to believe the report well founded (4, 12); in that case quis is exclamatory rather than purely interrogative.

10. nostris, etc.: cf. Catull. 64, 176: in nostris requiescet sedibus hospes; Ennod. Carm. 2, 84, 1: successit finibus hospes.

10. successit: a frequent word for entering a house or some kind of shelter; e.g., Ecl. 5, 6; 5, 19; G. 3, 418; Aen. 1, 627; 2, 478; 7, 501; 8, 123: succedite penetibus hospes; 11, 146.

10. hospes: cf. 4, 323. With the cadence cf. Venant. Fort. Misc. 4, 1, 15: properavit sedibus hospes.

11. quem, etc.: in this passage, describing the feminine hero worship (Hor. S. 1, 6, 31–33: puellis / iniciat curam quaerendi singula, quali / sit facie, sura, quali pede, dente, capillo; Glover, Virgil, 2 ed. (1912), 182; Keith in South Atlantic Quart. 21 (1922), 70–71), four points are emphasized, as noted by Schol. Dan. 4, 12: et bono ordine amari facit Aeneam ab ea . . . primo virtute et factis, deinde generis nobilitate, inde oratione, post pulchritudine; et singula singulis reddit. More specifically Isid. Etym. 9, 7, 28: in eligendo marito quattuor spectari solent: virtus, genus, pulchritudo, sapientia. ex his sapientia potentior est ad amoris affectum. refert haec quattuor Vergilius de Aenea, quod his Dido impulsata est in amore eius: pulchritudine: quam sese ore ferens! virtute: quam forti pectore et armis! oratione: heu quibus ille / iactatus fatis, quae bella exhausta canebat! genere: credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum; 10, 203; cf. the tenth-century

Chronicon Salernitanum, which (p. 501) borrows the same materials (quoted by Manlius, Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters, 2 (1923), 201). These four points, recounted by Dido to Anna, have already been mentioned, in their effect upon Dido herself, in 4, 3–5: virtus, gentis honos, voltus, verba. The author gives us, then, a second version of the same thought (cf. 4, 188, n. (tam ficti, etc.); also the epic repetitions of 4, 117–127 by 4, 130–172 and 4, 223–237 by 4, 265–275); in this case either for emphasis, or because he had not made a final selection between the two versions, or to let us see the same idea from two different angles. Ovid (M. 7, 26–28) notes essentially these qualities in Jason: [quem, nisi crudelem, non tangat Iasonis aetas / et genus et virtus? quem non, ut cetera desint, / ore movere potest? certe mea pectora movit!]; cf. 7, 43–46.

With Dido's description of Aeneas cf. Apoll. Rh. 3, 453–458, quoted in 4, 3, n. (multa . . . multus), above; an elaborate imitation is found in Vida, Christias, 3, 87–93.

11. ore ferens: the Scholia Danielis are in doubt whether this refers to speech or appearance, yet if we have the same idea as in 3, 490: sic oculos, sic ille manus, sic ora ferebat (cf. Sil. 8, 72 (of Aeneas): noto sese ore ferebat) it seems likely that the appearance is intended; cf. also 1, 503: talem se laeta ferebat.

The physical beauty of Aeneas, of which Homer says nothing (cf. Moseley, Characters and Epithets (1926), 69), is by Virgil several times emphasized; in 1, 589–593 Venus had specially embellished him to make an impression (as Athena had done with Odysseus for a like purpose in Od. 6, 229–235; cf. 23, 156–158), which 1, 613 shows us was produced, and at 4, 141 he is again called pulcherrimus;

cf. also 4, 84, n. (genitoris imagine). So Julius Caesar desired it to be thought that he had received from Venus a kind of youthful bloom (Dio Cass. 43, 43, 3), and Drew (The Allegory of the Aeneid (1927), 76–78) points out that Augustus, according to Suet. Aug. 79, had a similar pride in his appearance, which Aeneas may here allegorically suggest. Aeneas's age is perhaps to be thought of as at this time about 33 (Sainte-Beuve, Étude sur Virgile (1857), 207) or 35 (Daniels in Cl. Weekly, 23 (1930), 173), though Glover (Virgil, 2 ed. (1912), 214) apparently thinks of him as much older, 'a man of years.'

11. forti pectore: cf. Ov. M. 2, 754: in pectore forti; 11, 462; Dict. Cret. 4, 15: forti pectore patiendae; Serv.: pectore ad patientiam, armis ad fortitudinem. Yet whether pectore is to be taken literally, of the physical appearance of Aeneas, or figuratively, of his boldness and endurance, depends upon our interpretation of armis, and in this word Virgil has furnished a notable ambiguity; cf. Henry, Aeneidea, 4 (1889), 225, on 11, 641, where armis is equally ambiguous, being referable either to armus or to arma. Dares, 12, describes Aeneas as rufum, quadratum, etc.; cf. Tzetzes, Posthom. 378–379: Αἰνείας δ' ἄρα βαῖος, ἀτὰρ παχύς, εὐστῆθος πέλεις, / γλαυκός, λευκόχροος, ἀναφάλας, εὐρυμέτωπος. In the present passage various editors, from Valesius to Conington (cf. Brandt, Zur Kritik u. Exeg. in Vergils Aeneis I–III (1876), 38, n. 1) have derived armis from armus; cf. Tennyson, Marriage of Geraint, 86: "O noble breast and all-puissant arms" (which Mustard, however (Class. Echoes in Tennyson (1904), 158), would trace to a Welsh source). It should be observed that of the seven unequivocal cases in which armus occurs in Virgil five (G. 3, 86; Aen. 6, 881; 10, 711; 11, 497; 12, 722) describe the armi of horses, bulls, or boars (cf. Ov. M. 10, 700; Isid. Etym. 11, 1, 62: proprie armi quadrupedum sunt), while the two cases referring to human beings (Aen. 10, 894; 11, 644) employ the word to designate injured parts of the anatomy rather than to convey any idea of beauty or physical strength. Aen. 11, 641: ingentemque animis, ingentem corpore et armis, I should interpret as power of mind, body, and weapons. It is

also noteworthy that Servius, usually quick to point out ambiguity or alternative interpretations, here clearly takes armis as from arma, and knows no other explanation. I should then, despite II. 3, 194: εὐρύπρεος δ' ὁμοῖον ἰδὲ στέρνοισι ἰδέσθαι; Val. Fl. 1, 434–435: ostenditque umeros fortes, spatiumque superbi / pectoris Herculeis aequum, Meleagre, lacertis; 4, 265: pectore et armis; and in spite of the lengthy arguments of Henry (Aeneidea, 2 (1878), 560–565), reject the view that the word is a form of armus; cf. Kvřčala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis (1881), 76–77; Page in Cl. Rev. 7 (1893), 416. Pectore et armis will then roughly correspond, in a reverse order, to the arma virumque of 1, 1. In 6, 403: pietate insignis et armis the meaning 'weapons' is surely to be accepted. For such a common figurative use of arma cf. Braumüller, Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Virgil's Aeneis, 1 (1877), 3. Bell (The Latin Dual (1923), 285 and 309) suggests an ellipsis, such as that of validis instructus or of se gerens.

12. credo equidem: cf. 4, 10, n. (quis); Prud. Cathem. 3, 196: credo equidem neque vana fides; Lup. Ferrar. Ep. 6, 185 (Mon. Germ. hist. Epist.); cf. 6, 187; Vida, Christias, 5, 301: credo equidem hunc (non te fallit) genus esse deorum (cf. 5, 3); and for credo equidem 6, 848 (also equidem credo: G. 1, 415; Aen. 10, 29); Val. Fl. 4, 476; Paul. Nol. Epist. 10, 302; Carm. 27, 222; Anth. Lat. no. 18, 35 (1, p. 81 Riese); no. 763a, 8 (2, p. 250 Riese); Maximian, 4, 45 (P. L. M. 5, 339); Paul. Petric. De Vita Martini, 1, 127 (C. S. E. L. 16, 24); Audradus, Passiones Iuliani et Soc. 2, 71 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 3, 93): credo equidem; Milo, De Sobriet. 1, 353 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 3, 626): credo equidem nec vana fides; Bernard. Andegav. De Mirac. 18 (Patr. Lat. 141, 155): credo quidem neque vana fides; also credo quidem (Ermoldus, In Hon. Hludowici, 4, 591 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 74); Hrabanus Maurus, Carm. 4, 11 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 161). In Aen. 2, 704 we find cedo equidem, nec.

12. genus . . . deorum: cf. Vitalis, Aulul. 399; from the idea of race (as in 1, 380; 5, 45; 6, 123; 6, 834; 7, 219; also 11, 305: gente deorum) the word genus comes to be applied in poetry to a particular member of

13. degeneres animos timor arguit. heu, quibus ille

(de)generes P, (deg)eneres G. animos que timor (que eras., *celera erasa fortasse fatis* ex v. 14) γ. he(u quibus ille) G.

13-14. heu . . . canebat: *Isid. Etym.* 9, 7, 28 — eu BDT, e C¹ K; iactus T¹; factis C¹ —; *Hrab. Maur. De Universo*, 7, 5. 13-14. heu . . . fatis: *Donat. in Ter. Hec.* 167 — iactatus f. —. 13. degeneres . . . ille: *Script. Lat. Rei metr.* 580 Gaisford. 13. degeneres . . . arguit: *Diomed. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 310); *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 11, 164; *Marl. Cap.* 5, 494 — degeneris A¹ R¹ —; *Agroec. Ars* (G. L. K. 7, 119) — animas B —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1, 445; *Schol. Lucan.* 6, 417 (ed. Weber); *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C.* 1, 13, 7; [*Acro*] in *Hor. Epod.* 11, 10, ed. Hauthal — om. codd. A2 —; *Isid. Etym.* 2, 30, 12; *Diff.* 1, 19; *Alcuin, De Dialect.* 349 (*Pair. Lat.* 101, 971); *Ioann. Saresb. Policr.* 6, 14, p. 609c (cf. 7, 19, p. 684d). 13. degeneres animos: *Prob. Cathol.* 1, 33 (G. L. K. 4, 15); *Gl. Ansil.* 166, 485 — animi —. 13. degeneres: *Gl. Ansil.* 165, 484; q.v.

that race or a descendant of some person (cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 21), e.g., 6, 792: *Augustus Caesar, Divi genus*; 6, 839: *Aeaciden, genus arripotentis Achilli*; 7, 213: *rex genus egregium Fauni*; Catull. 61, 2: *Uraniae genus* (Hymen); Hor. C. 1, 3, 27: *audax Iapeti genus*; S. 2, 5, 62-63: *ab alto / demisum genus Aenea* (where Lejay compares Hes. *Op.* 299: Πέρση, δῖον γένος), and this usage extends occasionally to prose: Serv. G. 3, 4: *Eurystheus rex fuit Graeciae, Persei genus*; Jul. Val. 1, 29: *Alexander rex genus Iovis fecisset*; 3, 60; La Cerda (*ad loc.*) compares Plut. *De Fort. Rom.* 8: λαμπρά μὲν τὰ σὰ ἔργα καὶ μεγάλα καὶ θεῖον ὡς ἀληθῶς ἐξέφηναι αἷμα καὶ γένος οὖσαν σεαυτῇ. The plural recognizes not only the mother of Aeneas (as *nate dea* in 4, 223; 4, 560; and ten other places in the *Aeneid*) but the line of her ancestry, and the implication was, of course, complimentary to Augustus in his doctrine of the Julian descent from Ascanius and Aeneas. Not only is Aeneas addressed by others or referred to by the poet in terms indicative of his partly divine origin (*nate dea*; *sate gente deum* (8, 36); *sate sanguine divum* (6, 125); *deum gens* (10, 228); *deum certissima proles* (6, 322); *heros* (4, 447, where see the n.)) but he proclaims it himself (e.g., 1, 380; 6, 123), and his lineage is acknowledged by Dido, as here and in 1, 565; 1, 615.

The construction of *genus* is uncertain. If *genus* = 'race' are we to construe (supplying *eius*): "his race belongs to the gods"

(cf. Hor. S. 1, 6, 12: *Laevinum, Valeri genus*)? Or, if *genus* = *prolem* (supplying *eum*): "he is the offspring of gods"? As here somewhat harsh I should reject the explanation (on the analogy of 5, 285: *Cressa genus*; 8, 114: *qui genus*; 12, 25: *nec genus indecores*; Ov. F. 4, 66: *Graius uterque genus*; Sil. 14, 288; Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 2 (1933), 422) that *genus* is accusative of specification, and that (supplying *eum*) we should construe: "he, in respect to his race, is of the gods." With the thought cf. Nonn. 4, 83-84: ἤλιτον οὐ τάχα Κάδμω ἐπιχθονίῳ τέκε γαστήρ, / ἀλλὰ Διὸς γένος ἔσχευ' ἐν δ' ἐφέεσατο φύτλην.

13. degeneres: for the thought cf. Pind. *Ol.* 1, 130-131: ὁ μέγας δὲ κίνδυνος ἀναλκιν / οὐ φῶτα λαμβάνει, but the word *degener* — a term of poetic and post-Augustan prose usage — has an added meaning of one who lapses from the traditions or standards of his race (Serv. *Aen.* 2, 549: *degenerem non respondentem moribus patris*), as seeds and fruits may revert (G. 1, 198; 2, 59), and here acquires especial force from the preceding *genus . . . deorum*. The particular type of deterioration here noted (*timor*) appears in various passages, of which some were doubtless influenced by the present: Luc. 3, 149: *degeneris . . . metus*; 6, 417: *degeneres trepidant animi* (cf. schol.); Tac. *Ann.* 1, 40 (of Agrippina): *cum se divo Augusto ortam neque degenerem ad pericula testaretur*; 4, 38 (of Tiberius): *quidam ut degeneris animi interpretabantur*; 12, 36: *preces degeneres fuere ex metu*; Val. Fl. 7, 430; Sil. 15, 76: *degeneres*

14. iactatus fati! quae bella exhausta canebat!

(i)actatus P, (ia)ctatus G, iactatus.(iactatus?) b. fuit C¹ ut vid. (fatis C²). que P (a add. sup. P¹). exhausta b (h add. sup.). ca(nebat) G.

[13*] 14. quae . . . canebat: [*Jul. Rufin.*] p. 60 Halm. 14. bella exhausta: *Gl. Ansil.* 80, 25 — exhausta —. 14. exhausta canebat: *Gl. Arma*, 17, 59 — exhausta —.

tenebris animas damnavit Avernis; Inc. *Paneg. Const. Aug.* 14, 2 (*Paneg. Lat.*, 2 ed., 300): *degeneris, ut dictum est, animos arguebat*; Ambros. *De Off.* 2, 62: *degeneres animos vita arguit*; Auson. *Ep.* 22, 26 (p. 262 Peiper): *degeneres animos timor arguit*; Firm. *Mathes.* 1, 7, 28: *degeneris animi timore prostratus*; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 19, 195; *degeneres animos* (cf. 31, 52); Aug. C. D. 2, 29; Sidon. *Ep.* 1, 7, 7; Johannes de Altavilla, *Architrenius*, 4, 136 (p. 297 Wright; cf. p. 351); Alex. Nequam, *Novus Avianus*, 2, 23 (Hervieux, *Les Fabulistes Latins*, 3 (1894), 464): *ocia degeneres animos languencia reddunt*; Gualterus, *Alexandreis*, 1, 47: *ut degener arguar absit*; 5, 212: *degeneres animi*. And with this passage Boissier (*La Fin du Paganisme*, 5 ed., 2 (1907), 46) compares Juven. 2, 37: *infidos animos timor inruit*. Stephenson, however (*ad loc.*), somewhat less probably, thinks *degeneres* is here used of men without a divine pedigree, 'unheroic,' as contrasted with heroes. (The view of Dunbabin (in *Cl. Rev.* 39 (1925), 112) that Dido is here thinking of herself, rather than of Aeneas, and continuing the thought of line 9, seems impossible to accept.)

13. arguit: cf. Ov. *Ep.* 19, 223-224: *nec, si generosa probatis / nomina, despectis arguor ortus avis*.

13. heu, etc.: cf. Val. Fl. 6, 678-679 (Medea speaking of Jason): *heu, quibus ignota sese pro gente periculis / obiicit!* For the effect produced upon Dido by the recital of the experiences of Aeneas Henselmanns (*Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis* (1914), 53, n. 1) compares Shakespeare in *Othello*, Act 1, Sc. 3, 167: "She lov'd me for the dangers I had passed." Such speeches of *miseratio* are discussed by Billmeyer, *Rhet. Stud.* 2, d. *Reden in Vergils Aeneis* (1932), 34-42. The word *heu* in about 20 of its 56 Virgilian occurrences is followed, as here, by a question or an exclamation.

14. iactatus: one of the characteristic expressions of the *Aeneid* (cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 138, n. 4), which attached to Aeneas and the Trojans, especially in the first half of the *Aeneid*, something of the feeling which Homer created for Odysseus. As in *Od.* 1, 1-4 that hero μάλα πολλὰ / πλάγχθη . . . / . . . / πολλὰ δ' ὁ γ' ἐν πόντῳ πάθεν ἄλγεια δν κατὰ θυμόν, so Aeneas in 1, 3: *multum ille et terris iactatus et alto* (cf. 6, 693), and the emphasis on these buffetings is continued in many of the 32 occurrences of the word in the *Aeneid*. As Conington (*ad loc.*) notes, *iacto* more properly applies to experiences on the sea, but is also used of being buffeted in divers lands. Dido here probably makes no distinction between the two sorts.

14. fati: Virgil often alludes to fate or the fates (cf. 4, 110, n. (*fatis*)), from 1, 2 (*fato profugus*) onward, and in Aeneas's own narration to Dido he frequently uses the terms in connection with his own experiences (e.g., in Book 3, lines 7, 9, 17, 182, 337, 375, 395, and 494), so that Dido may merely, in her use of the word, be quoting him. It is noticeable that while Aeneas constantly uses 'fate(s),' in the fashion of the Stoic sage to whom he has been likened, Dido, on the other hand, prefers to speak of *casus* (e.g., 1, 615-616: *quis te, nate dea, per tanta pericula casus / insequitur*; 1, 623; 1, 754), or, again, of *fortuna* (4, 434; 4, 603; 4, 653, where see the n. on *fortuna*), and where she might well have mentioned fate she sometimes uses other expressions; e.g., 4, 550: *non licuit*; 4, 613: *necesse est*. The only other lines in which she employs the term 'fate' are unusual: 4, 614: *fata Iovis*; 4, 651: *fata deusque*. In each of these there may be detected a sneering reference to the religiosity of Aeneas, as expressed in 4, 340-341 and 4, 356, just as she has already sneered at it in 4, 376-380, and we are consequently not justified in inferring from

15. si mihi non animo fixum immotumque sederet

(s)i P, (si) G. amo (ni add. sup.) c. inmotum (corr. in immotum) b, inmotum c. q(ue sederet) G. sideret R, sederes P (sederet P¹).

15-19. si . . . culpa: Prisc. Inst. 18, 91-93 (G. L. K. 3, 248) — nec uime uinculo sociare (uellem om.) P; cum (pro cui) L; uinculo N; mortem PM; pertesum PMDLr et ex per te sum corr. N, partesum R, par taesu V; taedeque RMD, tetaeque N, thedaeque P; uni om. P; forsan om. N add. n; subcumbere PD; culpe MD — 15. si . . . fixum: Diomed. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 1, 377).

the use of the word any sincere belief on her part in fate. This is all an indication — though the point should not be pressed too far — of the contrast between Dido's essential Epicureanism and the typical Stoicism of Aeneas; cf. Pease in *Cl. Journ.* 22 (1927), 243-252. At 3, 717 Aeneas is described as having narrated the *fata . . . deum*, but this is in the words of Virgil himself, which Dido naturally cannot be echoing. I incline, then, to think that *fatis* here has no theological implications but is equivalent to *malis*, as the Scholia Danielis suggest on 1, 32.

14. *exhausta*: cf. ἀντλῆν of draining (toil or suffering) to the dregs; e.g., Aesch. *Prom. V.* 377: τὴν παρούσαν ἀντλήσω τύχην; *Choeph.* 748: τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἄλλα τλημόνως ἤντηλον κακά; Eur. *Hipp.* 898; Med. 79. In Virgil cf. *Aen.* 9, 356: *poenarum exhaustum satis est* (cf. G. 2, 398); 10, 57: *tot maris terraeque exhausta pericula terrae*; 11, 256: *ea quae muris belando exhausta sub altis*; Liv. 21, 21, 8: *labores aut iam exhaustos aut mox exhauriendos*; 25, 31, 7: *laborum periculorumque . . . tam diu exhaustorum*; 26, 31, 7; 33, 11, 6: *dura atque aspera belli Aetoli exhauserint*; Ov. *M.* 12, 161: *exhausta pericula*; Stat. *Theb.* 6, 236-237: *posito donec cum sole labores / exhausti*; 10, 36: *exhaustos iterare labores*; *Silv.* 1, 1, 18: *exhaustis . . . armis*; *Sil.* 6, 655-656: *belli patribus monumenta prioris / exhausti*; 17, 350; Plin. *Ep.* 3, 9, 1: *quantum . . . laboris exhauserim*; Tac. *H.* 4, 32: *periculisque quae . . . exhausisset*; Nazarius, *Panegy. Constantin.* 37: *narravit . . . exhausta bella*; Kirk in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 45 (1924), 174-181.

14. *canebat*: in the *Aeneid* sometimes literally of singers or birds, sometimes of musical instruments; in more than half its

occurrences of the predictions of prophets; in 1, 1 and 9, 525 of the tale of the poet himself. Dido is here probably using it (without the implication of 'measured utterance' which Conington (*ad. loc.*), comparing 3, 438, would find in it) of a recital or narration, as in the case of Fama (4, 190). The Scholia Danielis remark: *est hystero-logia; nam prius est ut bella exhauserit, post fatis iactatus sit.*

15. *si mihi non*, etc.: Hewitt (in *Cl. Weekly*, 22 (1929), 179) considers it ironical first to tell us how Dido loves Aeneas (4, 1-14) and then how she might have fallen in love with him. The first account, however, is from the point of view of the author, the second from that of Dido herself, who is unwilling as yet to recognize the extent of her love. For the anaphora (*si . . . non, si non* (4, 18), cf. Otto, *De Anaphora* (1907), 50, who lists the cases in this book.

15. *animo . . . sederet*: cf. 2, 660: *sedet hoc animo*; 5, 418: *idque pio sedet Aeneae*; 7, 368; Petrarch (*Canz.* 17, 55-57): *un pensier . . . / . . . / sedendosi entro l'alma*; Vida, *Christias*, 3, 306: *immutum fixumque manebat*; 3, 352-354: *nam mens mihi denique fixa / atque immota manet nunquam violare pudorem / virgineum*; Parini, *La Gratitude*, 51-52: *qual nel mio petto ancor siede costante / di quel di rimembranza*; Leopardi, *Al Conte C. Pepoli*, 70-72: *nell' imo petto grave, salda, immota / . . . siede / nota immortale*; Nelle *Nozze della Sorella Paolina*, 22-23: *nel petto siede / questa . . . cura.*

15. *fixum immotumque*: cf. 7, 249-250; Lucil. 431 Marx: *firmiter hoc pariterque tuo sit pectore fixum*; Liv. 21, 44, 9; Sen. *N. Q.* 7, 24, 3: *fixum et immobilem*; *Dial.* 6, 6, 2: *sors innotata et in aeternum fixa*; Stat. *Theb.* 6, 160: *fixum matri innotumque manebat*; *Sil.*

16. ne cui me vinclo vellem sociare iugali, postquam primus amor deceptam morte fefellit;

(ne) P, (n)e G, nec Bentley (cf. *Hedricke, Varia* (1879), 3). te p, me cell. uelle F (uellem F¹). iug(alis) G.

(p)ostquam P. decepta Rr, deceptra F (decepta F¹). mo(rte fefellit) G.

[15*] 16. vinclo iugali: *Gl. Ansil.* 588, 198.

[15*] 17. primus amor: *Gl. Ansil.* 461, 1283. 17. morte fefellit: *Gl. Ansil.* 377, 461.

4, 797: *si . . . fixumque sedetque*; Tac. *Ann.* 1, 47: *immutum . . . fixumque Tiberio fuit*; Plin. *Ep.* 7, 33, 6; Aug. *De catechiz. Rud.* 11 (also Christopher *ad loc.* and Vasold, *Aug. quae hauserit ex Vergilio*, 2 (1908), 8, for other parallels in Augustine); Walafridus Strabo, *Vita S. Galli*, 210 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 434): *est animo fixum semotam ducere vitam*. Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 207) thinks that *immutum* = *immutum et immobile*, and it is likely that the second, at least, of these notions is present in it; cf. the use of similar negatives of participles in the sense of adjectives in *-bilis*, as in the cases of *inaccessus*, *incitus*, *indiscretus*, *indomitus*, *infinitus*, *invictus*, *inviolatus*, etc. On such pairs of adjectives cf. Haffter, *Untersuch. z. allat. Dichtersprache* (*Problemata*, 10 (1934)), 78-79.

16. *vinclo . . . iugali*: cf. 4, 59: *vincla iugalia*; Ov. *M.* 9, 549-550; *Carm. Lat. epigr.* no. 736, 4 Bücheler: *vincli pertesa iugalis*; 1771, 3: *(so)ciata iugali*; Flodoardus Remensis, *De Triumphis Christi* (Palaest.), 2, 8, 14: *pacto vinclisque exempta iugalis*. The syncopated form *vinculum* is used by Virgil for metrical reasons in about half the occurrences of this word, including all cases of *vinclo*, *vinclorum*, and *vinclis*; cf. Wotke in *Wiener Stud.* 8 (1886), 138. For the metaphor cf. Preston, *Stud. in the Diction of the Sermo amatorius in Rom. Comedy* (1916), 50-51.

16. *sociare*: used of association by marriage also in Ov. *M.* 10, 635; *H.* 3, 109; *Am.* 2, 8, 5; *Sil.* 1, 74-76; etc.

16. *iugali*: also in 4, 496 (*lectum*); 7, 320 (*ignis*); and 10, 497 (*nocte*), in the sense of *coniugali*; cf. Serv.: *'iugali' autem propter iugum quod inponeretur matrimonio coniungendis; unde et Iuno iugalis dicitur*; Schol. Dan.: *quidam 'iugali' accipiunt pro 'coniu-*

gali' (cf. Norden on 6, 623 for the metrical difficulties of using in dactylic hexameters certain terms for marriage), *per aphaeresin dictum, quae fit cum de prima parte verbi syllaba detrahitur*; cf. Vasold, *Augustinus quae hauserit ex Vergilio*, 2 (1908), 31, for references in Augustine to the *vinculum coniugale*. The word *iugale* regularly applies to legitimate wedlock; cf. Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 177. See also Steiner, *Das Bedeutungslehnmwort in Vergils Aeneis* (1921), 44-45.

17. *primus amor*: Sychaeus; cf. 4, 28-29: *ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores / abstulit*; Ov. *M.* 1, 452: *primus amor Phoebi Daphne*; 14, 682-683: *tu primus et ultimus illi / ardor eris*; Prop. 1, 10, 1. Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 158) observes that *amor* is objective = *is quem primum amavit*. Ambros. *Hexaem.* 5, 62 makes a curious use of this passage: *fertur etenim turtur ubi iugalis proprii fuerit amissione viduata pertaesum thalamos et nomen habere coniugii; eo quod primus amor fefellerit eam dilecti morte deceptam . . . itaque iterare coniunctionem recusat, nec pudoris iura aut complaciti viri resolvit foedera . . . discite, mulieres, quanta sit viduitatis gratia, quae etiam in avibus praedicatur.*

17. *amor fefellit*: cf. William of Chester, *Carm. in Laud. S. Anselmi*, ap. Baluz. *Miscell.* 4, ed. Mansi, p. 15 (cited by Zappert, *Virgil's Fortleben im Mittelalter* (1851), 26): *quosque fefellit amor.*

17. *deceptam*: 'cheated' thus by the death of Sychaeus, in 4, 330 she anticipates a further betrayal by the departure of Aeneas. For this use of *deceptus* (especially frequent on tombstones) cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 5 (1910), 178, 66-78. The view of Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 567-568) that Dido and Sychaeus

18. si non pertaesum thalami taedaeque fuisset,
huic uni forsitan potui succumbere culpa.

(>taesum G, pertesum Rp, perthesum c. alathalmi G, thalami (h add. sup.) c, ptalami corr. in thalami γ, talami b. taeda(eque fuisset) G, taedaequea P. fuissent F¹MPc¹γ¹, fuisset F²P². Versus 19 abscissus in G. forsam PRπ, forsitan F, forsam F¹Mbcγ. potuissumcumbere (u prima in spatio 2 litt., s prior erasa, super u vel ui superscr. aliquid, quod iam legi nequit; an m. prima possum?) F, potui succumbere F¹c¹pγπ. culpam c¹.

[15*] 18. si . . . fuisset: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 55 — perthesum talami tidaeque fuissent F —; Serv. Aen. 5, 714; Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 500). 18. si . . . thalami: Diomed. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 1, 311; 1, 308).

[15*] 19. huic . . . culpa: Aug. Reg. (G. L. K. 5, 509) — huic uni forsitan (corr. forsam) F, forsitan huic uni ed. princ. (1506) —; Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 5, 453 — om. cod. Pa. —. 19. huic uni culpa: Gl. Ansil. 279, 75 — h. uni —. 19. potui . . . culpa: Serv. Aen. 4, 551 — succumbere NH —; Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 550 — succumbere F —. 19. succumbere culpa: Serv. Aen. 4, 172.

were affianced but not yet wedded appears fanciful, in view of such phrases as *coniunx* (1, 354; 4, 21; 4, 458; 6, 473) and *iunxit* (4, 28).

18. *pertaesum*: cf. 5, 714; Gell. 15, 20, 6: *matrimonii pertaedeat*. Why is Dido so thoroughly (*per-*) disgusted with marriage, when we learn how much she loved Sychaeus (1, 344), and how devoted she is to his memory (4, 20; 4, 28–29; 4, 502; 4, 552), and later, in the underworld, find her in his companionship (6, 474)? Probably because of the annoying attentions of suitors at Tyre and yet more those of Iarbas and other neighboring princes; cf. 4, 35–38; 4, 535–536.

18. *thalami taedaeque*: on the double expression (paralleled in 7, 388) cf. Nissen, *Die epexegetische Copula . . . bei Vergil*, etc. (1915), 14. This might be considered as a case of *hysteron proteron*, since the marriage torch precedes the marriage chamber; both words, however, are figuratively used for marriage itself, and the phrase is explained by Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) as a case of hendiadys (= 'nuptial torch'). For *taedae* in particular cf. 4, 339, n. (*praebendi*), below, and the many instances cited by Roszbach, *Römische Ehe* (1853), 337, n. 1138; Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1, (1877), 7; also many parallels in other literatures, of which Milton, *P. L.* 11, 590 may serve as typical. With this figurative use of *thalami* cf. 4, 550.

18. *fuisset*: rather than *esset* (cf. Lejay *ad loc.*) because Dido unconsciously represents her aversion to a second marriage as a feeling of the past which has yielded before a new situation, her heart being already won.

19. *huic uni*: I believe (with Martinelli in *Athenaeum*, N. S., 6 (1928), 48–54) that this is to be joined with *culpa* rather than taken as masculine and referring to Aeneas, as Masera (*ad loc.*), Pistelli, and Arnaldi (in *Atene e Roma*, 8 (1927), 80; cf. Buscaroli *ad loc.*) explain it. Ellis (in *Cl. Rev.* 5 (1891), 457) compares for the thought Herodas, 1, 61–62: ἀλλ' ὦ τέκνον μοι . . . μίαν ταύτην / ἀμαρτίην ὅδ' ἔῃ θεῶ.

19. *forsan*: cf. Serv. Aen. 1, 203: *forsan fortassis forsitan forte fors . . . unum significant, sed varie pro metri ratione ponuntur*; Prisc. Gramm. 3, 79, 6. In classical Latin the word is chiefly poetic (*Thes. Ling. Lat.* 6 (1921), 1136, 75), from Lucretius, 6, 729 on; in Virgil appearing also in Aen. 1, 203; 12, 153. Serv. (*ad loc.*) remarks: *singula pronuntianda sunt: ingenti enim dicta sunt libra, quibus confessioni desiderii sui quandam inicit refrenationem*.

19. *potui*: for the word cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Sprache*, 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914), 402. Aen. 4, 603 and G. 2, 133, which Conington cites, are hardly exact parallels. For the lilt of the end of the line cf. *Cir.* 296.

19. *succumbere culpa*: note the alliteration.

20. Anna, fatebor enim, miseri post fata Sychaei

(*anna fateb*) or G. enim m. rec. sup. c. pos M. sychaei (y in ras.; fueratne u?) P, syciae R, sichaei b, sichai cp.

20. Anna . . . Sychaei: Donat. in Ter. Hec. 382 — enim m. p. f. s. (f. om. C) —. 20. fatebor enim: Anth. Lat. no. 719a, 22 (2, p. 190 Riese). 20. fata Sychaei: De dub. Nomin. (G. L. K. 5, 579).

tion. With the phrase cf. Tib. 1, 8, 7–8: *deus crudelius urit / quos videt invitos succubuisse sibi*; Ov. H. 4, 151: *et pugnare diu nec me submittere culpa*; 8, 38: *succubuit telis praepetis ipse dei*; M. 7, 748–750: *peccasse fatebar / et potuisse datis simili succumbere culpa / me quoque muneribus*.

19. *culpa*: Schol. Dan.: *bene 'culpa' potius quam amori*; Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 5, 453: *minuit ergo amoris invidiam cum dicit 'culpa'*. Similar is Aen. 4, 172: *coniugium vocat; hoc praetexti nomine culpam*. The word may be used, in a minimizing way, of an immoral act (e.g., Hor. C. 3, 27, 37–38: *levis una mors est / virginum culpa*) or of immorality in general (*id.*, C. 3, 6, 17), yet the meaning here is less severe, and refers not so much to an act deserving blame as to a mistaken state of mind, a weakness, or, as the jurists (cf. Leonhard in *P.-W.* 4 (1901), 1748–1752) and other writers (e.g., Hor. S. 2, 6, 7) employ it, to remissness and neglect of manifest duty. Virgil's meaning is suggested by the following lines, for Dido's offence lies far less in falling in love with an attractive foreign prince like Aeneas than in her neglect of the memory of Sychaeus, to whom she has hitherto, despite varied temptations, remained true (4, 20–23; 4, 35–38). Terzaghi (*Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 34), feels that, in addition to this meaning, *culpa* is used because her love "is not ennobled and elevated by that spirituality which alone, together with the attraction of the senses, constitutes the basis and the substance of true and blameless love." On *culpa* as a term of erotic writers cf. Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 118.

20. *fatebor enim*: cf. Ecl. 1, 31; Catal. 9, 11; Ermoldus, *In Hon. Hludowici*, 1, 335 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 15); Anonius Palearius, *De Anim. Immort.* 2, 71.

20. *miseri*: sometimes used, like the

English term 'poor' (*New Engl. Dict.* 7 (1909), 1115), of the dead; cf. Serv. *ad loc.*: *aut muliebriter dixit 'miseri'; aut mortui, secundum Ciceronem, qui in Tusculanis* (1, 9–14; cf. Isid. Etym. 10, 173) 'miseros' mortuos vocat; aut certe ob hoc 'miseri,' cuius iam obliviscitur; aut 'miseri' sic occisi; Virg. G. 4, 526; Aen. 2, 738; 4, 697; 6, 721; 6, 736; Cul. 268. Again, the word may be employed, to arouse sympathy, of those whose death is foreseen as imminent; e.g., Cic. l.c.; G. 4, 494; Aen. 10, 121; 10, 849; 12, 636; 12, 813; 12, 881; possibly 4, 315; 4, 420; and 4, 429 should be classed here, so far as Dido's own thought is, by a sort of tragic irony, clear to her but hidden from Anna.

On the word order cf. v. Boltenstern, *Bemerk. ü. d. Wortstellung . . . in Vergils Aeneis* (1880), 11.

20. *fata*: Fowler (*The Death of Turnus* (1927), 58, opposing the view of Matthaei in *C. Q.* 11 (1917), 15) well observes that "fata is often used by Virgil, not in a cosmic or metaphysical sense, but just as we use the word lot: so, e.g., in 11, 160, where Evander's 'vivendo vici mea fata' means little more than that he has reached beyond the ordinary span of human life." Cf. also 1, 221–222: *crudelia . . . / fata Lyci*; 4, 678; Ov. Ep. 18, 118: *si mea fata petis*; Prop. 1, 17, 11: *poteris siccis mea fata opponere ocellis*; Quintil. 12, 11, 7: *sentiet vivus eam quae post fata praestari magis solet venerationem*.

20. *Sychaei*: for the events cf. 1, 343–359; also Schur in *P.-W.* 2 Ser. 4 (1931), 1013–1015. This is not the original form of the name; cf. Serv. Aen. 1, 343: *quotiens poeta aspera invenit nomina vel in metro non stantia aut mutat ea aut de his aliquid mutilat. nam Sychaeus Sicharbas dictus est* (cod. C adds: *in historia Poenorum et in Libio* (i.e., Livio)). Another tradition appears in Justin, 18, 4, 5:

21. coniugis et sparsos fraterna caede penates

(coniugis et) G. caedes GP, cedes c¹. paenates FG, penatis p.

21. et . . . penates: Anth. Lat. no. 17, 9 (1, p. 62 Riese). 21. fraterna caede: Gl. Ansil. 253, 61.

Elissa quoque Acherbae, avunculo suo . . . nubit; cf. v. Gutschmid, *Kl. Schr.* 2 (1890), 64; also Meltzer, *Gesch. d. Karthager*, 1 (1879), 121, who on p. 463 asserts that the name Sychaeus cannot be connected, as Movers attempted, with a Phoenician name, but is an invention of Virgil. Kowalski, however, believes (*De Didone Graeca et Latina* (1929), 22-23) that Sychaeus was substituted for Sichaerbas (for which cf. Smith, *Relig. of the Semites*, 1 ed. (1889), 354, n. 3) in the same source where certain other changes were made, of which Serv. *Aen.* 1, 343 speaks, the later name being perhaps suggested by the Σουχχαίου, of whom Steph. Byz., s.v., says: ἔθνος Μαυροβόρων, ὡς Δέξιππος (S. III after Christ) χρονικῶν δεκάτῳ. Perhaps for some writer Sychaeus was the eponymous ancestor of the Moorish tribe. The attempt of Leopold (in *Philol. Woch.* 42 (1922), 887) to connect this name with that of a town (Συχάρ or Συχτήμ) seems rather fanciful. Virgil has been followed in his use of the name by Ov. *H.* 7, 97; cf. also Sil. 3, 245-246: Sychaeus / Hasdrubalis proles. The prosody of the name varies, for in 1, 343 it has a long antepenult; cf. Gebhardi, *Krit.-exeg. Studien z. zweiten Teil v. Vergils Aeneis* (1879), 18.

21. et: epexegetic, the fate of Sychaeus consisting in the fact that Dido's husband was killed by the brother; cf. Nissen, *Die epexeg. Copula . . . bei Vergil u. einigen anderen Autoren* (1915), 29-30.

21. sparsos: with the phrase cf. Catull. 64, 181: *respersum iuvenem fraterna caede*; 64, 230: *ut lauri respergas sanguine dextram*; 64, 399; Hor. C. 2, 13, 6-8: *penetralia / sparsisse nocturno cruore / hospitibus*; Prop. 2, 30, 21: *spargere et alterna communes caede penates*; and with the episode cf. Ov. *H.* 7, 113-114: *occidit internas coniunx mactatus ad aras, / et sceleris tanti praemia frater habet*; Serv. *ad loc.*, who hesitates between two explanations: *si Didonis, dispersos per figuram*

intellegimus; si fratris, pollutos cruore; in view of the parallels here cited the latter meaning of *sparsos* must be accepted.

21. fraterna caede: Schol. Dan.: *quam frater admiserit*. Dido may mean "that committed by my brother," but the effect is much more striking if Sychaeus is regarded as the frater of Pygmalion (perhaps instead of the more accurate *levir*, as in Liv. 28, 35, 8). Cf. Sil. 1, 21-23: *Pygmalionis quondam per caerula terris / pollutum fugiens fraterno crimine regnum / . . . Dido*; Hrabanus Maurus, *Carm.* 37, 48 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 195): *fraterna caede*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 570) also cites the loose use of *fraternus* in Val. Fl. 1, 163; 1, 177, for the relationship of cousins. The murder of a near kinsman, especially a brother, is far more tragic than the slaying of Dido's husband, sad as that event might be to her, falling in the Roman criminal category of *parricidium*, and suggesting such cases as those of Abel and Remus (it may be noted that Ovid, *H.* 7, 113, emphasizes the murder of the husband). In 1, 349 the murderer is well described as *impius*.

21. caede: used for 'blood'; cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 2.

21. penates: cf. 4, 598, n. (penates). Here it is used figuratively for 'hearth' or 'home'; cf. 1, 527; 1, 704; 8, 123; 8, 543; 11, 264; Braumüller, *l.c.* The actual place of the murder is described (1, 349) as *ante aras* (making the act, therefore, sacrilegious as well as cruel; cf. Ov. *H.* 7, 113: *occidit internas coniunx mactatus ad aras*), and Dido's own pyre was later erected near *arae* (4, 509). In each case the horror of the event is associated with the privacy of the interior of the house. Whatever may have been his age, Sychaeus, like Dido, is one of the untimely dead (ἄωροι), and as such dwells with Dido in the underworld (6, 473-474). We need not accept Henry's view (cf. 4, 17, n.

22. solus hic inflexit sensus animumque labantem impulit. agnosco veteris vestigia flammae.

(solus hic in)flexit G. inflexit P, corr. P². labentem RPγ¹ (cf. Serv.: *cavendum sane ne 'labentem' contra metrum legamus*).

(impulit) G. agnosco Rbcγ, ()nosco G. tueteris P, ueteris P². tigia G, uestigia G¹.

22-23. animum . . . impulit: Serv. *Aen.* 1, 9 — labentem C¹H; impulit —; 1, 659 — labentem BL; impulit —; 5, 816 — lavantem C, labentem NH; impulit —. 22. solus . . . sensus: Mart. *Cap.* 3, 278; Anth. Lat. no. 11, 72 (1, p. 44 Riese); Serv. *Comm. in Donat.* (G. L. K. 4, 424); Serg. [*in Donat.*] (G. L. K. 4, 479); Cleod. *Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 30); Pomp. *Comm.* (G. L. K. 5, 119; 5, 208) — huic corr. in hic cod. A —; Consent. *Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 399); [Max. Vict.] (G. L. K. 6, 230; 6, 242) — inflexit cod. A —; Terent. *Maur.* 1657 (G. L. K. 6, 374). 22. solus hic: Mall. *Theod. De Metris* (G. L. K. 6, 587); Clem. *Ars gram.* 36, 8 (*Philologus, Supplbd.* 20, 3 (1928), 21). 22. inflexit sensus: Gl. Ansil. 301, 776.

[22*] 23. veteris flammae: Gl. Ansil. 586, 567.

(deceptam), above) that Sychaeus and Dido were affianced but not yet wedded to recognize that, since no children had been born of their union to carry on their race, they might well both be thought of as dying untimely, with incomplete enjoyment of that experience of love which it was their right to expect; hence their classification in the Sixth Book.

22. hic: for the short vowel (the original quantity) cf. 6, 791: *hic vir hic est*; Lucr. 2, 387; 2, 1066; 4, 921; 6, 9; Tib. 1, 10, 39; Müller, *De Re metrica Poet. Lat.*, 2 ed. (1894), 425; Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 599; also the grammarians listed in the testimonia.

22. inflexit: cf. 4, 35: *flexere*; 2, 689; 7, 312; 12, 800; G. 4, 516: *non ulli animum flexere hymenaei*; Liv. 2, 32, 12: *flexisse mentes hominum*; Prop. 1, 19, 24: *flectitur . . . puella minis*; Ov. *H.* 4, 165: *flecte, ferox, animos*; Sen. *Phaedr.* 229: *quis huius animum flectet intractabilem*; Val. Fl. 7, 172: *adgressa es flectere sensus*; Pichon, *De Ser-mone amatorio* (1902), 150.

22. labantem impulit: *impulit et labare fecit* (Serv.) or *impulit ut labaret* (various editors); cf. 10, 362-363; 12, 379-380: *praecipitem . . . / impulit*; and, for other such proleptic uses, Rantz, *Der Accusativus bei Vergil*, 1 (1871), 20-21 (Henry *ad loc.*) takes it as = *iam labantem*. The verb *labo* is frequently used, in a figurative sense, with such nouns as *animus*, *mens*, and *cor* (cf. 12, 223).

23. impulit: Bassett (in *Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* 57 (1926), 116-148) discusses the significance of 'runover' words in Homer, and concludes that "flexibility within the confines of an inflexible form sufficiently accounts for the runover word," without resorting to requirements of emphasis, as Goodell (*Trans. Am. Philol. Assoc.* 21 (1890), 5-47), followed by certain other scholars (cf. Bassett, *op. cit.*, 116, n. 2), maintained. For Virgil Norden (2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 399-400) finds that substantives are more likely to be carried over than adjectives, while Prescott (*Cl. Philol.* 7 (1912), 48-50) properly widens the inquiry to other parts of speech. A runover verb (usually finite) is frequent, appearing in this book as an initial dactyl (as here) in lines 29, 83, 85, 161, 253, 261, 358, 391, 531, 601, 629, and 689; or in other forms in lines 57, 100, 125, 141, 166, 185, 243, 276, 321, 380, 535, 619, 649; while cases of nouns (especially an initial dactyl: 246, 520, 524, 570, 618, 624, 666) and adjectives also appear less frequently than verbs. At times there seems a clear emphasis or other deliberate purpose, as in 4, 72; 4, 496 (where cf. the note on *impius*); and 4, 570; elsewhere the motive is the desire for metrical variety or to secure additional space for a sentence. The fact that in over half the instances in this book a verb is carried over as the final word of a sentence or clause makes against the idea that such runovers are pri-

24. sed mihi vel tellus optem prius ima dehiscat

(sed mihi uel te)llus G. set M. tellus uel (m. rec. corr. in uel tellus) c. prius ima dehiscat ex dimittere corr. F¹ (cf. 5, 29; Havet, *Man. de crit. verbale* (1911), §1087; Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 112-113; 120; id. in *Journ. of Rom. Stud.* 21 (1931), 167). inma c. deiscat corr. in dehiscat cy.

24-27. sed . . . resolvo: Donat. *Aen.* 4, 705 — Erebi —. 24. sed . . . dehiscat: Prisc. *Inst.* 18, 92 (G. L. K. 3, 248) — set —.

marily for emphasis, since verbal emphasis is commonly obtained by a change from the normal final position. On the whole subject cf. Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 133-136; also 4, 185, n. (*stridens*), below.

23. *adgnosco*: in a sense all love is one, whether manifested in the case of Sychaeus or in that of Aeneas. Dido recognizes the recurrence of the symptoms appearing when she first fell in love with Sychaeus, just as later (4, 502) Anna, an outside observer, tries to compare her separation from Aeneas at his departure with her separation from Sychaeus by the latter's murder. The verb *adgnosco* is used of recognizing something already known; cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 1354, 19-28. Virgil has at 1, 720-722 prepared the reader for Dido's revelation. With the phrase cf. Ov. *Am.* 2, 1, 8: *agnoscat flammae conscia signa suae*; M. 1, 237: *veteris servat vestigia formae*; Claud. *De IV Cons.* 373-374; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 26, 399: *extinctae recalent vestigia flammae*; 28, 141: *spectare oculis vestigia flammae*; Maximian, 3, 58 (*P. L. M.* 5, 335): *agnovit taciti conscia signa mali* (i.e., love); Theodulfus, *Carm.* 26, 13 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 490): *agnovi veteris vestigia luctus*; Joseph of Exeter (Iscanus), *Bell. Troian.* 4, 331: *agnoscens veteris vestigia cursus*; Dante, *Purg.* 30, 48: *conosco i segni dell' antica fiamma* (cf. Sainte-Beuve, *Étude sur Virgile* (1857), 114 for Dante's use of these words at the appearance of Beatrice); Racine, *Androm.* 1, 1, 86: *de mes feux mal éteints je reconnus la trace*.

23. *veteris*: Henry (*op. cit.*, 1 (1873), 212) explains as 'of long duration' rather than 'long bygone.' Neither meaning seems very appropriate, for we have no indication that Dido and Sychaeus had been long married

before his murder, nor does 1, 340-368 (and the fact that Carthage is just being founded) suggest a very long period between the murder and the coming of Aeneas. This latter period, however, has been crowded with events, such as marriage proposals at Tyre (4, 36), the flight, further attentions of suitors in Africa (4, 36; 4, 213-214), and the founding of the city, so that, viewed subjectively rather than objectively, we might easily understand that the time since the murder seemed long to Dido. With the thought cf. 8, 388-390.

Note the alliteration: *veteris vestigia*.

23. *vestigia flammae*: Milton, *Sylvae, Ad Patrem*, 20. For the figure cf. 4, 2, n. (*igni*), above: Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 28; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 150. Quintil. 11, 1, 59 speaks of *amoris vestigia*, which is, however, a less mixed and violent metaphor than if we here insist on the literal force of both *vestigia* and *flammae*.

24. *sed, etc.*: the easy oaths of lovers are proverbial; cf. v. Leutsch on Greg. *Cypr.* 1, 1 (*Paroem. Gr.* 2, 53) and Apostol. 6, 56 (*Paroem. Gr.* 2, 379); Otto, *Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 17-18; Smith on Tib. 1, 4, 21; Preston, *Stud. in the Diction of the Sermo amatorius in Rom. Comedy* (1916), 59; to which add Arsen. Violet. p. 87 Walz; yet contrast Yeames in *Cl. Journ.* 8 (1913), 148-149, who thinks we too easily overlook the seriousness of this imprecation. Dido's protestations are sincere, but she does not realize the extent to which her infatuation for Aeneas has already made them impossible; cf. Keith in *South Atlantic Quarterly*, 21 (1922), 74. Donatus (on 4, 705) well remarks: *inpleta est poena periurii* (citing the present line). Did Virgil perhaps feel that an oath deliber-

ately taken to the memory of a faithful and beloved husband rested upon a different plane from the impulsive declarations of young lovers in the first flush of passion? With the general situation cf. Apoll. Rh. 3, 798-801: ἡ τ' ἂν πολὺ κέρδιον εἴη / τῇδ' αὐτῇ ἐν νυκτὶ λιπεῖν βλον ἐν θαλάμοισιν / πότμω ἀνωίστω, κάκ' ἐλέγχεα πάντα φυγοῦσαν, / πρὶν τὰδε λωβήεντα καὶ οὐκ ὀνομαστά τελέσσαι; and with the form of expression *Aen.* 10, 675-676: *quae iam satis ima dehiscat / terra mihi*; 12, 883-884: *o quae satis ima dehiscat / terra mihi manisque deam demittat ad imos*; 12, 893. Stories of the yawning of the earth, doubtless in part suggested by cases of geological faulting (cf. Sen. *N. Q.* 6, 1, 5-9), are frequent in mythology and legend (cf. also G. 1, 479; *Aen.* 6, 52-53; 8, 243), being associated with Hades (Paus. 6, 21, 1; etc.), Caeneus (*P.-W.* 10 (1917), 1504), Daphne (Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 3, 91: *terrae imploravit auxilium. quam terra hiatus facto recepit*), Oedipus (Soph. *O. C.* 1661-1662), Amphiarus (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3, 6, 8, and Frazer's n.; *P.-W.* 1 (1894), 1891; Rohde, *Psyche*, 4 ed., 1 (1907), 114, n. 1), Althaemenes (Apollod. *Bibl.* 3, 2, 2), Laodice (Apollod. *Epil.* 5, 23, and Frazer's n.; Rohde, *op. cit.*, 1, 116, n. 3), Bianna (Steph. Byz. s.v. *Blennos*), Valerius Conatus (Plut. *Parallela*, 6); also, though somewhat different in motif, Curtius (*P.-W.* 4 (1901), 1864-1865).

As a form of oath or appeal, in addition to the Virgilian passages cited, cf. *Il.* 4, 182 (= 8, 150): *τότε μοι χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθών*; 6, 281-282; 6, 464-465: *ἀλλά με τεθνηῶτα χυτὴ κατὰ γαῖα καλέπτοι / πρὶν, κτλ.*; 17, 416-417: *ἀλλ' αὐτοῦ γαῖα μέλαινα / πᾶσι χάνοι*; Aesch. *Agam.* 1538-1539: *ὡ γᾶ, γᾶ, εἴθ' ἐμ' ἐδέξω, / πρὶν τόνδ' ἐπιδύναι, κτλ.*; *Prom.* 152-157; 1050-1052: *ἔς τε κελαινόν / Τάρταρον ἄρδην ῥίψει δέμας / τοῦμόν, κτλ.*; Soph. *Trach.* 1086; Eur. *Suppl.* 829: *κατὰ με πέδον γᾶς ἔλοι*; Xen. *Anab.* 7, 1, 30: *ἐγὼ μὲν τολύνειν εὐχομαι πρὶν ταῦτα ἐπιδύναι ὅψ' ὅμων γενόμενα μυρίας ἐμέ γε κατὰ τῆς γῆς ὀργιῶς γενέσθαι*; Plaut. *Bacch.* 148: *o barathrum, ubi nunc es? ut ego te usurpem lubens*; Dion. Hal. 10, 29: *οὐκ ἀσχυροσθε . . . οὐδὲ κατὰ γῆς διέσθε*; Ov. *M.* 1, 545: *'tellus,' ait, 'hiscet'*; H. 3, 63: *devorer ante, precor, subito telluris hiatus*; 6, 144: *hiscere nempe tibi terra roganda fuit*; F. 3, 609: *quos terrae quaerat hiatus*; Petron. 81, 2:

ergo me non ruina terra potuit haurire; Sen. *Phaedr.* 1238: *dehisce, tellus, recipe me dirum chaos*; Oed. 868-869: *dehisce, tellus, tuque tenebrarum potens, / in Tartara ima, rector umbrarum, rabe*; Troad. 519-521: *dehisce, tellus, tuque, contunx, ultimo / specu revulsam scinde tellurem et Stygis / sinu profundo conde depositum meum*; H. F. 1225-1226: *hoc me abde, tellus; Tartari ad finem ultimum / mansurus ibo*; Thy. 1007-1020; Oct. 135-136: *aut Stygios sinus / tellure rupta pande, quo praeceps ferar*; Anon. ap. Quintil. 9, 2, 26 (F. P. R. 358, no. 21): *magnae nunc hiscite terrae*; Sil. 4, 330: *terraeque optantur hiatus*; 6, 488-489; Luc. *Conviv.* 28: *τοῦτο δὴ τὸ τοῦ λόγου, χανεῖν μοι τὴν γῆν ἠδύχμην*; Pisc. 38: *κατὰ τῆς γῆς δύναι ἠδύχμην*; Adv. *Indoct.* 18: *οὐκ εἴη τότε χανεῖν σοι τὴν γῆν*; Luke, 23, 30; Theodoret, *Hist. Eccl.* 1, 30; Otto, *op. cit.*, 345; also Dante, *Inf.* 33, 66: *ahi, dura terra, perchè non t'apristi*; Ariosto, *Orl. fur.* 43, 140, 7-8: *O terra, acciò ti si gellasi dentro, / perchè allor non t'apristi insino al centro*; Vida, *Christias*, 5, 49: *o mihi vos magnae nunc hiscite terrae*; Molsa, *Eleg. ad Henricum Regem*, 135: *o mihi terra satis quae nunc ima dehiscat*; Manzoni, *Adelchi*, 1124-1126: *una terra infedel che sotto i piedi / de' successori suoi doveva aprirsi / ed ingoiarli*; Tennyson, *Merlin and Vivien*, 347-349: "May this hard earth cleave to the Nadir hell / Down, down, and close again; and nip me flat, / If I be such a traitress"; Latte in *P.-W.* 15 (1931), 347. Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 341) remarks that in Homer the idea is a mere formula which has lost its original force, but that this is recovered in the mouth of Dido. Kroll (in *Neue Jahrb.* 21 (1908), 525, n. 2) observes that the later rhetoric of the schools reckoned among figures the *δρκος*, the frequent employment of which by Virgil (here and in 4, 314; 6, 351; 6, 458; 10, 369; 10, 460; 12, 56; 12, 176; etc.) is perhaps derived from tragedy, though the theory of the *δομοτικὸν σχῆμα* ([Longin.] *De Sublim.* 16, 2) may have been developed by his time.

24. *ima*: Fairclough (in *Cl. Philol.* 25 (1930), 44) emphasizes Virgil's imitation of *Il.* 4, 182 in his use of a predicate adjective with an intransitive verb (*χάνοι εὐρεῖα χθών*).

25. vel pater omnipotens adigat me fulmine ad umbras,

(uel pater om)nipotens G. adigat GMPRbcπ Donatus, abigat F dell., adigat (d e corr.) aliter adigat γ; cf. 6, 594. me om. c. umbr(as) GP.

[24] 25. vel . . . umbras: Serv. Aen. 1, 230 — adigat —; Mythogr. Vat. III, 10, 5 — adigat —. 25. adigat . . . umbras: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 26 — adigat; flumine cod. F (cf. Donat. Aen. 4, 26, codd. LR). 25. adigat: Gl. Ansil. 27, 283; Gl. Aa, 165, 371. 25. ad umbras: Gl. Ansil. 34, 951.

25. vel pater omnipotens: lines beginning with a monosyllable followed by *pater omnipotens* are almost a mannerism in Latin verse; e.g., Lucr. 5, 399; Virg. G. 2, 325; Aen. 1, 60; 6, 592; 7, 141; 7, 770; 8, 398; 10, 100; 12, 178; Ov. M. 1, 154; 2, 304; 2, 401; 3, 336; 9, 271; F. 2, 481; Val. Fl. 2, 117; 3, 249; Sil. 3, 163; Il. Lat. 113; Stat. Theb. 1, 248; 10, 634; 11, 134; Nemes. Ecl. 3, 23; Cynege. 19; Dracont. De Laud. Dei, 3, 116; Avien. 2, 105; Ennod. Carm. 2, 15, 1; Anth. Lat. no. 789, 1 (2 p. 268 Riese); Vida, Christias, 2, 852 and 12 other cases; Milton, Sylvae: Nat. non pati Senium, 33; Ihm on Damasus, 57, 1; Carter, Epitheta Deorum (1902), 54; Wreschniok, De Cicerone Lucetioque Ennii Imitatoribus (1907), 24 (who detects the influence of Ennius, though the existing Ennian fragments do not show such a phrase); Sparrow, Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil (1931), 71. Similar expressions occur, especially in Christian writers, with a monosyllable followed by *deus omnipotens*; e.g., Dracont. Carm. prof. 7, 132; De Laud. Dei, 1, 531; 2, 198; 2, 693; 3, 125; Satisfactio, 55; Paulin. Pell. Eucharist. 4 (C. S. E. L. 16, 291); Prudent. Apoth. 726; Contra Symm. 2, 36. Cf. also 4, 206, n. (*Iuppiter omnipotens*), infra. Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) cites passages from Latin poets expressive of the fatherhood of Jupiter.

Jupiter, the god who seems most real to Dido, is mentioned by her in 1, 731; 4, 372; 4, 377; 4, 590; 4, 614. Other divinities to whom she alludes or sacrifices are Juno (1, 734; 4, 59; 4, 371; 4, 608), Venus (1, 618), Apollo (4, 58; 4, 376; and perhaps as Sol, 4, 607), Bacchus (1, 734; 4, 58), Ceres (4, 58), Hecate (4, 609), Pluto (4, 638), and the Dirae (4, 614), and in these cases we are doubtless to think of Virgil as transferring to Carthage

the beliefs of his own land. The gods to whom he applies the adjective *omnipotens* are noted by Dietsch, *Theologumenon Verg. Particula* (1853), 13, n. 84; Moseley, *Characters and Epithets* (1926), xliii (Jupiter 16 times, Juno twice, Apollo, Mars, and Fortuna once each).

25. adigat: cf. 6, 594: *praecipitemque immani turbine adegit*; Sil. 17, 465-466: *manes inimicos sede repellat / aeterna socioque abigat me frater Averno*; with the thought cf. Aen. 5, 691-692: *vel tu quod superest infesto fulmine morti, / si mereor, dimitte tuaque hic obrue dextra*; 9, 495-496: *aut tu, magne pater divum, miserere, tuoque / invisum hoc detrude caput sub Tartara telo*. Paul. Nol. Carm. 23, 220 uses the phrase *mihi sentio fulmen adactum*. Between the readings *adigat* and *abigat* it is difficult to decide (as the difference among editors indicates), for against the early testimony of F, supported by Servius (and perhaps by the Silius passage just quoted) must be set the evidence of many other MSS, the Scholia Danielis, and Donatus.

25. fulmine: as Prometheus was hurled to the nether regions; cf. Aesch. *Prom.* 1016-1019; and the fate of the other Titans; also Eur. *Androm.* 1193: ἀλλὰ κεραυνῷ πρόσθεν δέσθαι. This method is explanatory of rather than distinct from that in the preceding line, as the conjunction *vel* indicates.

25. ad umbras: cf. 6, 404; a common expression for the underworld; e.g., 4, 660; 6, 461 (= 12, 881); 11, 831 (= 12, 952); Braumüller, *Über Tropen u. Figuren in Vergils Aeneis*, 2 (1882), 17. The darkness of the next life is proverbial, and is frequently mentioned in the Sixth Book (e.g., 6, 462; 6, 535); cf. also 8, 243-246. The idea appears as early as Homer (e.g., *Il.* 15, 191: Ἀΐδης δ'

26. pallentis umbras Erebo noctemque profundam,

(pallentis u)mbras G. pallentes Mb¹. eribo R, erebo FGp, erebo corr. in erebi P², erebi Mπ Donat., haerebi (corr. in herebi) b, herebo γ¹ (corr. in herebi γ²), herebi (corr. in herebi) π; cf. Serv.: in herebo. alii 'herebi' legunt; Schol. Dan.: aut 'herebo' ad herebum. profuldam (l m. eadem corr. in n) F.

[24] 26. pallentis umbras: Gl. Ansil. 420, 144 — pallentes —.

ἐλαχε ζόφον ἡρόεντα (cf. 21, 56; Od. 11, 57; 11, 155; Hymn. Cer. 402; 446; 482); Od. 20, 356: ἐρεβόσδε ὑπὸ ζόφον; Aesch. *Sept.* 859-860; *Prom.* 433; Eur. *Alc.* 436-437: εἰν Ἀΐδαο δόμοις / τὸν ἀνάλιον οἶκον; *Herc.* 607-608: ἐξ ἀνηλίων μυχῶν / Ἄιδου, and is found also in Hebrew thought (e.g., *Job*, 10, 21-22; *Matt.* 8, 12), perhaps being derived from the comparison of death to sleep (cf. Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 63), as well as from the localization of the dead in the underworld; cf. Tolman, *A Study of the sepulchral Inscriptions in Buecheler's Carmina epigraphica Latina* (1910) 112, n. 3.

26. pallentis: for the repetition Page (*ad loc.*) compares 4, 173-174 (*Fama*); 4, 247-248 (*Allantis*); 6, 162-164 (*Misenum*); 6, 495-496 (*ora*); cf. also 10, 821-822 (*ora*); Hor. C. 3, 3, 60-61 (*Troiae*). The runover adjective (cf. 4, 23, n. (*impulsi*), above) gives an added detail as in 4, 240: *aurea*.

Pallor, *pallidus*, and *pallens* are applied to persons apprehensive of imminent death (e.g., 4, 499: *pallor simul occupat ora*; 4, 644: *pallida morte futura*; 8, 709: *pallentem morte futura*; 12, 221), where they well describe a psychological phenomenon. Thence they are transferred to those already dead, the spirits of the underworld (G. 1, 477: *simulacra modis pallentia miris* (a phrase borrowed from Lucr. 1, 123; cf. Aen. 10, 822); Aen. 1, 354: (*imago*) *ora modis attollens pallida miris*; 4, 243-244: *animas ille evocat Orco / pallentis*; 6, 480: *Adrasti pallentis imago*; Tib. 1, 10, 38: *pallida turba*; Stat. *Theb.* 8, 1: *pallentibus . . . umbris*; Claud. *In Rufin.* 1, 127-128: *simulacra . . . / pallida*; Dracont. *De Laud. Dei.* 3, 414: *pallida gens Erebi*), to the powers of the underworld (G. 1, 277: *pallidus Orcus*; 3, 552 (= Aen. 10, 761): *pallida Tisiphone*; Aen. 6, 275: *pallentes . . . Morbi*;

Hor. C. 1, 4, 13: *pallida Mors*; Sen. *Oed.* 584: *pallentes deos*), or to the underworld itself and its topographic features (Enn. Sc. 109-110: *pallida leti nubila tenebris / loca*; Aen. 8, 244-245: *regna . . . / pallida*; Aetna, 78: *pallentia regna*; Tib. 3, 5, 21: *pallentes undas*; Luc. 1, 455-456: *Ditis . . . profundis / pallida regna*; Sil. 13, 408: *regna . . . pallentia*; Claud. *De Rapt.* 1, 41: *castra . . . pallentia*; 2, 326: *pallida . . . regio*). The present adjective is also used with *umbræ*, in a different sense, in G. 3, 357; *Anth. Lat.* no. 83, 48 (1, p. 115 Riese).

26. Erebo: the MSS favor the ablative rather than the genitive, though Virgilian parallels are found to each; to the ablative 6, 247: *caeloque Ereboque potentem*; 7, 140: *caeloque Ereboque parentis*; to the genitive 6, 404: *imas Erebi descendit ad umbras*; cf. Dracont. l.c. A less likely explanation given by the Scholia Danielis is *ad Herebum*, comparison being made with 5, 451: *it clamor caelo*. It is more likely that the ablative, a somewhat unusual usage, was corrupted to the genitive than that the reverse happened; cf. Unterharnscheidt, *De Veterum in Aeneide Coniecturis* (1911), 52. The suggestion of Wagner (*ad loc.*) that *Erebo* may be a dative construed with *adigat* seems improbable.

Erebus, originally the darkness of the underworld, is often applied to the nether world itself, and then personified, by Hesiod (*Theog.* 123) and others, as a child of Chaos; cf. 4, 510; v. Sybel in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1884), 1296; Waser in *P.-W.* 6 (1909), 403-404, who cites various etymologies connecting it with words for evening or darkness. In the underworld, according to Servius (Aen. 6, 404), it is the part inhabited by the righteous before they have been purified for Elysium. Whether Dido so employs it, or,

27. ante, pudor, quam te violo aut tua iura resolvo.
ille meos, primus qui me sibi iunxit, amores

(ante pudor) G. uiolem $\mu\pi$ (uiolem . . . resoluam Bentley; cf. Hedicke, *Varia* (1879), 3). resoluam π .

(ille meos) G. (pri)mus G, primum FP (primus P²). sibi (bi m. 2) γ , siui G.

[24*] 27. ante . . . resolvo: *Consent. Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 403). 27. ante . . . violo: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 322; *Charis. Inst.* (G. L. K. 1, 228); *Diomed. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 395); *Prisc. Inst.* 18, 92 (G. L. K. 3, 248) — uiolem *Nr* —; *Gl. Ansil.* 55, 389. quam te violo: *Gl. Ansil.* 476, 109. 27. tua iura: *Gl. Ansil.* 573, 3.

28-29. ille . . . sepulcro: *Hier. Ep.* 79, 7, 8 — primus; me om. D —. 28. qui . . . iunxit: *Gl. Ansil.* 480, 139.

in the common Roman poetical sense, for the underworld in general (Waser, *op. cit.*, 403), as in 6, 247 and 6, 671, is not clear.

26. noctemque profundam: cf. *Luc. Asin.* 34: $\eta\nu\ \nu\delta\ \beta\alpha\delta\epsilon\iota\alpha$. In Virgil the phrase recurs at 6, 462 (as in *Sil.* 12, 132), and may suggest the darkness in the depths of the earth (cf. G. 1, 243: *manesque profundi*), or, more probably, intense and utter darkness. Cf. *Tib.* 1, 3, 67: *in nocte profunda*; *Ronsard, Franc.* 215, 13: *la profonde nuit*; *New Engl. Dict.* 3 (1897), 119 (for English parallels). *Kvřčala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 78, compares *Aesch. Prom. V.* 1029: $\kappa\upsilon\epsilon\phi\alpha\iota\delta\alpha\ \tau'\ \delta\mu\phi\iota\ \tau\alpha\rho\tau\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\nu\ \beta\acute{\alpha}\delta\eta$; see also Gruppe and Pfister in *Roscher, Ausf. Lex.* 6 (1924), 63-64.

27. ante: strictly speaking this is redundant after *prius* in line 24 (and this, in part, at least, led to Markland's emendation to *sancte*), but with the lines intervening it is not unnatural, and quite in the conversational manner; cf. *Plaut. Trin.* 1141: *neque eum ante usquam conspexi prius*; *Prop.* 2, 25, 25-26: *aut prius infecto deposcit praemia cursu, / septima quam metam triverit ante rota*. The use of a repeated $\pi\mu$ in Homer (cited by Conington) is hardly an exact parallel.

27. pudor: cf. 4, 55: *solvit . . . pudorem*; 4, 322: *extinctus pudor*. The word *pudor* (cf. *Pichon, De Sermonis amatorio* (1902), 242-244) means, not merely a sense of shyness, like the maidenly shame ($\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\omega}\varsigma\ \pi\alpha\rho\theta\epsilon\iota\eta$) which in *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 681-682 kept Medea from telling her love to her sister, nor yet the kind of shame in the face of the world which would forbid a lawful union with Aeneas, to

which there might seem no external hindrances (cf. DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 20; 58-59), nor is it fully explained by Roman feeling against second marriages (cf. 4, 29, n. (*habeat*)), below; *Wissowa, Relig. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 333, who points out that at Rome *Pudicitia* was worshipped only by *matronae univiriae*; *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 126, who considers *pudicitia* the feminine equivalent for a man's *virtus*, but it is, in the words of Glover (*Virgil* (1912), 190), "a peculiar and unexplained sensitiveness, which Anna . . . could not understand — loyalty to an ideal . . . with which reason has less to do than instinct . . . Dido's conscience is still on the side of this instinct of hers; and though she decides to follow inclination, slightly cloaked by reason, her heart condemns her all the time. . . . To resolve to win the love of Aeneas is no wrong thought or action, but to attempt it against her conscience is the first step toward shame." Here is found the tragic flaw in Dido's character. With the meaning of *pudor* cf. some of the meanings of $\alpha\iota\delta\acute{\omega}\varsigma$ and see Schultz, *AIΔΩΣ* (1910).

With the expression cf. *Ov. H.* 7, 97-98: *exige, laese pudor, poenasi violate Sychaei . . . / ad quas, me miseram, plena pudoris eo*. For the figure of apostrophe cf. *Loewe, Symbolae*, 2 (1873), 9. The adjuration of the player queen in *Shakesp. Hamlet*, Act 3, Sc. 2, suggests the present sentence of Dido.

27. iura resolvo: cf. 2, 157: *sacrata resolvere iura*; *Milo, De Sobriet.* 1, 759 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 638): *iurataque iura resolvant*.

29. abstulit; ille habeat secum servetque sepulcro.'

(abstulit ille) G. sepulchro *FMRP*, sepulcro *F²GP*.

[28] 29. habeat . . . sepulcro: *Non. p.* 317 *M.* (p. 496 *L.*) — sepulchro —.

Serv. remarks: *propter illud 'vinclo . . . iugali'* (4, 16). With the verse ending cf. *Paul. Pell. Euchar.* 109: *ad tua iura refugi*.

28. primus: cf. 4, 17: *primus amor*; *Vulfinus, Carm. de Marcello*, 291-292 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 4, 973): *ille meos corde crebroolvebat amores; / qui rapuit primus servet amator eos*.

28. iunxit: cf. 4, 16: *vinclo . . . iugali*; doubtless the word *coniunx* is also suggested.

28. amores: *Schol. Dan.*: *quibus amare possim*, i.e., capacity for love. On the plural of this word cf. *Smith on Tib.* 2, 2, 11, who points out that "this idiomatic emotional plural," found in prose as well as poetry, may sometimes be due to the idea of reciprocity, or at times may involve a number of different incidents or manifestations. In *Virgil* cf. *Ecl.* 3, 109; 9, 56; 10, 6; 10, 34; 10, 53-54; *G.* 3, 227; *Aen.* 1, 350 (= 10, 326); 4, 292; 5, 334; as well as two cases (*Ecl.* 8, 23; *G.* 4, 347) in which it clearly refers to the loves of different sets of persons; *Spitta, Quaestiones Vergil.* (1867), 41; *Braumüller, Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 15; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 1967, 72-81.

29. abstulit: cf. 4, 23, n. (*impulit*). *Reid* (on *Cic. De Fin.* 2, 106) cites parallels for this view of the dead as carrying off with them the things of life; cf. also *Soph. O. T.* 971-972. The verb is further used, as here, for the bearing away of the affections of one lover by another; cf. *Ov. H.* 12, 36: *abstulerant oculi lumina nostra tui*; *Ars am.* 1, 509-510: *Minoida Theseus / abstulit*; *Rem. Am.* 343; *M.* 12, 404-405: *illum . . . una / abstulit Hylonome*; *Luc.* 1, 112-114: *taedas / abstulit ad manes Parcarum Iulia saeva / intercepta manu*. Interpreted by the preceding and following context both ideas seem here present.

29. habeat: cf. 4, 27, n. (*pudor*). The feeling against the remarriage of a widow is found among many peoples (cf. *Frazer on Paus.* 2, 21, 7; *id.* on *Ov. F.* 6, 475; and

works cited by him; also *DeWitt, The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 56-57; 59; *Eur. Tro.* 667-668: $\acute{\alpha}\pi\epsilon\pi\tau\upsilon\sigma\alpha\ \alpha\upsilon\tau\eta\eta$, $\eta\tau\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\alpha\ \tau\omicron\nu\ \pi\acute{\alpha}\rho\omicron\varsigma\ /\ \kappa\alpha\iota\omega\omicron\iota\varsigma\ \lambda\epsilon\kappa\tau\rho\iota\varsigma\ \acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\beta\alpha\lambda\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\ \acute{\alpha}\lambda\lambda\omicron\nu\ \phi\acute{\iota}\lambda\epsilon\iota$), and may well be connected with the belief that the soul of the wife accompanies in the next world that of her husband (as *Dido* rejoins *Sychaeus* in 6, 473-474 (cf. 4, 29, n. (*servetque sepulcro*), below); it is noteworthy that Aeneas neither sees nor inquires for the soul of *Creusa* during his underworld travels; and, of course, she may have been thought to be still alive; cf. *Gastinel, Carthage et l'Énéide* (1926), 83), a belief which doubtless underlies the burning of widows on the pyres of their husbands in *India* (the *suttee*; cf. *Bardesanes ap. Eus. Pr. Ev.* 6, 10; *Summer, Folkways* (1907), 387-393; etc.), among the *Slavs*, and perhaps in ancient *Greece* (*Frazer on Paus. l.c.*). *Pausanias* relates that *Gorgophone* was, according to *Argive* tradition, the first widow to remarry. In 10, 38, 12 he tells of a grotto at *Naupactus* frequented by widows praying to *Aphrodite* for husbands.

At *Rome* *Fortuna muliebris* in her shrine on the *Via Latina* was worshipped only by *univirae* (*Dion. Hal.* 8, 56, 4; *Fest. p.* 242 *M.*; *Tert. De Monog.* 17; *Serv. Aen.* 4, 19), and only such might sacrifice at the altar of *Pudicitia patricia* and *Pudicitia plebeia* (*Liv.* 10, 23, 5-9); cf. also *Val. Max.* 2, 1, 3: *quae uno contentae matrimonio fuerant corona pudicitiae honorabantur; existimabant enim eum praecipue matronae sincera fide incorruptum esse animum, qui depositae virginitatis cubile [in publicum] egredi nesciret, multorum matrimoniorum experientiam quasi legitimae cuiusdam intemperantiae signum esse credentes*; *Prop.* 4, 11, 36: *in lapide hoc uni nupta fuisse legar*; 4, 11, 68; *Mart.* 9, 15, 1-2; *Tac. Germ.* 19: *melius quidem adhuc eae civitates in quibus tantum virgines nubunt et cum spe votoque uxoris semel transiguntur. sic unum accipiunt maritum quomodo unum corpus*

30. sic effata sinum lacrimis implevit obortis.

(sic effata si)num G. inpleuit FGP. abortis π.

30-31. sinum . . . refert: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 548 — inplevit —. 30. sic . . . obortis: *Donat. in Ter. Hec.* 405 — sinum l. i. o: —.

unamque vitam, ne ulla cogitatio ultra, ne longior cupiditas, ne tamquam maritum, sed tamquam matrimonium ament; *Plut. Quaest. Rom.* 105: ζηλωτὸς γὰρ ὁ πρῶτος γάμος, ὁ δὲ δεύτερος ἀπεικταῖος: αἰσχύνονται γὰρ, ἂν ζώντων τῶν προτέρων ἑτέρους λαμβάνουσιν, ὁδύρονται δὲ, ἂν ἀποθανόντων; *Gerlach, De Romanorum Connubio* (1851), 66-67; *Corbett, Roman Law of Marriage* (1930), 249-251. In the inscriptions we find praise of the constant widow, the *coniugi unibyriae*, i.e., *univirae* (*C. I. L.* XIV, 418 = *Dessau* 6167), *univira unicuba* (*C. I. L.* VIII, 11294 = *Dessau* 8444); cf. *Not. degli Scavi*, 1905, 104 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr.* ed. Engström, n. 358, 7-8): *turtur vera fuisti, / cui coniux moriens non fuit alter amor*.

Christian opposition to remarriage, doubtless in part inherited from pagan objections and in part suggested by such Pauline counsels as *1 Cor.* 7, 8-9, and *1 Tim.* 5, 11-12, appears in many places, e.g., *Tertullian* (for whom, as for African writers in general, Dido is a symbol of loyalty to the memory of the dead husband, with no allusion to her relations with Aeneas; cf. *Pascal's* ed. of *Book IV* (n. d.), ix), *Ad Uxorem* 1, 1; *De Exhort. Cast.* 13; *De Monog.* 17; *Ad Martyres*, 4; *Apol.* 50; *Ambros. Hexaem.* 5, 62 (cf. 4, 17, n. (*primus amor*), supra); *De Off.* 2, 27; *De Viduis*, 10; 68; 86; *Hier. Ep.* 54 (to Furia, *De Viduitate servando*); 123, 7, 2 (the example of Dido); *In Gal.* 3, p. 528 Vall.; *Adv. Iovin.* 1, 10; 1, 15-16; 1, 30; 1, 43-44 (Dido); 1, 49: *nullum sacerdotem* (pagan) *digamum, nullum flammem bimaritum*; 2, 35 (*univirae*); *Socr. Hist. eccl.* 5, 22.

Sometimes there appears a protest against the remarriage of a man; *Aristophon ap. Athen.* 13, 8 (on the same ground as the well-known description of a second marriage as "the triumph of hope over experience"); *Stat. Silv.* 5, 3, 240-241; *Orig. Contra Cels.* 3, 48 (in the case of bishops); *Canon. apost.* 17

(for clergy). We find no such protest on the part of Virgil, though the speeches of Mercury (4, 265-276; 4, 560-570) might easily have given the opportunity; as polygamy is more frequent than polyandry so, perhaps, remarriage of the man was considered more venial than that of the woman. Aeneas's marriage with Creusa was perhaps that of a youthful love; his relations to Dido (whatever they may have been) were due to the fascinations of a charming widow; his marriage to Lavinia is largely an affair of state; no one of the three seems in any way to be thought of as sentimentally excluding the others.

29. *secum*, etc.: note the triple alliteration in the second half of the hexameter, for which Wölfflin (in *Archiv f. lat. Lex.* 14 (1906), 515-523) cites 13 other cases in the *Aeneid*: 2, 28; 2, 303; 3, 58; 3, 183; 7, 189; 7, 482; 7, 486; 8, 603; 9, 563; 9, 635; 10, 95; 10, 194; 11, 348; cf. *Smith on Tib.* 1, 10, 66.

29. *servetque sepulcro*: the reunion of Dido and Sychaeus in the underworld (6, 450-474) involves placing him in the group of those *quos durus amor crudeli tate peredit* (6, 442), a category in which he does not strictly belong, although he does fall in the genus of which it is a part, that of the *ἄωροι*, or untimely dead (6, 426-547); cf. *Norden*, 2 ed. of *Book VI* (1916), 11-13. With the thought cf. *Catull.* 68, 22 (to his brother): *tecum una tota est nostra sepulta domus*; *Shakesp. II Hen. IV*, Act 5, Sc. 2: "For in his tomb lie my affections"; *Racine, Andromaque*, Act 3, Sc. 4: *ma flamme par Hector fut jadis allumée; / avec lui dans la tombe elle s'est enfermée*; *Moore, She is far from the Land*, 4: "For her heart in his grave is lying." Dido's words are, to the mind of the reader, an ironic presage of her fate: cf. *Duckworth, Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil* (1933), 64.

30. *sic effata*: languages lacking marks of punctuation to indicate the beginnings and ends of quotations have to lay stress upon vocatives (cf. 4, 8, n. (*Anna, etc.*)) and other introductory and concluding phrases; cf. *Wilms, Qua Ratione Vergilius in Aeneide aut locuturum aliquem aut locutum esse indicaverit* (1865); also *Il.* 1, 17 (vocative); 1, 21; 1, 25; 1, 33 (*ὦς ἔφατ'*); 1, 35; 1, 43 (*ὦς ἔφατ'*); 1, 58; 1, 68 (*ὦς εἰπὼν*); 1, 73 (*μετέειπεν*); 1, 84 (*τὸν δ' ἀπαμειβόμενος*); etc. In the present book the variety of such phrases is noteworthy: 8 (*adloquitur*), 31 (*Anna refert*), 54 (*his dictis*), 92 (*adgreditur . . . dictis*), 107 (*sic contra est ingressa*), 114 (*sic excepit*), 127 (*non adversata*), 205 (*orasse*), 219 (*italibus orantem*), 222 (*italia mandati*), 238 (*dixerat*), 265 (*invadit*), 276 (*itali . . . ore locutus*), 304 (*his . . . compellat vocibus*), 331 (*dixerat*), 333 (*pauca refert*), 362 (*italia dicentem*), 364 (*profatur*), 388 (*his . . . dictis*) 413 (*precando*), 437 (*italibus orabat*), 476 (*dictis adgressa*), 499 (*haec effata silet*), 533 (*ita corde volutat*), 553 (*tantos . . . rumpebat . . . questus*), 557 (*ita visa monere est*), 570 (*sic fatus*), 572 (*socios . . . fatigat*), 579 (*dixit*), 591 (*ait*), 630 (*haec ait*), 632 (*adfata*), 641 (*sic ait*), 650 (*dixit*), 663 (*dixerat*), 674 (*clamat*), 685 (*sic fata*), 702 (speech not introduced), 704 (*sic ait*).

With the phrase *sic effata* cf. 7, 456; also *haec effatus* (*effata*) in 4, 499; 5, 653; 11, 741; *tantum effata* in 6, 262; 12, 885; *Shipley, Virgil's Verse Technique* (in *Wash. Univ. Stud.* 12, Humanist. Ser. 1 (1924), 138-139).

30. *sinum*: cf. *Il.* 9, 570: *δέοντο δὲ δάκρυσιν κόλποι*; *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 804-805: *δεῦρε δὲ κόλπους / ἑλληκτον δακρύοισι, τὰ δ' ἔρρεεν ἀσταγὲς αὐτῶς*. The curious explanation of *Servius* (*sinus dicimus orbes oculorum, id est palpebras . . . implevit autem ideo quia lacrimae plerumque se intra oculos tenent*) is opposed to these Greek models and without Latin parallels; the normal meaning of *sinus* is a fold in the front of the *toga* or corresponding feminine garment (cf. 1, 320; 11, 775), but it comes to be more freely used, as here, for 'bosom,' without clear distinction of the person and its covering. That this is Dido's bosom rather than that of Anna (as *Peerkamp* held) may be inferred (1) because there is no indication that Dido and Anna during

this conversation were in close physical contact (as in 4, 686, or as *Medea* and *Chalciope* in *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 706-707); (2) because without a qualifying genitive like *sororis* the word *sinus* must refer to the bosom of the subject of its clause; cf. 4, 449: *lacrimae* (of Aeneas); 4, 596: *facta* (of Dido); 9, 251: *vultum . . . atque ora* (of Aletes). We are probably to think of the tears as dropping upon the *sinus* (bosom), rather than (with *Lejay*, *Buscaroli*, and others) of that part of the garments as gathered up in Dido's hands to dry her tears, like a feminine apron today, or as in *Ov. Am.* 3, 6, 79; *F.* 3, 596. For the sprinkling or flooding of the bosom with tears abundant parallels have been collected, from Latin and other literatures, by *Henry, Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 575-580. The closest Virgilian verbal parallel is 10, 819, where the sword of Aeneas pierces the shield and tunic of Lausus, *implevitque sinum sanguis*, where also it is not clear whether there is any distinction between the person and his garment. In either case the word *implevit* involves a slight hyperbole, as in *G.* 2, 144; cf. *Hunziker, Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), 59.

30. *lacrimis . . . obortis*: cf. 3, 492; 6, 867; 11, 41; *Ov. Am.* 1, 4, 61; *M.* 1, 350; 4, 684: *lacrimis implevit obortis*; 7, 689; 10, 419: *lacrimisque implevit obortis*; *F.* 4, 845; *Stat. Theb.* 6, 44; *Avien.* 2, 326: *lacrimis aiebat obortis*; *Curt.* 5, 5, 23; 10, 8, 20; *Alcuin, Ep.* 9 (*Mon. Germ. hist.*, Epist. 4, 35); *Ermoldus, Ad Pippinum* 1, 59 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 81): *lacrimis . . . obortis*; *Ekkehard, Waltharius*, 876: *sic ait et gremium lacrimis consparsit obortis*; *Vida, Christias*, 3, 285; 3, 704; *Maphaeus Vegius, Aen.* 13, 185: *lacrimisque genas implevit obortis*; *Chateaubriand, Les Martyrs*, 8, 116 (*Naylor in Johns Hopkins Stud. in Rom. Lit. and Lang.* 18 (1930), 153). The verb seems to imply that the tears came spontaneously, in spite of her intention, as opposed to the *lacrimis . . . coactis* of *Sinon* (2, 196). *Donatus* (*ad loc.*) gives us the reason, *vel quod veteris amoris recordatione movebatur vel quod urgebatur efficere quod animo respiente damnaverat*. It is to the present incident that 4,548 refers: *tu lacrimis evicta meis*.

31. Anna refert: 'o luce magis dilecta sorori,
solane perpetua maerens carpere iuventa,

(*anna refert*) G. delecta FM (dilecta M¹).

(*solane perp*)etua G. perpetuum F (perpetua F¹). merens FGγ. capere G (carpere G¹). iuventa F (iuuenta F¹).

[30] 31. Anna refert: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 1, 94*. 31. luce magis: *Gl. Ansil. 346, 26*.

32-34. solane . . . sepultos: *Hier. Ep. 123, 13, 1* — dulces; manes —. 32-33. solane . . . noris: *Hier. Ep. 54, 5, 1* — dulces —. 32. solane . . . iuventa: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 5, 107*. 32. solane: *Gl. Ansil. 529, 80; q.v.; Gl. Aa, 356, 555*. 32. perpetua iuventa: *Gl. Ansil. 439, 1023*.

31. refert: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); 1, 94; 1, 208; 4, 333; 7, 436; 8, 154; 10, 17; 11, 124. As Anna here fans the passion of Dido so the nurse in Eur. *Hippol.* 433-481 urges that of Phaedra (cf. Oenone in Racine, *Phèdre*, Act 1, Sc. 5), with which cf. the relation of Chalciope to Medea in *Apoll. Rh. 3, 674-680*; 3, 719-722. On the part of the confidante cf. Heinze, *Vergils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 127-128; Prescott, *The Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 299. Anna's speech resembles a *suasoria* (Serv.: *suasoria est omni parte plena; nam et purgat obiecta et ostendit utilitatem et a timore persuadet*; and the *Schol. Dan.* analyze the speech in further detail; cf. Billmeyer, *Rhet. Stud. z. d. Reden in Vergils Aeneis* (1932), 14; 20; 43), but, as Heinze (*op. cit.*, 419) points out, it is not so much a real attempt at persuasion, which, both in the Homeric style and in actual practice, would have been much more lengthy, as a device used by the poet to show as completely yet as succinctly as possible the motives for Dido's action.

31. o luce, etc.: cf. Eur. *Ion*, 1439: ὦ τέκνον, ὦ φῶς μητρὶ κρείσσον ἥλιου; *Aen. 5, 724-725*: nate mihi vila . . . / care magis; Fridberg, *Die Schmeichelworte der antiken Literatur* (1912), 71; Theodulfus, *Carm. 73, 107* (*Poet. Aevi Carol. 1, 572*): luce mihi magna tu solis carior extas; Anon. *Epitaph. Siconis*, 33 (*Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 650*): magis dilectus luce; *Sylloga Cod. Sangall. 381, Appendix. 9, 11* (*Poet. Aevi Carol. 4, 346*): luce magis dilecte mihi; Corneille, *Rodogune*, 5, 4, 1653: o frère, plus aimé que la clarté du jour; Leopardi, *Le Ricordanze*, 44-46: più caro / . . . che la pura / luce del giorno; Inno ai

Patriarchi, 8: dell'etereo lume assai più dolci. With lux = vita cf. 4, 452; 4, 619; 4, 631; etc.

31. dilecta: used of Dido's regard for Sychaeus (1, 344), as here of her esteem for her sister, while amor and its cognates are employed, occasionally for Sychaeus (4, 17; 4, 28), and regularly for Aeneas (lines 38, 54, 85, 171, 292, 307, 395, 414, 532); cf. Cic. *Ad Brut. 1, 1*: Clodius . . . valde me diligit, vel, ut ἐμφατικώτερον dicam, valde me amat; *Ad Fam. 13, 47*: eum a me non diligi solum verum etiam amari; and many other Ciceronian examples; Isid. *Etym. 8, 2, 7*: omnis autem dilectio carnalis non dilectio sed magis amor dici solet. dilectionis autem nomen tantum in melioribus rebus accipi solet; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 130; DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 24-25; 76.

31. sorori: cf. Kvičala, *Vergil-Studien* (1878), 20, for the use of a proper name or other noun in place of the first personal pronoun; cf. 4, 435: sororis; 4, 478: sorori; 4, 677: sororem. The word is here also a form of reply to the address in 4, 9: Anna soror.

32. solane, etc.: cf. Aesch. *Prom. 647-649*: ὦ μέγ' εὐδαιμον κόρη, / τί παρθενέει δαρὸν ἐξόν σοι γάμον / τυχεῖν μεγίστου; κτλ.; Eur. *Alc. 1089*: τί δ'; οὐ γαμείς γάρ, ἀλλὰ χηρεύσει λέχος (al. χηρεύσει μόνος); Helen. 283: θυγάτηρ ἀνὰνδρος πολὺὰ παρθενέεται; Herond. 1, 21-22: ἀλλ', ὦ τέκνον, κόσον τιν' ἤδη χηραίνεις / χρόνον μόνῃ τρύχουσα τὴν μίαν κόλτην; 1, 37-38: κατ' οὖν λήσεις / (γηρᾶσα) καὶ σευ τὸ ὠριμον τέφρῃ κάψει; Sen. *Phaedr. 447-449*: nunc facile pectus, grata nunc iuveni Venus; / exullet animus. cur toro viduo iaces? / tristem iuventam solve; Shakesp.

33. nec dulcis natos Veneris nec praemia noris?
id cinerem aut manis credis curare sepultos?

(*nec dulcis nato*)s G. dulces F. nostris G.

(*id cinerem a*)ut G. cinere F (cinerem F¹). amnis F (*corr. in manis m. rec.*), manes (es ex *corr.*) M, manes b.

[32*] 33. nec . . . noris: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 327* — dulces —; *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 268* (1, p. 71 Riese). 33. Veneris . . . noris: *Schol. Lucan. 2, 330*. 33. Veneris praemia: *Gl. Verg. (C. G. L. 4, 468, 39)*.

[32*] 34. id . . . sepultos: *Petron. 111, 12* — manes; sentire (*sed secundum Vergilium libri pauci curare*) —; *Prisc. Inst. 7, 84* (G. L. K. 2, 359) — manes *cod. K* —; *Ioann. Saresb. Policr. 8, 11, p. 754a* — manes —. 34. id credis curare: *Gl. Ansil. 287, 16*.

Mid. Night's Dr. Act 1, Sc. 1: "But earth-lie-happy is the rose distill'd / Than that which, withering on the virgin thorn, / Grows, lives, and dies in single blessedness."

The loneliness of Dido (cf. 4, 8, n. (*unanimam*), above) is emphasized in 4, 82: sola; 4, 330: deserta; 4, 467; 4, 543; in 4, 616 she prays a like fate for Aeneas. Life's three strongest natural affections are filial, conjugal, and parental love; of the first of these, in Dido's case, we learn nothing; of the second she had been abruptly robbed, while the third she had never had opportunity to enjoy; it is in this that not a little of the pathos of her history lies; cf. 4, 68, n. (*infelix*); Soph. *Antig. 918*. Donatus (*ad loc.*) says: *verecunda persuasio, ut non libidinis contemplatione videatur sororem hortari ad nuptias, sed naturam causa, qui profecto nisi aetatis novellae suffragio provenire non possunt*.

32. carpere: cf. 4, 2, n. (*carpitur*).

32. iuventa: a favorite Virgilian substitute for the metrically impossible oblique cases of *iuventus*.

33. dulcis natos: a cliché; e.g., *Lucr. 3, 895* (cf. 4, 1234; 4, 1253); *G. 2, 523*; 3, 178; *Aen. 2, 138*; *Luc. 9, 231*; *Val. Fl. 4, 89*; *Mar. Victor, Aleth. 1, 386*; *Carm. Lat. epigr. no. 682, 1*; 1169, 4 Bücheler; *Paul. Nol. Carm. 18, 228*; *nati*, rather than *fili*, being used to express tender emotion; cf. Marouzeau in *Rev. de Philol. 47* (1923), 71; *Rev. des Études lat. 10* (1932), 371. Servius compares *Juv. 6, 38-39*: *dulcem . . . heredem*. With the general thought cf. *Mimnermus, 1, 1*; *Soph. Antig. 917-918*: ἀλεκτρον, ἀνυμέναιον, οὐτε τοῦ γάμου / μέρος λαχοῦσαν οὐτε

παιδείου τροφῆς; *Epigrammata Gr. no. 236, 2-6*; no. 717, 2 Kaibel: ἀπείρατος Κύπριδος ἰμερ(τ)ῆς; also 4, 327, n. (*saltem*), below.

33. Veneris . . . praemia: cf. *Il. 3, 54* (though, as Heyne-Wagner (*ad loc.*) observe; in a different sense): τὰ τε δῶρ' Ἀφροδίτης; *Hymn. Cer. 101-102*: ἦτε τόκοιο / εἰρηγται δῶρων τε φιλοστεφάνου Ἀφροδίτης; *Hes. Scut. 47*: τερπόμενος δῶροισι πολυχρύσου Ἀφροδίτης; *Pind. Ol. 1, 120*: φίλια δῶρα Κυπρίας; *Nem. 8, 12*: Κυπρίας δῶρων; *Tasso, Aminta, 1, 1, 1-3*: vorrai dunque pur, Silvia, / dai piaceri di Venere lontana / menarne tu questa tua giovinezza; Henry (*Aeneidea, 2, (1878), 581*) compares *Parini, Odi, 11* (*Per Nozze*), 5: trattar dolci premi e dolci affanni. The *Schol. Dan.* well remark: *et hystorologia est; nam per Veneris praemia proveniunt nati*.

33. Veneris nec: Norden, 2 ed. of *Book VI* (1916), 404, lists many instances of post-positive *nec* in Latin verse, including 24 Virgilian cases where it is the second word of its clause (in this book also lines 365, 551, and 696), and one where it is third (*Aen. 2, 159*). Cf. the inversion of *et* 4, 124 (= 4, 165); 4, 418; 4, 513; Haeckermann, *Explicat. Vergil. Specimen* (1853), 3) and of *quod* (4, 100). The disjunctive has troubled some editors; cf. Güthling, *Adnot. ad Verg. Aeneidem* (1877), 14-15, who admits that Ladewig has compared as cases where the correlation *nec . . . nec* is not disjunctive but represents nuances of the same thought *G. 4, 198* and *Aen. 3, 585*, but will not accept these as parallel. The *Schol. Dan.* state: *et volunt quidam ἐν διὰ δυοῖν esse*. It is simpler, however, to hold that *natos* and *praemia* are distinct ideas;

35. esto, aegram nulli quondam flexere mariti,

(*esto aegram*) *G*, aesto *p*. quondaa *F* (quondam *F*). flexere *G* (flexere *G*).

35. esto . . . mariti: [Acro] in *Hor. C.* 3, 22, 5 — condam *Aγ*, quondam *b*, *om.* 1 —
35. aegram . . . mariti: *Serv. Ed.* 1, 13. 35. nulli mariti: *Gl. Ansil.* 398, 83. 35. nulli
. . . flexere: *Anth. Lat. no.* 11, 71 (1, *p.* 43 Riese).

Anna inquires whether Dido is to experience neither parental nor (even) conjugal joys.

34. *id.*, etc.: cf. *Eur. Alc.* 1091: μὲν τὴν θανοῦσαν ὠφελεῖν τι προσδοκᾷ; Terzaghi (*Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 143-145) is troubled by the inconsistency of an author who represents in the Sixth Book the continued existence and interests of the dead, yet here allows Anna, a person whom he considers not only religious but even scrupulous in the performance of religious offices, to speak in so sceptical a tone, and suggests that the machinery of the Sixth Book may have been devised to satisfy the orthodox designs of Augustus while here the poet may himself be speaking through the mouth of Anna. But Anna is not here necessarily doubting the existence of the dead (for sepulchral verses expressing such doubt cf. Tolman, *A Study of the sepulchral Inscriptions in Bücheler's Carm. epigr. Lat.* (1910), 65), or even their sensibility (cf. *Octavia*, 13: *si quis remanet sensus in umbris*; *Aus. Parent.* 22, 15: *si quid apud manes sentis*; *Anth. Pal.* 7, 23, 6: εἰ δὲ τις φθιμῶνους χρίμπτεται ἐφ' ὁρούνα), but rather their concern with human affairs, as Ennius (*Sc.* 316-317) differentiates between the existence and the providence of the gods: *ego deum genus esse semper dixi et dicam caelitem, / sed eos non curare opinor quid agat humanum genus*, using the same verb *curare*; cf. Tescari in criticism of Terzaghi (in *Riv. di Filol.* N. S. 8 (1930), 91). Nor does Anna assert her own beliefs, rather raising a question (perhaps rhetorical, perhaps for information), which she quickly answers by the concessive *esto*. Granted that the *manes* do care, has not Dido already amply shown her loyalty to Sychaeus by the rejection of many suitors, and may she not at last be allowed to accept one for whom she really cares? Dido herself seems to anticipate the interest of her own shade, in the future, in the actions of her people; cf. 4, 622-624.

34. *cinerem*: the body of the murdered Sychaeus seems not to have been burned; cf. 1, 353-354: *ipsa sed in somnis inhumati venit imago / coniugis*. But in 4, 552 Dido refers to the *cineri* . . . Sychaeo (as in 4, 623 to her own: *cineri* . . . *nostro*, and as the author in 4, 633 to the *cinis ater* of Dido's nurse), and *cinerem*, as in 10, 828 (*manibus et cineri*), Miss Saunders (in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 46 (1925), 355) notes, need not imply literal cremation, but may be a conventional expression for the remains of the dead; cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 3 (1912), 1074, 11-45; also *Ov. H.* 7, 115: *exul agor cineresque viri patriamque relinquo*. Anna does not consider *cinerem* and *manis* as at all equivalent, as is shown by the use of *aut* rather than *vel*; yet cf. 4, 427: *cinerem manesque*; for the relation of these contrasted notions cf. Marbach in *P.-W.* 14 (1928), 1056-1057; and for *cinerem* rather than the more frequent plural, Maas in *Archiv f. lat. Lex.* 12 (1902), 516.

34. *manis* . . . *sepultos*: equivalent to *manes sepulorum*; cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 216. For the expression cf. *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 682, 11 Bücheler: *nec curant carmina manes*; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 19, 310: *curare sepulti*; Gualterus, *Alexandreis*, 1, 469: *inter cineres manesque sepultos*; Sanazaro, *Eleg. ad L. Crassum*, 21. The word *sepultos* resumes *sepulcro* in line 29. *Manis* probably refers to the shade of Sychaeus rather than to shades in general, for the word has no singular (Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy* (1926), 27), and on tombstones, in the form *D(is) M(anibus)*, is regularly applied to the shade of an individual, though this formula is unknown before the Augustan Age (Santoro in *Riv. di Filol.* 17 (1889), 15-17) and we have "no known word of pre-Augustan date which definitely and unambiguously signifies the phantom, shade, or ghost of a dead person, or his spirit living in some other state of being" (Rose in *Cl. Quart.* 24 (1930),

36. non Libyae, non ante Tyro; despectus Iarbas

(*non libyae*) *G*. libya *P* (libyae *P*), libiae *b*; cf. *Schol. Dan.*: *quidam autem 'Libya', id est mariti Libyes, 'Tyro' mariti Tyrii exponunt.* despectus *b* *c*. iarpas (*corr. in hiarbas*) *b*.

36. non Libyae . . . Iarbas: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 263 — dispexit *B*, despectus *L*; hiarbas —; *Serv. Aen.* 12, 344 — lybiae (libiae *F*); iarpas —. 36. non Libyae, non Tyro: *Serv. G.* 3, 96 — tyrod *A*, tyron *V*, cyron *H* —. 36. non Libyae: *Gl. Ansil.* 394, 157 — libiae —.

133; Knight in *Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 202, n. 16).

35. *esto*: concessive, like the Greek *ἔστω*; cf. *Serv.*: *adverbium concedentis est Graecum*; Liddell-Scott-Jones, *Gr. Eng. Lex.* 3 (1927), 488 a; in Latin cf. *Cic. Fin.* 2, 75; 2, 92; *Div. in Caecil.* 47; *Aen.* 7, 313; 10, 67; 12, 821; *Hor. Ep.* 1, 1, 81; 1, 17, 37.

35. *aegram*: doubtless of her state of mind after the death of Sychaeus; cf. 1, 351; 4, 389, n. (*aegra*), below.

35. *nulli*, etc.: cf. 4, 534-536; *Ov. H.* 7, 123-125: *mille procis placui, qui me coiere queres / nescio quem thalamis praeposuisse suis; / quid dubitas vinctam Gaetulo tradere Iarbae*.

35. *flexere*: resuming *inflexit* in Dido's speech (4, 22). On the form *-ere* (excluded in the fifth foot of the hexameter) cf. Steele in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 32 (1911), 328-332.

35. *mariti*: probably = *proci* (which Ovid uses); cf. 4, 536; Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 204, for the similar ellipsis of the future participle of *esse* in 2, 344 (where cf. *Serv.*); cf. 7, 189. Here Servius remarks: *non qui erant sed qui esse cupiebant*, although he also cites another (impossible) view construing the word as a genitive singular dependent on *aegram*.

36. *non . . . non*: cf. Loewe, *Symbolae ad enarr. Serm. Poet. Lat.* 2 (1873), 7; Kvčala, *Vergil-Studien* (1878), 188; 200; Otto, *De Anaphora* (1907), 50, for the combination of anaphora and asyndeton.

36. *Libyae*: this word and *Tyro* are commonly construed with *mariti*: "suitors (husbands) of Libya and from Tyre." The latter is an ablative of origin somewhat paralleled in 3, 503; 5, 61; 10, 141; 10, 183; Heyne-Wagner compare *Caes. B. C.* 1, 24, 4: *N. Magius Cremona*; cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 476;

and the whole shows a shift of case comparable to that in 1, 462-463, very easy in such an author as Tacitus, though uncommon in Virgil; cf. Unterharnscheidt, *De Veterum in Aeneide Coniecturis* (1911), 25. Though parallels (mostly late) may also be found for the locative of the names of countries (cf. 3, 162; *Cretae*; Kühner-Stegmann, *op. cit.*, 481) as well as for the ablative without a preposition in place of the locative in the names of cities (*id.*, 477; also Wagener in *Philologus*, 42 (1834), 392), it seems likely that the former explanation is the correct one; cf. Kern, *Zum Gebrauch des Abl. bei Vergil* (1881), 9; Lane in *Harv. Stud. in cl. Philol.* 9 (1898), 26; Kühner-Stegmann, *op. cit.*, 477; though Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 398) thinks that "Virgil gives us a curious grammatical surprise, where he constructs the name of a country as though it were a town, and vice versa . . . Libyae on the analogy of Romae, and in return Tyro is used for Tyri just as Plautus uses Epheso for Ephesi." Cf. also Hahn, *Coordination of non-coordinate Elements in Vergil* (1930), 10-11.

36. *Tyro*: cf. 4, 75, n. (*Sidonius*).

36. *despectus Iarbas*: for Iarbas cf. 4, 196, n. (*Iarban*); Justin, 18, 6, 1: *Hiarbas* . . . *Elissae nuptias sub belli denuntiatione petit*; for the phrase *Sil.* 8, 54: *despectus taedae regnis se imponit Iarbas*; also Juv. 5, 45: *zelotypo iuvenis praelatus Iarbae*. Henselmanns (*Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis* (1914), 17; 119) objects that in this passage and in 4, 534-536 several suitors among the Numidians are mentioned, while in 4, 196-218, and 4, 326 it is Iarbas only who is named. But Iarbas was doubtless either the most eligible or the most insistent (and therefore distasteful) of them all, and so may well, on occasion, typify the others also; cf. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 22. That this is the

37. ductoresque alii, quos Africa terra triumphis dives alit; placitone etiam pugnabis amori?

(ductoresque alii quos G. alia c¹. quos add. sup. c. afryca b, affrica γ. triumphos R, (triumphis) G.

Versus 38 abscissus in G. placida (corr. in placido) p.

37-38. quos . . . alit: Serv. Aen. 6, 875 — triumphos RLH —; Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 463). 37-38. triumphis dives: Gl. Ansil. 572, 421 — divisus —.

[37*] 38-39. placitone . . . arvis: Petron. 112, 2; Ioann. Saresb. Policr. 8, 111, p. 754b. 38. placitone . . . amori: Auson. Cento nupt. 90, p. 214 Peiper — placido G —; Donat. Aen. 2, 290 — placitone LR (corr. L ipse, r), placidone ed. —; [Iul. Rufin.] p. 56 Halm — placidone —. 38. placitone: Gl. Ansil. 446, 61; q.v.

correct explanation is also indicated by the easy transition from the plural *Nomadum tyranni* in 4, 321 to the singular *Gaetulus Iarbas* in 4, 326. It may be held a slight defect thus casually to introduce the name of Iarbas before he has been described in detail at 4, 196-205. There may be also noted in passing the form of the story, appearing in Eustathius's commentary on Dionys. Perieg. 195 (Geogr. Gr. min. 2, 250-251), in which Iarbas repels Dido on her arrival and later sells her a site for settlement. For the term *despectus* cf. Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 128.

37. ductoresque alii: Serv. Aen. 1, 738: *Iopas vero rex Afrorum, unus de procis Didonis, ut Punica testatur historia.*

37. Africa terra: cf. Enn. Sat. 10-11: *testes sunt / lati campi quos gerit Africa terra politos*; Liv. 29, 23, 10: *terra Africa*; perhaps a relic of an original usage in which all names of countries were feminine adjectives modifying *terra*. In oblique cases Virgil, for metrical reasons, uses forms of *Libya*, as in the preceding line; in the nominative that word does not appear, and this is the only case in his poems of the word *Africa* (though *Africus* is found in 1, 86; cf. *Dirae*, 39). Norden on Aen. 6, 842-843 thinks our line an echo of Enn. Ann. 310: *Africa terribili tremis horrida terra tumultu*. For similar Virgilian personifications of a country cf. Lünzner, *Ueber Personificationen in Vergils Gedichte* (1876), 6.

37. triumphis: cf. Coripp. 2, 102-103: *horrida gens et dura viris audaxque triumphis / innumeris*; Schol. Dan.: *et quidam dicunt*

Afros numquam triumphasse. Plinius autem Secundus historiae naturalis et Pompeius Trogus Afros dicunt pompam triumphi primos invenisse (Plin. N. H. 7, 191 says the inventor was Liber), *quam sibi Romani postea vindicaverunt. Livius autem Andronicus refert eos de Romanis saepius triumphasse suasque porticus Romanis spoliis adornasse; merito ergo 'dives triumphis'*; Sedul. Carm. 2, 30, 79 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 3, 197): *Gallia dives ovat transactis mille triumphis*. The word *triumphis* should not be pressed too literally, being figuratively used for *victoriis*; cf. the examples in Braumüller, *Ueber Trophen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 7. Bell (The Latin Dual (1923), 402) thinks this phrase and *Punica . . . gloria* (4, 49) sound strangely in a Roman epic, though natural to Anna, and are an indication of Virgil's sense of justice and fair play to a beaten foe. A closer insistence upon facts, however, would indicate that in the present case it is not Punic glory that is being emphasized, but that of the non-Punic African tribes, whose warlikeness in opposition to the Carthaginians is noted in 4, 40 as in 1, 339: *finis Libyci, genus intractabile bello*. For the Roman reader there was perhaps a further connotation of such victories as that at Zama.

38. alit: cf. G. 4, 563-564: *Vergilium me . . . alebat / Parthenope*.

38. placito: Schol. Dan.: *et 'placito' alii volunt vel universis hominibus, id est, coniugali amori, vel legibus dictum*. Henry (Aeneidea, 2 (1878), 582) compares Theocr. 27, 22: *πολλοί μ' ἐμύοντο, νόον δ' ἐμὸν οὐτὶς ἔαδε*. For the use of the adjective cf. G. 2, 425: *placitam*

39. nec venit in mentem quorum consederis arvis? hinc Gaetulae urbes, genus insuperabile bello,

39-92: FMPR. im F. sideris F (consederis F¹), consideris Rb¹cγ¹. hinc (in in ras.) F¹. getulae F (gaetulae F¹) MPbpy. hurbes b. intractabile R (cf. 1, 339; Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 120). Versus 40 et 41 transposuit Immisch, Rh. Mus. 52 (1897), 127; cf. explicationem 4, 43 (Barcae).

[38] 39. nec . . . mentem: Anth. Lat. no. 17, 251 (1, p. 71 Riese) — uentem A —; no. 17, 400 (1, p. 77 Riese) — mente A —; no. 198, 51 (1, p. 164 Riese); Gl. Ansil. 387, 159.

40. genus . . . bello: Auson. Cento nupt. 3, p. 209 Peiper; Donat. Aen. 6, 690. 40. insuperabile bello: Gl. Ansil. 312, 1670 — bellum —.

Paci . . . olivam; Ov. Ep. 16 (17), 98: *placitis abstinuisse bonis*; etc. Perhaps we may see in the adjective not only the contrast between Dido's dislike for the African chieftains and her attraction to Aeneas but also an indication of the (rather Epicurean) principles by which Anna expects her choice to be guided.

38. pugnabis amori: cf. Ov. Ep. 16 (17), 189: *coepto pugnemus amori* (Catull. 62, 59, cited by Henry, represents a different situation). The use of the verb *pugno* with the dative, rather than with *cum* and the ablative, starts with Catullus (62, 64) and imitates Greek usage (*μάχεσθαι τινι*); cf. 11, 600; Lohmann, *De Graecismorum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 53. The same idiom occurs with other verbs of striving; cf. Ecl. 5, 8; 8, 55; G. 2, 99; Aen. 1, 475; 1, 493; 12, 678. On *amor* used of passion rather than of conjugal affection see Fowler, *Roman Essays and Interpretations* (1920), 189; yet cf. 4, 17; 4, 31, n. (*dilecta*), above.

39. venit in mentem: this phrase may be accompanied by a subject in the nominative (e.g., Liv. 8, 5, 10), by a genitive, on the analogy of verbs of remembering (e.g., Ter. Eun. 666; Phorm. 154; Cic. Fin. 5, 2; and often in Cicero), an accusative and infinitive (Plaut. Aul. 226; 228; Plin. Ep. 3, 4, 5; etc.), a simple infinitive (Cic. Ac. 1, 3; etc.; for Greek parallels cf. Headlam on Herondas, 4, 75), a prepositional phrase (Plaut. Most. 271; Gell. 20, 6, 12), or a finite clause introduced by *ut* (Plaut. Merc. 900; M. G. 1358; Pseud. 134; etc.), interrogative pronouns, as here (e.g., Plaut. Truc. 931; Cic. Tusc. 5, 81; etc.),

or other interrogative words (e.g., Cic. Ad Fam. 3, 10, 1; Liv. 5, 52, 13).

39. consederis arvis: cf. 12, 237: *consedimus arvis*. The words express the act of arrival preparatory to settlement; cf. Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (1919), 420, n. 12. Anna passes from the argument of Dido's personal desire to one based on reasons of state and duty to her subjects. The half-line at 4, 44 suggests to Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 342) that 4, 39-44 may be a marginal addition not yet fused by Virgil into the text, since *Iunone secunda* (4, 45) and *coniugio tali* (4, 48) follow naturally upon *placito . . . amori* (4, 38). The political aspect is also treated in 4, 47-49. Cartault further thinks that 4, 39-44 may have been suggested to Virgil by rereading Apoll. Rh. 1, 677-679, where the nurse Polyxo urges Hypsipyle to receive the Argonauts as possible aids against a Thracian attack, or 3, 351-353, where Argus tells Aeetes that Jason will help him against the Sauromatae; in each case immigrants being thought of as allies to a local ruler against neighboring armies. The perils to Dido's kingdom have been noted at 1, 339; 1, 563-564; cf. 4, 320-321.

40. hinc: correlative with *hinc* in line 42; cf. Ecl. 1, 53-56.

40. Gaetulae: cf. Sall. Iug. 18, 1-2: *Africam initio habuere Gaetuli et Libyes, asperi incultique, quis cibus erat caro ferina atque humi pabulum uti pecoribus. ei neque moribus neque lege aut imperio cuiusquam regebantur; vagi, palantes, quas nox coegerat sedes habebant*; 18, 7-8: *ei* (sc. Medes, Per-

41. et Numidae infreni cingunt et inhospita Syrtis,

numida P (numidae P²). inhospita (corr. in inhospita) P. syrtis FMγ, syrtis Rρ, syrt() P (cf. Fairclough in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc. 63 (1932), 212).

41. et . . . Syrtis: Prisc. Inst. 7, 66 (G. L. K. 2, 343) — inospita GK; sirtis G, systis D —; Schol. Lucan. 1, 367 — syrtis om. U —; Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. 2, 6, 3; Iulian. Tolet. f. 4 (ap. Funaioli, *Esegesi virgiliana antica* (1930), 427); Carm. Centulensia, 1, 256 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 3, 288) — numidi —. 41. et . . . cingunt: Serv. Aen. 1, 523; 10, 750 — hunc (pro et) M, hinc cett. —. 41. Numidae . . . cingunt: [Acro] in Hor. C. 3, 11, 47 — numide A —. 41. Numidae infreni: Isid. Etym. 10, 136 — humidae C¹ —. 41. et . . . Syrtis: Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. 1, 22, 5. 41. inhospita Syrtis: [Acro] in Hor. Epod. 1, 11–12 — sirtis —. 41. inhospita: Gl. Ansil. 306, 1178; Gl. Abstr. 49, 159; q.v.

sians, and Armenians of the army of Hercules) paulatim per conubia Gaetulios secum miscuere, et quia saepe temptantes agros alia deinde alia loca petiverant, semet ipsi Nomadas appellavere. ceterum adhuc aedificia Numidarum agrestium, quae mapalia illi vocant; oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinae sunt; 19, 5: super Numidiam Gaetulios accepimus partim in tuguriis alios incultius vagos agitare, post eos Aethiops esse, dehinc loca exusta solis ardoribus; Strab. 17, p. 826: ἐν βάθει δὲ τῆς χώρας ὑπὸ τοῦ μεγίστου τῶν Λιβυκῶν ὕδατος, οἱ Γαιτοὶ λέγονται. Their nearness to the Syrtis is indicated in Aen. 5, 51; 5, 192; Hor. C. 2, 20, 15; Flor. 2, 31, 12, 40; but denied by Serv. Aen. 5, 192: Gaetulia mediterranea est, Syrtis vero iuxta Libyam sunt. For their location in the interior south and southwest of Carthage, their different divisions, nomadic life (Oros. 6, 21, 18), and military relations to Carthage and Rome cf. Dessau in P.-W. 7 (1912), 464–465; to which add: Sext. Emp. 3, 213; Dionys. Orbis Descript. 215 (Geogr. Gr. min. 2, 114); Isid. Etym. 9, 2, 118; Steph. Byz. s. v. Γαιτοὶ. Their barbarous character is also attested by Sall. Jug. 80, 1: Gaetulios, genus hominum ferum incultumque; Philostr. Vit. Apollon. 5, 1: Γαιτοὶ καὶ Τίγγας, ἀμφὶ θηριώδη καὶ Λιβυκὰ ἔθνη. In Aen. 4, 326 Iarbas is called Gaetulius. Haeberlin (in Philologus, 47 (1889), 313) somewhat fancifully detects here a compliment to Augustus, whose power later extended over these races; cf. 6, 792–795.

40. urbes: Servius well remarks: ad terrorem 'urbes' posuit; nam in mapalibus (cf. 4, 259) habitabant.

40. genus insuperabile bello: cf. 1, 339: fines Libyici, genus intractabile bello; and for the apposition of the phrase with the preceding word of nationality Henry (Aeneidea, 1 (1873), 630) compares Gratt. Cynege. 159: sunt qui Seras alant, genus intractabilis irae. The ablative is on the border-line between local and instrumental; cf. Kern, Zum Gebrauch des Abl. bei Vergil (1881), 23–24, who cites many parallels in the case of bello.

41. Numidae: in a general way Numidia to the southwest and the country bordering the Syrtis to the southeast shut in (cingunt) the immediate territory of Carthage, with the wild tribes of the Gaetuli in the hinterland; cf. Strab. 2, p. 131: πολλὰ δ' ἐστὶν ἡ Καρχηδονία· συνάπτουσι δ' οἱ νομάδες αὐτῇ . . . οὐκ ἀπεικὸς δὲ καὶ νομάδας λεχθῆναι τινὰς αὐτῶν, οὐ δυναμένους γεωργεῖν διὰ τὸ πλῆθος τῶν θηρίων τὸ παλαιόν; Plin. N. H. 5, 22: Numidae vero Nomades a permutandis pabulis, mapalia sua hoc est domus plaustris circumferentes; App. Rom. praef. 1: ἄλλα Λιβυῶν ἔθνη μέχρι Καρχηδόνης, καὶ τούτων ὑπερθε Νομάδες, οὓς Ῥωμαῖοι καλοῦσι Νουμίδας καὶ τὴν χώραν Νουμίδαν, ἕτεροι δὲ Λίβυες ὅσοι περιεκοῦσι τὰς Σύρτις μέχρι Κυρήνης, κτλ. In 4, 320; 4, 535; 8, 724 Virgil calls them Nomades.

41. infreni: the adjectives infrenus and infrenis (10, 750), like inhospita in this same line, are probably coined by Virgil; cf. Ladewig, De Vergilio Verborum Novatore, 1 (1870), 4; 6; Wotke in Wiener Stud. 8 (1886), 139. Ausonius (Grat. Act. 27) refers to this passage: mirabamur poetam qui infrenos dixerat Numidas.

For the custom here described cf. Arr. Cynege. 24, 3: Λιβυῶν δὲ παῖδες ὀκταετείς . . . ἐπὶ γυμνῶν τῶν ἵππων ἐλαύνουσιν, ῥάβδω χρώμενοι ἐπ' αὐτοῖς, ὅσα Ἕλληνες χαλινῶ; Strab. 17, p. 828 (of the Maurusii and the Masae-sylli): μικροῖς ἵπποις χρώμενοι, ὁξέσι δὲ καὶ εὐπειθέσιν ὥστ' ἀπὸ ῥαβδίου οἰακίεσθαι; Liv. 21, 9, 3: inter tot iam effrenatarum gentium arma; 21, 44, 1 (see below); 35, 11, 7 (of the Numidians): equi sine frenis; Luc. 4, 682–683: et gens quae nudo residens Massylia dorso / ora levi flectit frenorum nescia virga; Sil. 1, 215: Numidae, gens inscia freni; 2, 64: nullaque levis Gaetulius habena; 4, 314: infrenatique manipuli; Opp. Cynege. 4, 47–50: ἵπποις κελνοῖσιν, ὅσοι περὶ Μαυρίδα γαίαν / φέροντ', ἢ Λιβύεσσιν· ὅσοι μὴ κάρτεϊ χειρῶν / ἄγονται ψαλλοῖσι βιαζομένου χαλινῶ, / πείθονται δὲ λυγοῖσιν, δηλ. βροτὸς ἡγεμονέει (and Mair's note, to which I am much indebted); Nemes. Cynege. 263–268: nec pigeat quod . . . / . . . infrenes . . . / . . . nam flecti facilis lascivaque colla secutus / parat in obsequium lentae moderamine virgae; / verbera sunt praecepta fugae, sunt verbera freni; Herodian, 7, 9, 6: οἱ δὲ Νομάδες . . . ἵππεῖς ἀριστοὶ, ὥς καὶ χαλινῶν ἄνευ ῥάβδω μόνον τὸν δρόμον τῶν ἵππων κυβερνᾶν; Claud. Carm. min. 28, 20: infrenis Garamas; De Bell. Gild. 1, 439–440: somipes ignarus habena / virga regit (cf. Mart. 9, 22, 14).

On the transference of meaning in the adjective cf. Julian. Tolet. f. 4 (ap. Funaioli, *Esegesi Virgiliana antica* (1930), 427): frena enim non ad homines sed quadrupedibus pertinent; Bell. The Latin Dual (1923), 200, who compares Liv. 21, 44, 1: equites frenatos infrenatosque (cf. also Polyb. 3, 65, 6). Further there is doubtless an implication of the lawlessness of the Numidian race; cf. Serv. ad loc.: saevi et feroces; Donat. ad loc.: cum dicit infrenis ostendit indomitos et eos qui nullo iure tenerentur ac suis legibus viverent nec vellent alicuius imperio subiugari; the note on inhospita Syrtis below; also Aen. 1, 523.

41. inhospita Syrtis: cf. Ov. M. 8, 120; Luc. 1, 367; Cayado, Ecl. 6, 53; the word Syrtis (perhaps from σύρμα, but other etymological possibilities are discussed by Treidler in P.-W. 4 A (1932), 1797–1800) was applied to some large sandbanks (Jul. Hon. Cosmog.

41 (Geogr. Lat. min. 46 Riese; cf. id., 88, 41) rates them as insulae; cf. Treidler, op. cit., 1807–1808), off the north coast of Africa, the Syrtis maior lying west of Cyrenaica and the Syrtis minor (doubtless here meant) east of Byzacena, or to the gulfs in which these lay. For descriptions cf. Scyl. Periopl. 109 (Geogr. Gr. min. 1, 84); Sall. Jug. 78, 1–5; Mela, 1, 35; Strab. 17, p. 834; Luc. 9, 303–318; Plin. N. H. 5, 26–28; Solin. 27, 38–40; Serv. Aen. 1, 111; 10, 678; Mart. Cap. 6, 671. Their dangerous and stormy character is noted in 1, 111; 5, 51; 5, 192; 7, 302; 10, 678 (Virgil also mentions them in 1, 146; 6, 60; cf. Dirae, 53); Hor. C. 2, 6, 3–4; Sil. 2, 63: infidae litora Syrtis; Avien. 3, 158–159: donec arenosas atollant aequora Syrtis, / infidumque rati tenent mare; for a possible representation in a relief (Reinach, Rep. de Reliefs grecs et rom. 2 (1912), 260) found at Carthage and now at Paris cf. Grenier, The Roman Spirit (1926), 354. Knapp (in Cl. Rev. 17 (1903), 46) and Cartault (L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide, 1 (1926), 342) fail to see how the inhospitable character of the Syrtis and the neighborhood of the desert constitute dangers for Carthage (rather than protections against foreign attack), but Anna is here emphasizing the wild nature of the adjacent country as suggesting that its inhabitants share the same qualities; cf. the note on infreni above; also Hor. C. 2, 6, 3: barbaras Syrtis; Curt. 4, 7, 20: Nasamones . . . gens Syrtica, navigiorum spoliis quaestuosus, quippe obsident litora et aestu destituta navigia notis sibi vadis occupant; cf. Luc. 9, 439–444; 10, 477: Syrtis barbara; Sil. 1, 408–409. Such a land would naturally be thought to lack the amenities of countries accessible to trade and the security of those possessing an established culture, and would offer no protection in case of a necessary flight (cf. Donat. ad loc.).

For the adjective inhospita, first appearing in Virgil (cf. Schol. Dan.: et fictum 'inhospita,' cum 'inhospes' non dicatur), cf. 5, 627: inhospita saxa; Hor. Ep. 1, 14, 19: deserta et inhospita tesqua; Ov. M. 15, 15; Sil. 4, 751; 6, 308; Avien. 3, 71; 3, 116; 3, 278; 3, 422. So Horace (C. 1, 22, 6 and Epod. 1, 12) refers to the inhospitale Caucasum, with which cf. Aesch. Prom. 20: τῶδ' ἀπαρθρώπω πάγῳ.

42. hinc deserta siti regio lateque furentes Barcaeī. quid bella Tyro surgentia dicam

deseta b. uagantis c, uagantes dett.

barchaei F, barcei (corr. in barchaei) b; vide v. 42 supra. qui R, quid (i in ras.) b. surgeatia (corr. in surgentia) P, surgenti F (surgentia F¹).

42-43. lateque . . . Barcaeī: Hier. Ep. 126, 2, 2 (= Aug. Ep. 165, 2, 2) — uagantes; barchaei DM, barchei, brachei, barthei, bacchei al. —; Ep. 129, 4, 3 — lazaque J; uagantes om. D; varie barchaei, barchei, bacchei, bachei al. —; Isid. Etym. 9, 2, 107 — lataque A; uacantes AK, uagantes cett.; uaccei —; Hrab. Maur. De Univ. 16, 2 — uagantes uaccei —. 42. hinc . . . regio: [Acro] in Hor. C. 1, 22, 16. 42. deserta siti: Gl. Ansil. 171, 1016. 42. late furentes: Gl. Ansil. 331, 416.

[42*] 43. Tyro: Gl. Ansil. 564, 189; q.v.

42. deserta: Serv.: inhabitabilis. dicit autem Xerolibyem, id est partem Africae aridam, quae est inter Tripolin et Pentapolin (probably more distant than what Virgil here has in mind). et bene terret dicens iuxta esse aut bellicosas gentes, aut deserta loca, unde non speratur auxilium. Cf. Ecl. 1, 64: at nos hinc alii sitientis ibimus Afros; Mela, 1, 23: deinde late vacat regio perpetuo tractu inhabitabilis.

42. lateque furentes: cf. Cayado, Ecl. 6, 86: lateque furens; the reading vagantes perhaps suggested Oros. 6, 21, 18: in Africa Musulanos et Gaetulos latius vagantes; cf. also Avien. 3, 280-287.

43. Barcaeī: Servius remarks: hi prope sunt a Carthagine; unde addidit 'late furentes'. hi secundum Titianum in chorographia Phoenicen navali quondam superare certamine. Barce autem civitas est Pentapoleos, quae hodie Ptolemais dicitur (a frequent misidentification of the inland city with its harbor; cf. Sethe in P.-W. 3 (1899), 20); nam Cyrene et Barce reginae fuerunt quae singulis dederunt civitatibus nomina. The Scholia Danielis add: sed hoc per prolepsin dictum est (for Barce was not founded till the sixth century B.C.; cf. Hdt. 4, 160; Sethe, l. c.). If Barce near Cyrene were the place meant by Virgil it would seem geographically inappropriate as well, since that is nearly seven hundred miles from Carthage in an air line; on the other hand we know of no other more appropriately situated Barce, and Virgil (who is perhaps not very definite in his African topography or who does not wish to

make Anna appear pedantically accurate) may think of the people of Barce as dominating the region which borders the Syrtes. From the reading Baccaeī claimed by Ribbeck for Hier. Ep. 126, 2, 2 and 129, 4, 3 (from which Isidore (Etym. 9, 2, 107) may have derived his Vaccei) Nettleship, in revising Conington's edition, suggests the people of Vacca or Vaga (Sall. Iug. 1, 29, 4; etc.; which Sil. 3, 259 scans Vāga), a town located by Kiepert about seventy miles southwest of Carthage. But Hilberg's edition of Jerome's Letters, though furnishing many manuscript variants in these two passages, does not show that which Ribbeck supposed, and Nettleship's suggestion is well refuted by Immisch in Rh. Mus. 52 (1897), 127. It seems best, then, to retain Barcaeī. Immisch's own proposal to transpose lines 40 and 41 would produce a more logical arrangement of localities, but supposes on the part of Anna a precision of geographical information which we have no right to expect from a lady newly arrived in the country, and lacks MS support.

The nurse Barce (mentioned in 4, 632) may be eponymously connected by Virgil with this city, though it is likely that the poet's chief purpose in choosing the name was to foreshadow the great general of the First Punic War, Hamilcar Barcas (Baraq = 'lightning'; cf. Lenschau in P.-W. 7 (1912), 2303).

43. bella . . . surgentia: cf. 9, 667: pugna aspera surgit; Sen. Dial. 12, 9, 8: Africa resurgentis belli minis plena; Sil. 1, 686 (= 13,

44. germanique minas?

quae γ.

616): surgentia bella; 14, 293: bellum surgebat.

43. Tyro: this line and the next prepare the way for 4, 325-326; cf. also 1, 340-341.

44. germani, etc.: on Pygmalion, the brother of Dido, cf. 1, 346-364; 4, 325-326; Ov. H. 7, 114; 7, 127-128: est etiam frater, cuius manus impia possit / respergi nostro, sparsa cruore viri; F. 3, 574; Sil. 1, 21; 8, 63-64: nam ferre per aequor / exitium miserae iam Pygmaliona docebat. For the derivation of his name (a Greek corruption of the Phoenician Pumi-yathon, the name of a Cyprian king, cf. Frazer on Ov. F. 3, 574, and works there cited; to which add Güntert, Kalypto (1919), 232-233), and for his history cf. Kowalski, De Didone Graeca et Latina (1929), 14, n. 4; 16, n. 3 (etymology); 16-17, to which add App. Pun. 1; Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg. 195 (Geogr. Gr. min. 2, 250-251). Menander of Ephesus (ap. Theophil. Ad Autolyceum, 3, 22) says that he succeeded Metten, lived 56 years, and that in the seventh year of his reign his sister fled to Libya and founded Carthage.

This is the first of five incomplete lines in this book, the others being 361, 400, 503, and 516. On these cf. Donat. Vit. Verg. p. 7 Brummer: Erotem librum et libertum eius exactae iam senectutis tradunt referre solitum, quondam eum in recitando duos dimidiatos versus complexse ex tempore. nam cum hactenus haberet (6, 164): 'Misenum Aeoliden', adiecit: 'quo non praestantior alter', item huic (6, 165): 'aere ciere viros', simili calore iactatum subiunxisse: 'Martemque accendere cantu', statimque sibi imperasse ut utrumque volumini adscriberet; p. 9: edidit autem auctore Augusto Varius, sed summam emendata, ut qui versus etiam imperfectos, si qui erant, reliquerit. quos multi mox supplere conati non perinde valuerunt ob difficultatem, quod omnia fere apud eum hemistichia absoluto perfectoque sunt sensu, praefer illud (3, 340): 'quem tibi iam Troia'; Serv. Aen. 6, 165: hemistichium hoc dicitur addidisse dum recitat (Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide, 1 (1926), 68-69, thinks it more likely that the

verses were already complete but that Virgil substituted during the reading versions which better pleased him); Serv. Vit. p. 2 Thilo: Augustus vero, ne tantum opus periret, Tuccam et Varium hac lege iussit emendare ut superflua demerent, nihil adderent tamen; unde et semiplenos eius invenimus versiculos, ut 'hic cursus fuit' (1, 534); Schol. Dan. 4, 361: et oratorie ibi finivit ubi vis argumenti constitit.

The number of Virgilian half-lines is 58; for lists cf. Belling, Stud. ii. d. Compositionskunst Vergils in der Aen. (1899), 113; 159-160; Shipley, in Washington Univ. Stud. 12, Humanistic Ser., 1 (1924), 115-145 (who furnishes metrical data for them; 4, 44 belongs to the commonest type, of those terminating before a penthemimeral caesura); Born in Cl. Philol. 26 (1931), 200, n. 1. Every book contains instances, ranging from a single example in Book XII to ten in Book II (cf. Crump, The Growth of the Aeneid (1920), 12), and in all save 3, 340 the sense is complete, while that line may be considered as an intentional case of aposiopesis. In eight cases a speech is ended by an unfinished line, just as many speeches end in the middle of a finished one; Crump, op. cit., 11. Lines which Mackail (in Cl. Rev. 29 (1915), 225-227) considers as libicines (indications of lines to be inserted; see below) are 5, 653, 8, 469; 9, 295; 10, 580; 12, 631; cf. also the introduction to his edition, l-lII.

In explanation of the half-lines there are two conflicting theories. By some it is supposed that they were left by the poet intentionally unfinished, for greater emphasis, for certain pathetic effects, or to relieve the monotony of the hexameter verse. This view of deliberate intention is found in the Scholia Danielis on 4, 361 (quoted above), and has been adopted by such writers as Zille, Bemerkungen ii. d. unvollendeten Verse der Aeneide (1865), 39-40; Münscher, Die unvollständigen Verse der Aeneide (1879); Belling, op. cit., 113-137; Fowler, Virgil's "Gathering of the Clans" (1918), 93-96; cf. Sparrow, op. cit., 25-46. It is combated by Wendlandt in Zeitschr. f. d. Gymnasialwesen,

45. dis equidem auspicibus reor et Iunone secunda

diis Ppγ.

45. dis . . . secunda: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 5, 132 — diis LPb —. 45. Iunone secunda: *Gl. Ansil.* 322, 160.

29 (1875), 385–393; Sellar (*Virgil*, 2 ed. (1883), 418), Walter (*Die Entstehung der Halbverse in der Aeneis* (1933), 65–67) and by Miss Crump (*op. cit.*, 8–13), who, while admitting the accidental effectiveness of some of the cases, thinks that Virgil was abundantly able to avoid monotony by his skilful handling of the hexameter, and that if he had deliberately sought effects of this kind he overlooked striking opportunities at other points. Another consideration (which she does not mention) is that, if the Romans had recognized this device as intentional, other poets would undoubtedly have imitated it, but, with the exception of Claud. *Carm. min.* 53, 128 (the last line of a poem), and 14 cases in the Virgilian centos (cf. Born, *op. cit.*, 201; Sparrow, *op. cit.*, 26, n. 1), I find nothing resembling this in later hexameters (Catull. 64, 23b, the only earlier case I have noted, is doubtless due to a lacuna), a half dozen instances in Aonius Palearius, *De Animorum Immortalitate* being too late to be significant, while the cases in Goethe cited by Schanz (*Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* 2, 1, 3 ed. (1911), 66) are hardly to the point.

The other and more probable explanation (cf. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 56–57, n. 91) makes the half-lines not intentional but the result of the incompleteness of the *Aeneid*; cf. Donat. *Vit. Verg.* p. 6 Brummer: *Aeneida prosa prius oratione formatam digestamque in XII libros particulatim componere instituit, prout liberet quidque, et nihil in ordinem arripens. ac ne quid impetum moraretur, quaedam imperfecta transmisit, alii levissimis versibus veluti fulsit, quos per iocum pro tibicinibus interponi aiebat ad sustinendum opus donec solidae columnae advenirent.* The unfinished lines seem conspicuously to mark some of the points of juncture of the different blocks of the composition, which in his later revision he would have concealed by the addition, in each instance, of the remaining portion of the

line, or, as would have been easier, by adding a new sentence consisting of the rest of the line followed by one or more complete lines.

A further variation of this view would hold that the Fourth Book and the others read by Virgil to Augustus (Donat. *Vit. Verg.* p. 7 Brummer; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 4, 323; the two lists vary but this book appears in each) must have been finished sufficiently to have removed these traces of incompleteness, and that the half-lines (and the lines immediately preceding them, for Mackail, in *Cl. Rev.* 29 (1915), 227, finds at least 22 such cases where a half-line or one and a half lines could be deleted without injury to the sense) have their origin in marginalia written by Virgil and either not used or deliberately rejected by him but later inserted by Varius into the text when he prepared it for publication. According to Henselmanns (*Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis* (1914), 74) and Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 56–57) the greater the number of incomplete lines in a book the less the evidence of incompleteness and the greater the indication of more frequent and vigorous revision on the margins of Virgil's copy (but cf. Terzaghi, *l. c.*). Born (in *Cl. Philol.* 26 (1931), 199–202), from a study of material in half-lines used by Virgil and others elsewhere, concludes that Virgil probably intended to complete the lines. Knight (in *Cl. Journ.* 27 (1931), 198) thinks that the poet left them unfinished from dissatisfaction with available solutions of problems of rhythmic 'texture.'

For the bibliography of works on the half-lines cf. Schanz, *l. c.*; Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 24–25; Walter, *Die Entstehung der Halbverse in der Aeneis* (1933), 69–71; on the effect produced by such lines most famous are the words of Newman (*Grammar of Assent*, 4, 2, 4): "his pathetic half-lines, giving utterance, as the

46. hunc cursum Iliacas vento tenuisse carinas.
quam tu urbem, soror, hanc cernes, quae surgere regna

hunc *dett.*, *Schol. Dan.*; *sed cf.* 1, 534. tenuisse (s *post. m.* 2) γ. (qu)amtu P, quantum c¹. que P (quae P¹). consurgere (pro quae surgere) m. surge (*corr. in surgere*) b.

46. hunc . . . carinas: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 534. 46. Iliacas . . . carinas: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 5, 1.

47. quam . . . regna: *Aldhelmus, De Septen. (Patr. Lat.* 89, 179).

voice of Nature herself, to that pain and weariness, yet hope of better things, which is the experience of her children in every time"; cf. Woodberry, *Great Writers* (1912), 137; also Cowley, *Davideis*, 1, n. 14 (cited in *Camb. Hist. of Engl. Lit.* 7 (1911), 77) on the "putid officiousness" of the grammarians who attempted to finish the incomplete verses.

45. dis . . . auspicibus: cf. 3, 19–20: *sacra Dioneae matri divisque ferebam / auspicibus coeptorum operum*; Maphaeus Vegius, *Aen.* 13, 45: *dis auspicibus*; Serv. on our line: *dii qui sunt auspices matrimonii, Aeneam huc venire fecerunt; nuptiae enim captatis fiebant auguriis, ut contentique auspice Bruto* (Luc. 2, 371); *Schol. Dan.*: *Varro de pudicitia ait auspices in nuptiis appellatos ↑ auspici bisque ab marito et nova nupta per hos auspices captabantur in nuptiis*; and, on the *nuptiarum auspices*, Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 16. The present passage seems a combination of such ideas as *fatis . . . poscentibus* (8, 477) or *dis . . . secundis* (8, 682) with the deeper implications suggested by Servius.

45. Iunone secunda: cf. *Schol. Dan.*: *vel quae praeest coniugiis, quae pronuba appellatur, quamvis et ipsa in libris augurum praesse dicatur auspiciis; aut quia Carthaginem fovet*. Probably both ideas are present; for the former cf. 4, 166, n. (*pronuba Iuno*); for the latter 4, 91, n. (*Iovis coniunx*). For other cases of *secundus* used of favoring deities cf. 8, 682: *ventis et dis . . . secundis*; 10, 21–22: *secundo / Marte*; 11, 899 (= 12, 497): *Marte secundo* (and Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (1919), 642, n. 2, who does not recognize any personal element in *Marte*, as contrasted with the distinctly personal *Iunone* of the present line); Liv. 7, 26,

7: *praesentibus ac secundis dis*. Cf. also the use of the verb *secundo*: G. 4, 397; *Aen.* 3, 36: *rile secundarent visus*; 7, 259: *di nostra incepta secudent*; Sen. *H. F.* 645: *volum secundet . . . deus*; Luc. 1, 635; *di visa secudent*; Sil. 8, 124: *ut visa secudent*. Maphaeus Vegius, *Aen.* 13, 611 repeats the verse ending *Iunone secunda*.

46. hunc cursum: Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 343, compares with this phrase 1, 534: *hic cursus fuit*, and notes other parallels between Anna's speech and the First Book, perhaps indicating that Virgil thought of her as present at the speech of Ilioneus (1, 522–558). Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 201) thinks that *hunc* here = *huc hunc*; cf. Knight in *Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 202, n. 16; it is to be noted that Servius had a text reading *huc*.

46. Iliacas: cf. 4, 537.

46. vento: driven by the wind rather than intentionally; cf. *Schol. Dan.*: *mire, cum alio iter haberent, huc delati sunt; et ideo addidit 'vento'*; Bell, *op. cit.*, 402; also with *vento* cf. 2, 25: *vento petiisse Mycenae*; 3, 563: *ventisque petivit*; 4, 381: *sequere Italiam ventis*. *Cursum* is not necessarily used of a deliberately chosen course (cf. 3, 337: *tibi qui cursum venti, quae fata dedere*), but usually it implies selection by the travellers; e.g., 3, 686: *ni teneant cursus*; Caes. *B. G.* 5, 8, 2: *cursum non tenuit*; Cic. *N. D.* 3, 83: *cursum teneret*; cf. also the phrase in 5, 1–2: *tenebat / certus iter*. Possibly Anna meant to imply that the gods have made the seemingly random route of the Trojans a more purposeful voyage than the latter themselves realize.

46. carinas: Virgil often figuratively uses parts of the ship for the whole, e.g., *prora*, *puppis* (4, 418), *trabs*, and *carina* (also

48. coniugio tali! Teucrum comitantibus armis

(co)niugio P. comitanti (corr. in comitantibus) c.

48. comitantibus armis: *Anth. Lat. no. 15, 14* (1, p. 50 Riese) — cogitantibus A —.

in 4, 398; 4, 658); cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Trophen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 20; Kunz, *Realien in Vergil's Aeneis* (1894), 15.

47. *quam*, etc.: cf. Ov. *H.* 7, 151–152: *Ilion in Tyrium transfer felicius urbem / iamque locum regis sceptraque sacra tene*. Anna here anticipates what Mercury actually finds in 4, 260 and reproves in 4, 266–267. In fact, Dido had offered the Trojans a share in the city (1, 572–574) before she had ever seen Aeneas himself. The temptation which Anna here presents to Dido is, on the ground of apparent public benefits to her city, to be false to her private devotion to the memory of Sychaeus; Aeneas's temptation is to be false to his public duty to his people and future state in order to satisfy his private regard for Dido.

On the use of *quam* the Schol. Dan. remark: *qualem vel quantam*.

47. *urbem* . . . *cernes*: cf. 1, 258; La Cerda (*ad loc.*) compares Stat. *Theb.* 2, 361–362: *fors aderit lux illa tibi, qua moenia cernes / coniugis, et geminas ibis regina per urbes*.

47. *surgere regna*: cf. Sen. *Dial.* 6, 26, 5: *licet surrectura, licet ruitura regna prospicere*. Usually *surgo* is used of the growth of more tangible objects, like the walls of a city; cf. 1, 366: *surgentem novae Carthaginis arcem*; Luc. 2, 678–679: *aggere multo / surgit opus*. For the plural *regna* — a favorite Virgilian expression — cf. Braumüller, *op. cit.*, 1 (1877), 12.

On the repetition of syllables (*surgere regna*) cf. Isocr. *Art. fr.* 4: *μηδὲ τελευτᾶν καὶ ἀρχεσθαι ἀπὸ τῆς αὐτῆς συλλαβῆς ὁλον εἰποῦσα σαφῆ, ἥλικα καλὰ, ἐνθα θαλῆς*; Quintil. 9, 4, 41: *videndum etiam ne syllabae verbi prioris ultimae sint primae sequentis*, etc.; Serv. *Aen.* 2, 27 (repeated by Isid. *Etyim.* 1, 34, 5): *Dorica castra* (*Aen.* 2, 27 = 6, 88) *mala est compositio ab ea syllaba incipere qua superius*

finitus est sermo, etc.; Biese in *Rh. Mus.* 38 (1883), 634–637; Schulze, *Beitr. z. Erkl. d. röm. Eleg.* (1893), 16; Zingerle in *Festschr. Th. Gomperz* (1902), 355; Austin in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 24 (1903), 452–455; Foster in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 40 (1909), 49; Bushnell in *Proc. Am. philol. Assoc.* 41 (1910), xxv; Havet, *Man. de critique verbale* (1911), 230; Vollmer on Stat. *Silv.* 3, 3, 12; Norden on *Aen.* 6, 88; Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 108; Marouzeau in *Rev. des Études lat.* 10 (1932), 168–170.

Many examples, however, are to be found in Virgil, e.g., in the present book lines 90 (*peste teneri*), 123 (*nocte tegentur*), 329 (*ore referret*), 335 (*me meminisse*), 350 (*quaerere regna*); cf. Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 21, 87: *florere repletum*, 380 (*te teneo*), 594 (*date tela*), 656 (*fratre recepi*), 701 (*adverso sole*). A verse ascribed to Alaric reads *te tero, Roma, manu nuda; date tela, latele!*

48. *coniugio*: probably ablative of attendant circumstance; possibly one of cause or of means. For such an interracial marriage cf. 4, 172, n. (*coniugium*). The difficulties of combining two peoples (cf. 8, 688), one of them Semitic, Anna conveniently overlooks; but cf. Horace's contempt (*C.* 3, 5, 5–40) for marriage between the Roman soldiers of Crassus and Parthian women. Steiner (*Das Bedeutungslehnwort in Vergil's Aeneis* (1921), 44) thinks *coniugium* = *λέχος*, *ἐννῆ* = 'spouse' = 'Aeneas.'

48. *Teucrum*: Virgil uses both *Teucrorum* and *Teucrum*, the shorter occurring also in 4, 537. On the use of this title for the Trojans cf. Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 1, 38: *Teucrorum quia Teucer et Scamandrus Creta profecti Troiam venerunt. facta ascensione hospitio a Dardano accepti de advenis cives facti, quia Batiam, Teucri filiam, Dardanus sibi iunxit et populares suos socero cognomines fecit*.

48. *armis*: for *armati*; cf. Braumüller, *op. cit.*, 1 (1877), 9–10.

49. Punica se quantis attollet gloria rebus!
tu modo posce deos veniam, sacrisque litatis

(pu)nica P.

(t)u P, tum γ. ueniam (am in ras.) F.

49. *Punica* . . . *rebus*: *Carm. Centulensia*, 1, 238 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 288). 49. *quantis rebus*: *Gl. Ansil.* 476, 131.

50. *tu* . . . *litatis*: *Non. p.* 424 M. (p. 686 L.); *Prisc. Inst.* 15, 11 (*G. L. K.* 3, 69) — *pos+ce(t) R*; *sacris qualitatibus D* —; *Hrab. Maur. Exc. de Art. Prisc. (Patr. Lat.* 111, 658).

50. *tu* . . . *veniam*: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 519; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 56; *Cledon. Ars* (*G. L. K.* 5, 64); *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 169* (1, p. 67 Riese). 50. *sacris litatis*: *Gl. Ansil.* 504, 101.

49. *Punica* . . . *gloria*: cf. 4, 37, n. (*triumphis*). Note the elaborately interlocked order of words in this line.

49. *se* . . . *attollet*: cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1900), 1153, 49–59.

49. *quantis* . . . *rebus*: perhaps sc. *gerendis* (abl.); or, more probably, a dative ("to what great heights").

50. *tu modo*: this phrase, introducing an imperative or the equivalent, is found, at the beginning of the line, in *Ecl.* 4, 8; *G.* 3, 73; *Aen.* 2, 160; *Aetna*, 144; *Prop.* 2, 15, 49; *Manil.* 1, 458; cf. *Phaedr.* 2, 8, 8: *vos modo*; Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 239. *Tu* may often be added to an imperative to increase its force; cf. *G.* 4, 106; *Aen.* 6, 851; etc. Here Forbiger suggests that it forms a contrast with the *dis* . . . *auspiciibus* . . . *et Iunone secunda* of line 45.

50. *veniam*: closely connected with the *pacem* of 4, 56, the phrase *pax veniaque* being a frequent one, and here and in 4, 56 each of the single words perhaps suggesting the other (Bell, *op. cit.*, 183). Cf. the examples cited by Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 129, n.; Cic. *Pro Font.* 30: *ab dis immortalibus pacem ac veniam petunt*; *Pro Rab. Perd. Reo*, 5: *ab Iove Optimo Maximo ceterisque dis deabusque immortalibus* . . . *pacem ac veniam peto*; Liv. 1, 31, 7: *unam opem* . . . *si pax veniaque ab diis impetrata esset, credebant*; 3, 7, 7–8: *supplicatum ire pacemque exposcere deum* . . . *veniam irarum caelestium* . . . *exposcunt*; 39, 10, 5: *pacem veniamque precata deorum dearumque*. There is, however, a certain distinction between these two often coupled terms, *venia* meaning indulgence for some fault or neglect and

pacem denoting the attitude of goodwill or favor on the part of the deity which the worshipper seeks in prayer. For the former cf. *G.* 4, 536; *Aen.* 3, 144; *Cul.* 294; for the latter the cases cited in 4, 56, n. (*pacem*).

Schüler (*Quaest. Vergilianae* (1883), 24–25) is troubled because Anna advises Dido to seek indulgence (*veniam*) for the passion which Dido herself recognizes as a fault (cf. 4, 19; 4, 27; 4, 85; 4, 172; 4, 550; Gercke, *Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 51) and which the *insomnia* of 4, 9 might indicate was displeasing to the powers of the other world, yet, when the sacrifices take place to the divinities associated with wedlock (4, 56–64), the conclusion is drawn by the poet (4, 65–67) that Dido can find in religious rites no cure for her passion, from which it would appear that she was seeking to allay rather than to further it, and this inconsistency he would explain by assuming different stages in the composition of this book. But cf. 4, 65, n. (*quid vota*). Knapp (in *Cl. Weekly*, 27 (1934), 149, n. 62) believes these sacrifices were intended to release Dido from her oath of fidelity to Sychaeus, and that 4, 450–465 implies that they were unsuccessful.

50. *sacrisque litatis*: the verb is used by Virgil only here and at 2, 118; cf. Ov. *M.* 14, 156: *sacris* . . . *ex more litatis*; F. 4, 630: *sacra litate bove*; Stat. *Theb.* 10, 338: *tibi enim haec ego sacra litavi*; Luc. 1, 632–633: *litavi, / Iuppiter, hoc sacrum*. Virgil seems the first to use *lito* transitively (cf. Antoine, *De Casuum Syntaxi Vergiliana* (1882), 39), and Servius, in view of its commoner use with an ablative of manner or means, remarks: '*diis litatis*' debuit dicere; non enim

51. indulge hospitio causasque innecte morandi,
dum pelago desaevit hiems et aquosus Orion,

hospitio et (que om.) F.

hiems bp, hiemps cell. et om. π. a. quosus γ. oriori M (orion M¹).

51. indulge . . . morandi: *Non. p. 326 M. (p. 511 L.)*. 51. indulge hospitio: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 98 (1, p. 65 Riese)*; *Schol. Lucan. 4, 664*; *Gl. Ansil. 298, 511*. 51. causas morandi: *Gl. Ansil. 104, 1123*.

52. dum . . . Orion: *Serv. Aen. 4, 309* — hiems —; 4, 626 — hiemps libri praeter L —; [Acro] in *Hor. C. 3, 27, 18* — desueit codd. plerique; hiems γa, hiemps V —. 52. dum . . . hiems: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 81 (1, p. 64 Riese)* — hyems α —; [Acro] in *Hor. Epod. 2, 52* — desueit V, desuevit Av; hiemps —. 52. desaevit: *Gl. Abstr. 27, 27*. 52. aquosus Orion: *Diomed. Art. gram. 2 (G. L. K. 1, 442)*; [Prob.] *De ult. Syll. 18 (G. L. K. 4, 263)*; *Donat. Ars gram. 3, 4 (G. L. K. 4, 396)*; *Pomp. Comm. (G. L. K. 5, 299)*; *Consent. Ars (G. L. K. 5, 389; 5, 400)*; *Max. Vict. De Rat. Metr. (G. L. K. 6, 220)*; *Iulian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris 4, 14*.

sacra sed deos sacris litamus, id est, placamus; ergo nove dixit. On the process of *litatio* cf. Pease on *Cic. De Div. 2, 36*, and works there cited. The ablative absolute here expresses a condition; if the sacrifices have turned out favorably Dido may assume that the gods favor her desired course of action.

51. indulge: cf. 2, 776; 6, 135; 9, 165; 9, 615; etc.

51. causas: here of pretended ones; cf. 9, 219: *causas nequiquam neclis inanis*; *Prop. 4, 5, 29: ulere causas*; *Priap. 50, 4: causas invenit usque differendi*; *Angilbertus, Carm. 1, 15 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 1, 359): causasque morandi sepe rimatur*.

51. innecte: a word perhaps coined by Virgil (*Ladewig, De Vergilio Verborum Novatore (1870), 4*), and used by him ten times, the passage most akin to this being 6, 609: *fraus innexa clienti*. Cf. *Stat. Theb. 5, 743-744: plures innectere pergas*, / *Phoebe, moras*; *Claud. In Rufin. 1, 315: innectitque moras et congrua tempora differt*; *Arnulf. S. Emm. (Migne, Patr. Lat. 141, 979 C)*; cited by *Manitius, Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters, 2 (1923), 307, n. 2: morarum causas innectit sociis*; also *Sen. Dial. 5, 39, 3: moras neclit*; *Val. Fl. 3, 374-375: an tibi neclunt / corda moras*; *Mart. Epig. Lib. 30, 2: et varia lentas necleret arte moras*; *Tac. Ann. 12, 14, 1: neclere moras*; *Flor. 2, 13, 2, 42: neclere moras*; *Ambros. Ep. 6, 4: moras innectendo . . . causae morandi*; *Sidon. Carm. 22, praef.: moras necto*. The verb, as in 6, 609,

implies the craft by which Dido is to bind Aeneas by a sense of obligation for hospitality received. The opposite of the phrase is *rumpe moras* (4, 569). See also *Vida, Christianas, 3, 57: causas innecte precandi*.

52. desaevit: first in Virgil and Horace. The prefix emphasizes 'continuation with reckless vehemence' (Henry); cf. 10, 569; *Hor. C. 1, 3, 13: decertantem*; 1, 9, 11: *deproeliantis*. The word is generally used of persons or their anger, but cf. *Sen. Dial. 5, 1, 1: dum tempestas prima desaevit*; also *Aen. 2, 418-419: saevitque tridenti / spumeus . . . Nereus*; *Stat. Silv. 1, 4, 121: cum saevit hiems*. For the figure of madness as applied to storms or winter cf. *Lünzner, Über Personificationen in Vergils Gedichten (1876), 20*; for the singular verb agreeing with the nearer subject cf. *Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 49-51*.

52. hiems: that this is a stormy season (hence not unnaturally identified with winter) is constantly emphasized, e.g., 1, 535; 4, 193: *hiemem . . . quam longa fovere*; 4, 309-310; 4, 430; 4, 562; cf. *Ov. H. 7, 41; 7, 179*; *Conrads, Quaest. Vergilianae (1863), xii*; *Georgii, Über das dritte Buch der Aeneide (1877), 70*; *Henselmanns, Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis (1914), 11-13; 26*; *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik, 3 ed. (1915), 147, n. 1; 346*; *Valentine in Cl. Weekly, 21 (1928), 108*; *Potter in Cl. Journ. 27 (1932), 506* (who thinks the noun *hiems* and *hiberno* in 4, 309 are used of storms rather than of winter,

53. quassataeque rates, dum non tractabile caelum'.

quassataeque F (corr. F¹). rataes γ. dum . . . caelum del. Ribbeck aliique (v. explicat. infra).

53. quassataeque rates: *Non. p. 254 M. (p. 385 L.)*; *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 95 (1, p. 65 Riese)* — *quasateq*; A —. 53. non tractabile: *Gl. Ansil. 395, 204* — *tractabilem* —.

and would thus seek to explain some chronological difficulties in the story). With this picture of the season 6, 355 seems to agree, where *Palinurus, qui Libyco nuper cursu . . . exciderat puppi* (6, 338-339), speaks of the *tris . . . hibernas . . . noctes* (which *Cocchia in Riv. Indo-Greco-Italica, 8 (1924), 15-16* would explain as 'stormy' rather than 'winter'); on the other hand in 5, 626 (as noted by *Crump, Growth of the Aeneid (1920), 64*) and 7, 495 it is certainly summer. Ovid thinks of the departure as in the winter; cf. *H. 7, 41: quo fugis? obstat hiemps. hiemis mihi gratia prosit*.

52. aquosus Orion: cf. *Hes. Op. 619-622: εὐτ' ἂν Πληιάδες σθένος ὄβριμον Ὀρίωνος / φέγουσαι πίπτωσιν ἢ ἡροειδέα πόντον, / δὴ τότε παντοίων ἀνέμων θυλονσιν ἀήται / καὶ τότε μῆκετι νῆας ἔχειν ἐν οἴνοπι πόντῳ*; *Arist. Meteor. 2, p. 361 b 30: ἀκριτος δὲ καὶ χαλεπὸς δ' Ὀρίων εἶναι δοκεῖ, καὶ δύνων καὶ ἐπιτέλλων, κτλ.*; *Theocr. 7, 53-56*; *Apoll. Rh. 1, 1201-1202: εὐτε μάλιστα / χειμερὶ ὁλοοῖο δόσις πέλει Ὀρίωνος*; *Anth. Pal. 7, 273, 1-3: Εὐρου με τρηχεῖα καὶ αἰψήσσο καταγίγς, / καὶ νύξ, καὶ δνοφερῆς κύματα πανδυσίης / ἔβλαψ' Ὀρίωνος*; *Aen. 1, 535: subito adsurgens fluctu nimbosus Orion* (where the first *o* is shortened, as in our line and 10, 763; cf. *Serv. ad loc.*); 7, 719: *saevos ubi Orion hibernis conditur undis*; *Hor. C. 1, 28, 21-22: devexi rapidus comes Orionis / . . . Notus*; 3, 27, 17-18: *sed vides quanto trepidet tumultu / pronus Orion*; *Epod. 10, 10: qua tristis Orion cadit*; 15, 7-8: *dum . . . nautis infestus Orion / turbaret hibernum mare*; *Prop. 2, 16, 51: aquosus Orion*; *Plin. N. H. 18, 223: sidus vehemens Orionis*; 18, 278 (where Orion is mentioned among the *horrida sidera* whence storms arise); *Stat. Theb. 3, 26-27: cum fragor hiberni subitus Iovis, omnia mundi / claustra tonant multusque polos inclinat Orion*; 9, 459-461: *hinc atque hinc tumidi fluctus animosaeque surgit / tempestas instar pelagi, cum Pliadas haurit /*

aut nigrum trepidis impingit Oriona nautis; *Claud. De Bell. Gild. 497-498: imbribus umescant Haedi nimbosaque Taurum / ducat Hyas totusque fretus descendat Orion*; *De Cons. Stil. 1, 287: nubilus Aegaeo quam turbine vexat Orion*; *Rut. Nam. 1, 637: procelloso . . . Orioni*. *Schol. Dan.: Orion: id est cum occidit Orion, quoniam et oriens et occidens tempestates commovet*; *Isid. Etym. 3, 71, 10: dictus Orion ab urina* (cf. *Küntzle in Roscher, Ausf. Lex. 3 (1909), 1018*), *id est, ab inundatione aquarum. tempore enim hiemis obortus mare et terras aquis ac tempestatibus turbat*; *Vida, Christianas, 2, 19: aquosus . . . Orion*; *Dryden, Dedication of the Aeneis (14 (1889 ed.), 197)*; *Gundel, De Stellarum Appellatione et Relig. Romana (1907), 182*; *McCartney in Cl. Weekly, 20 (1926), 52*. For the adjective cf. *G. 4, 234: sidus . . . Piscis aquosus*.

53. quassataeque rates: echoing *Ilioneus* in 1, 551: *quassatam ventis liceat subducere classem*; cf. *Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide, 1 (1926), 343*; also *Aen. 9, 91*; *Hor. C. 1, 1, 17-18: mox reficit rates / quassas*; 4, 8, 32: *quassas eripiunt aequoribus rates*; *Ov. H. 7, 175-176: laniataque classis / postulat exiguas semirefecta moras*; *Tr. 1, 2, 2: solvere quassatae parcite membra ratis*; *Liv. 23, 34, 17: alvei navium quassati erant*; 25, 3, 11: *veteres quassasque naves*; 30, 39, 3: *quassatae armamentisque spoliatae naves*; *Stat. Silv. 2, 2, 141: non quassa ratis*; *Dict. Cret. 6, 7: naves quassatas tempestatibus reficit*; *Aug. De beata Vita, 4: quassatam navem*; *Prud. Contr. Symm. 2, praef. 10: iactatam quatit ralem*. The refitting of storm-shattered vessels on African territory was permitted to the Romans by a sixth-century arrangement between Rome and Carthage; cf. *Polyb. 3, 22, 6; 3, 23, 3; 3, 24, 11*. On the number of Aeneas's ships cf. 1, 170; 1, 381; also 4, 397, n. (*celsus*), below. *Ratis*, originally a raft, early came to be used of

54. His dictis incensum animum flammavit amore

impenso *F* (corr. in *incensum F*¹), penso *P* (corr. in *incensum P*¹⁻²), inpenso *p*, incensum *MRbcγπ*, *Serv.*, *Donat.*; v. explicat. infra. flammavit *FPRc*, inflammavit *MP¹bγπ*, *Serv.*, *Donat.* amorem *p*, amore (*a m. 2*) *γ*.

54. incensum amore: *Gl. Ansil.* 306, 1225 — inpenso —.

ships; cf. *Enn. Ann.* 385; 497; *Naev. ap. Varr. L. L.* 7, 23; *Afran. and Acc. ap. Fest.* p. 273 M. (cf. *Paul. p.* 272 M.); *Catull.* 63, 1; 64, 121; and many cases in *Virgil*, including 4, 540; 4, 593; *Torr, Ancient Ships* (1895), 122.

53. *dum*, etc.: *Ribbeck*, in the critical note in his *editio maior*, remarks: *mihi orationem post rates imperfectum reliquisse videtur poeta: desideratur enim reficiendi aliquod verbum. sequentia post v. 52 ferri omnino non possunt, ut ficta videantur ex ge. I 211. ceterum optimum erat v. 51 Annae orationem concludere, et poterat interpolator panos desumere ex Aen. I 535 et 551; cf. Kvčala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 78–80; *Belling, Stud. u. d. Compositiionskunst Vergils in d. Aeneide* (1889), 143; *Sparrow, Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 50. It seems unnecessary, however, to adopt *Ribbeck's* view. *Anna* means that *Dido* is to devise excuses for delay while the ships are still shattered (and not yet repaired) and while the weather continues unfavorable for navigation. The omission of *sunt* with *quassatae* and of *est* with *caelum* (I do not, with *Henry*, consider *quassataeque rates* as parenthetical), though more awkward in a subordinate clause than in a main one, is easily paralleled; e.g., *G. 1*, 505: *ubi fas versum atque nefas*; 2, 312: *hoc ubi*; 2, 528: *ignis ubi in medio*; 3, 144: *muscus ubi*; 3, 235: *ubi collectum robur viresque refectae*; 3, 325: *dum mane novom*; 3, 432: *postquam exusta palus*; *Aen. 1*, 602; 4, 80: *post ubi digressi*; 4, 151; 4, 182; 4, 336: *dum memor ipse mei*; 4, 565: *dum praecipitare potestas*; 5, 315: *haec ubi dicta*; 5, 362; 8, 362: *ut ventum ad sedes*; 8, 580: *dum curae ambiguae, dum spes incerta futuri*; *Stat. Theb.* 6, 236–237; on the omission of the copula in *Virgil* cf. *Wagner, Quaest. Virgil.* 15, in 4, 437–442 of the *Heyne-Wagner* edition. The repetition of *dum*,

with or without asyndeton, is a characteristic Virgilian touch; cf. *Ecl.* 8, 32–33; *G. 1*, 214; 2, 362–363; 3, 165; 3, 325; 3, 428; *Aen. 1*, 453–454; 1, 494–495; 4, 436; 8, 580–581; 11, 671–672. The view of *Nettleship* (in his revision of *Conington's* ed.) that the words of *Donatus* (*ad loc.*): *quassatas rates asperis interea flatibus non esse credendas* suggest that something has fallen out of the Virgilian text would be more convincing if *Donatus* were less prone to discursive paraphrase; and that of *Scholl* (in *Rh. Mus.* 41 (1886), 25–26) that a colon should be placed after *morandi* and the two cases of *dum* be explained in unlike senses (cf. *Quintil.* 9, 3, 16 on *Catull.* 62, 45; cf. 62, 56): “so long as the storm and rainy Orion rage over the sea and the ships are still unrepaired, so long one should not make trial of the sky,” requires a difficult and ill-attested use of *dum*.

53. *non tractabile*: cf. *G. 1*, 211: *sub extremum brumae intractabilis imbrem*; *Aen. 1*, 339: *genus intractabile bello*; 4, 439; *Ov. Ep.* 18 (19), 17: *est mare, confiteor, nondum tractabile nanti*; *Schol. Dan. ad loc.*: *sub quo tractari nihil potest* (though *caelum* here probably refers to weather rather than to the sky in a literal sense).

54. *his dictis*: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); 6, 382, and eleven other cases of *his dictis* in *Virgil* in various metrical positions. The responsibility of *Anna* for the subsequent actions of *Dido* is here stated by the poet and in 4, 549 recognized by *Dido* herself (cf. *Ov. H.* 7, 191: *soror Anna, meae male conscia culpa*); in fact, “*Anna's* words have achieved exactly what *Dido* in her excitement had deprecated” (*Glover, Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 189). The words *his dictis* may modify either *incensum* or *flammavit*, more probably the latter, since *Dido* was already fired with passion before *Anna's* speech (cf. 4, 23), though with the former view cf. 4, 197.

55. spemque dedit dubiae menti solvitque pudorem.

mentis *Rγ*.

55. spemque . . . pudorem: *Anth. Lat. no.* 18, 63 (1, p. 82 *Riese*). 55. spemque . . . menti: *Cento Probae*, 465. 55. dubiae menti: *Gl. Ansil.* 189, 5. 55. solvitque pudorem: *Non. p.* 390 M. (p. 626 L.); *Auson. Cento nupt.* 100, p. 215 *Peiper*.

54. *incensum*: *Schol. Dan.*: *alii non 'incensum' sed 'inpenso' legunt, ut sit Terentianum (Eun. 587): inpendio magis animus gaudebat mihi*. The reading *impenso*, adopted by many editors, does not occur elsewhere in *Virgil*, though the comparative adverb *impensius* is found in 12, 20–21: *tanto me impensius aequum est / consulere*, and somewhat analogous expressions may be found in *Cic. Pro Sest.* 130: *tam impensa voluntate*; *Liv.* 4, 46, 2: *certamina . . . multo impensius . . . accendi*; *Gell.* 10, 3, 13: *odium . . . inpenso atque acriter atque inflammanter facit*; cf. *Lucr.* 5, 964: *impensa libido*. The figurative use of *incendo*, however, is characteristically Virgilian; e.g., 1, 660; 2, 343: *incensus amore*; 3, 298: *incensum pectus amore*; 4, 2, n. (*igni*); 4, 197 (= 6, 889): *incendit . . . animum* (and note); also *Catull.* 64, 97–98: *qualibus incensam iactatis mente puellam / fluctibus*; 64, 253; *Ekkehard, Waltharius*, 954: *his animum dictis demens incendit*. The use of both *incensum* and *flammavit* is not mere tautology, and *Servius* well compares *Hor. S.* 2, 3, 321: *oleum adde camino* (cf. *Otto, Die Sprichwörter . . . d. Römer* (1890), 253), a proverb similar to *currentem incitare* (*id.*, 102–103). Cf. also *Donat. ad loc.*: *amore bis accipiendum, ut sit his dictis incensum animum amore inflammavit amore, hoc est, amorem primum amoris augmento cumulavit*. The passion already kindled *Anna* fans into flame; cf. *Liv.* 1, 59, 1: *incensam multitudinem perpulit ut, etc.*

54. *flammavit*: cf. 3, 330: *magno flammatus amore*; also 1, 50; *Val. Fl.* 8, 300: *sponsae flammatus amore*; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 249; *Aug. Enarr. in Ps.* 49, 15: *animus inflammatur caritate*. The three perfects (*flammavit, dedit, and solvit*) of this sentence, an island surrounded by direct discourse and historical presents, represent the reflections of the poet, parenthetically inserted in the narrative; cf. *Ley, Vergil. Quaest.* 1 (1877), 11.

54. *amore*: for the assonance of this verse-ending and the next (*pudorem*) cf. lines 78–79 (*labores . . . ab ore*), 189–190 (*replebat . . . canebat*), 256–257 (*volabat . . . secabat*), 331–332 (*tenebat . . . premebat*), 513–514 (*aënis . . . venenis*), 603–604 (*fuisse . . . tulisse*); and on the whole question of final assonance and rhyme in hexameters cf. *Pease* on *Cic. De Div.* 1, 20, and works there cited; to which add *Kvčala, Neue Beiträge z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 289, n. 2; *Johnstone* in *Cl. Rev.* 10 (1896), 10–11 (who remarks that *Virgil's* favorite rhyme is *-eba(n)t* but his favorite assonance *-orem, -ore, -ora, etc.*); *Page* on *Virg. G.* 4, 461 (1898); *Smith* on *Tib.* 1, 1, 54 (1913); *Evans, Allitteratio Latina* (1921), 2; *Sedgwick* in *Rev. benéd.* 36 (1924), 330–346; *Austin* in *Cl. Quart.* 23 (1929), 51; *Mackail*, edition of *Aeneid* (1930), lxxix; *Marouzeau* in *Rev. des Études lat.* 10 (1932), 178–183.

55. *dubiae menti*: cf. 11, 314; *Val. Fl.* 7, 243; also 4, 9, n. (*suspensam*), above.

55. *solvitque pudorem*: cf. *Manil.* 4, 508: *solvitque pudorem*; *Claud. Carm. min.* 29, 47: *solvitque tumorem*; and for *pudor* cf. 4, 27, n. (*pudor*). The phrase, which suggests the loosening of the girdle (cf. *Paul. ex Fest.* p. 63 M. = p. 55 *Lindsay*), here refers to the loosening of *Dido's* purpose of resistance to her passion announced at 4, 24–27, and leads to the events of 4, 68–85. *Henry* (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 589) compares the loss of *Medea's* sense of shame in *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 785–786: *ἐρπέρω αἰδώς, / ἐρπέρω ἀγλαΐη*; 3, 1068: *δὴ γὰρ οἱ ἄν' ὀφθαλμοῖς λίπεν αἰδώς*; while *Bignone* (*L'Epica di Omero e di Virgilio* (1926), quoted by *Buscaroli, ad loc.*), notes the delicacy with which *Virgil* ascribes *Dido's* violation of her protestations so recently made (4, 24–27) to the pressure of *Anna* rather than directly to her own choice. For imitation cf. *Tasso, Rinaldo*, 9, 73, 1–4: *così diss'ella; e con quei detti sciolsi / alla regina*

56. principio delubra adeunt pacemque per aras

(pri)ncipio P.

56-57. principio . . . exquirunt: *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 4, 5 — delubra ut vid. B¹ —. 56-57. pacem . . . exquirunt: *Macrob. Sat.* 6, 6, 7; *Serv. Aen.* 1, 519; *Eugraph. in Ter. Heaut.* 997. 56. delubra adeunt: *Prob. Inst. (G. L. K. 4, 184)*; *Gram. Val. (Auct. class. 5, 318 Mai)*; *Gl. Ansil.* 167, 687.

di vergogna il freno, / le diè speranza, e di timor la tolse, / crescer la fiamma, etc.

56. principio: the abruptness with which Dido's consultation of the gods is introduced (following Anna's advice in 4, 50) is noteworthy and probably intended to show the startling progress of her passion; cf. Glover, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 190. With principio cf. Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 17, noting several cases in Lucretius (perhaps imitations of Ennius). Virgilian instances in the same position in the verse are *G.* 2, 9; 4, 8; *Aen.* 2, 752; 3, 381; 6, 214; 6, 724; 7, 342; 9, 762; 10, 258; cf. also Vessereau's ed. of *Aetna* (1923), 50; *Stat. Theb.* 3, 456-457: principio fibris pecudumque in sanguine divos explorant.

56. delubra adeunt: Virgil loves to describe religious rites; cf. Cartault, *L' Art de Virgile dans l' Énéide*, 1 (1926), 305. With this phrase cf. *Lucr.* 6, 75: delubra deum . . . adibis; *Virg. G.* 4, 549: ad delubra venit; *Cir.* 424: delubra petivi; *Sen. Oed.* 199: delubra petunt; *Oct.* 756. On the etymology and use of delubrum see Wissowa in *P.-W.* 4 (1901), 2702-2703; cf. *Schol. Dan.* 4, 56: in secundo libro (225) de singulis speciebus delubri iuxta Varronem relatum est; in quibus est species delubri talis ut praeter aedem area sit adsumpta deum causa, id est, spatia relinquuntur iuxta aras ministerii causa, ad sacrificia peragenda. huius moris hic meminisse eum accipere debemus 'principio delubra adeunt'; etc. This use of adire is a technical one; cf. *Schol. Dan. ad loc.*; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 624, 2-34. Whether the subject of adeunt is Dido and Anna or Dido and the vates (cf. 4, 65) is ambiguous; cf. Sabbadini *ad loc.*

56. pacem, etc.: cf. 4, 50, n. (veniam). Parallels are *G.* 4, 535: petens pacem; *Aen.* 3, 261: votis precibusque iubent exposcere pacem; 3, 370: exorat pacem divom; 7, 155: pacemque exposcere Teucris; *Plaut. Merc.* 678: Apollo, quaeso te, ut des pacem propitius; *Enn. Sc.*

40: pacem petens; *Cic. Pro Rabir.* 5: ab Iove Optimo Maximo . . . pacem ac veniam peto; *Lucr.* 5, 1229: non divom pacem votis adit; *Liv.* 1, 16, 3: pacem precibus exposcunt; 3, 5, 14: feriae indictae per quas omnia delubra pacem deorum exposcentium virorum mulierumque turba inplebantur; 3, 7, 7; 4, 30, 10; 6, 12, 7; 7, 2, 2; 24, 11, 1: perpetratis quae ad pacem deorum pertinebant; 39, 10, 5; 42, 2, 3; *Just.* 18, 6, 12; *Treb. Poll. Gallieni*, 5, 5: pax igitur deorum quaesita inspectis Sibyllae libris; *Amm. Marc.* 23, 9, 4; *Serv. Aen.* 3, 370: exorat pacem divom aut de sacrificantium more requirit utrum tempus consulendi esset . . . aut certe, quod et melius est, de sacrificantium more ante nefas expiat, etc.; *Appel, De Romanorum Precationibus* (1909), 121; *Wis-sowa, Rel. u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 390, n. 3. The phrase pacemque per aras is copied by Aonius Palearius, *De Anim. Immort.* 3, 112; cf. *Vida, Christias*, 5, 990: perque aras pacem exquirunt.

56. per aras: cf. 2, 501: centum . . . per aras; 5, 86; *Schol. Dan.* 4, 56: vel apud aras vel inter aras; probably the idea is that of going about from altar to altar (doubtless those of the divinities named in 4, 58-59), as distinguished from the more frequent phrases ad aras (e.g., 4, 62; *G.* 2, 193; etc.) or ante aras (1, 334; 1, 349; 4, 204; 5, 237; 8, 719; 9, 627).

57. mactant, etc.: cf. *G.* 4, 546: nigram mactabis ovem; *Aen.* 2, 202; 3, 21; 5, 96: caedit binas de more bidentis; 5, 101; 6, 39: totidem (sc. mactare) lectas de more bidentis; 7, 93: lanigeras mactabat rite bidentis; 8, 544: mactant lectas de more bidentis; 11, 197. *Servius* remarks: verbum sacrorum, κατ' ἐφεξῆς dictum, ut adolere; nam 'mactare' proprie est 'magis augere'; cf. *Schol. Dan.*: quasi magis auctum; unde et magmentum dicebant, quasi maius augmentum. olim enim hostiae 'immolatae' dicebantur mola salsa tactae; cum vero ictae et aliquid ex illis in aram datum,

57. exquirunt; mactant lectas de more bidentis

(exq)uirunt P. ma. tant c¹. . . lectas b, laetas cod. Menagianus prior. uidentis R, bidentes Fbc^p.

[56] 57-59. mactant . . . iugalia: *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 12, 10 — mactat; bidentes; ceteri (pro Cereri B¹, ut vid.); lieo P, ΛΤΑΕΟ B; omnes —. 57-58. mactant . . . Phoeboque: *Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 493)* — mactat; laetas G; bidentes —. 57. mactant . . . bidentis: *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 5, 2 — mactat; bidentes —; *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 113* (1, p. 65 Riese) — mactat; uidentis A —; *Donat. in Ter. Hec.* 66 — bidentes —; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 2, 202 — mactat c; bidentes —; *Prisc. Inst.* 7, 85 (*G. L. K.* 2, 360) — laetas R, 1. ctas B, lactes GL, lacteas K; bibendis D —.

'mactatae' dicebantur . . . per boni ominis significationem. The singular, mactat, found in some of the testimonia, is incorrect, for the action does not naturally change from the plurals, adeunt and exquirunt, to the singular, with Dido as subject, till verse 60: ipsa . . . Dido.

57. lectas: *Serv.*: non vacat 'lectas'; moris enim fuerat ut ad sacrificia eligerentur oves quibus nihil deesset; id., *Aen.* 6, 39; for other cases in Virgil see the preceding note; also cf. *Val. Fl.* 3, 431: lectas . . . bidentes. *Krause* (in *P.-W.* 5 Supplbd. (1931), 242) notes the use of other terms such as eximiae (*Liv.* 7, 37, 3; *Paul. ex Fest.* p. 82 M.; *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 5, 6) and egregiae (*Donat. in Ter. Hec.* 66).

57. de more: in accordance with ritual custom (cf. *Olck* in *P.-W.* 3 (1899), 427-428), as in 1, 318; 3, 65; 3, 369: caesis . . . de more iuvenis; 5, 96: binas de more bidentis; 6, 39: lectas de more bidentis; 7, 357; 8, 344; 8, 544; 10, 832; 11, 35; 11, 142; *Ov. M.* 7, 606; *Damas. Epig.* 20, 4 Ihm; so also ex more (5, 244; 8, 186). Here the phrase probably modifies the whole clause rather than mactant or lectas alone.

57. bidentis: cf. 12, 170 and the cases cited above; other poetic instances are *Laber. ap. Non.* p. 53 M.; *Ov. M.* 10, 227; 15, 575-576: mactatarumque bidentum / . . . trepidantia consulit exta; *F.* 4, 935: fibras . . . bidentis; *Phaedr.* 1, 17, 8; *Sen. Oed.* 133; 556; *Stat. Theb.* 3, 457-458: maculosa bidentum / corda; *Sil.* 8, 120; *Il. Lat.* 550: caeduntque sacras ex more bidentes. The word is properly applied to sheep (*Plin. N. H.* 8, 187: magna et pecori gratia . . . in placamentis deorum), but extended, less appropriately, to cattle and boars (*Olck, op. cit.*, 426-427), and,

according to Nigidius (ap. *Macrob. Sat.* 6, 9, 5), to all two-year-old sacrificial animals. The ancient etymology, biennis . . . quasi biennis (Nigid. ap. *Gell.* 16, 6, 13; *Macrob. Sat.* 6, 9, 5-7; *Serv. Aen.* 4, 57) must be discarded for that meaning 'two-toothed'; cf. *Hygin. ap. Gell.* 16, 6, 15: quae bidens est . . . hostia oportet habeat dentes octo sed ex his duo ceteris altiores, per quos appareat ex minore aetate in maiorem transcendisse; id., ap. *Macrob. l. c.*: bidentes appellari scripsit hostias quae per aetatem duos dentes altiores haberent; per quos ex minore in maiorem transcendisse constaret aetatem (cf. *Isid. Etym.* 12, 1, 9); *Paul. ex Fest.* p. 33 M.: bidentes . . . sunt oves duos dentes longiores ceteris habentes; *Serv. Aen.* 4, 57: bidentes autem dictae sunt quasi biennes, quia neque minores neque maiores licebat hostias dare. sunt etiam in ovibus duo eminentiores dentes inter octo, qui non nisi circa bimatum apparent; nec in omnibus, sed in his quae sunt aptae sacris inveniuntur; *Plin. N. H.* 8, 206: *Coruncanius* ruminales hostias donec bidentes fierent puras negavit.

The dentition of sheep, much discussed by closet veterinarians, has been well set forth by Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 595), on the basis of observation, as follows: "Sheep not only are not called bidentes because they are biennes, but actually cease to be bidentes as soon as they are biennes. The fact, as I have satisfied myself by actual observation, is as follows. A sheep, until it has attained the age of one year, has a set of eight primary, or milk, teeth; when the age of one year has been attained, the two central of these eight teeth drop out, and are replaced by the first two teeth of the second or permanent set, which being very large and

58. legiferae Cereri Phoeboque patrique Lyaeo,

fugiferae *F* (frugiferae *F*¹, legiferae *F*²), frugiferae *R*, ()ferae *P*, legiferae *Serv.*, *Donat.*, legiferae al(ite)r frugiferae *γ*. lieo *b*, lyeo *c*.

[57*] 58. legiferae . . . Lyaeo: *Mythogr. Val. III*, 9, 13 — frugiferae —. 58. Phoeboque . . . Lyaeo: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 114* (1, p. 65 *Riese*) — foeboq; *A*; lieo *A* —. 58. patri Lyaeo: *Gl. Ansil. 428, 815* — liaeo —.

conspicuous amidst the six remaining milk teeth (originally much smaller, and now greatly diminished by use and absorption), the animal at first sight appears to have only two teeth (sheep never having any front teeth at all in the upper jaw); hence the appellation *bidens* . . . This condition of the teeth continues during the whole of the second year, at the end of which, i.e., when the sheep is two years old complete, two more of the milk teeth drop, and are replaced by two large permanent teeth exactly similar to, and one on each side of, the two first; so that from the completion of the second year till the beginning of the fourth the sheep appears to have a set of four large teeth and is no longer *bidens*. *Bidens* therefore is not *biennis*, but simply *bi-dens*; i.e., a sheep with two teeth, or, in other words, a sheep in the second year of its age; a sheep which having completed its first year and having got its two first long teeth is *bidens*, but not having completed its second year is not yet *biennis*." Cf. also Olck, *op. cit.*, 427 (and the works there cited); Krause, *De Romanorum Hostiis* (1914), 6-8; Knapp in *Cl. Weekly*, 21 (1928), 81-83, who has verified Henry's observation; Kugener in *Mélanges P. Thomas* (1930), 493-497; Krause in *P.-W.* 5 Supplbd. (1931), 247; and Wright, "The Age of Roman sacrificial Victims" (in *Lehigh University, Studies in the Humanities*, 12 (1931) 1-23), who agrees in essentials with Henry and Knapp, but discusses not only sheep but also cattle.

Virgil is here, as elsewhere, transferring a contemporary Roman rite to the heroic age of Carthage; cf. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 128.

58. legiferae, etc.: the deities mentioned form a trinity (to which Juno is added in the next line), and it has been questioned whether Virgil is not attempting to designate some

recognized Punic triad; cf. Domaszewski, *Abhandl. zur röm. Relig.* (1909), 149, who cites the appearance of such triads in the oath between the Carthaginians and Philip of Macedon in Polyb. 7, 9, and thinks the members of the group Ceres, Apollo, and Bacchus are not to be here explained from Greek or Roman concepts, but are derived from the Orient; Baudissin, *Adonis u. Esmun* (1911), 304, who tries to identify Ceres with Tanit, Juno with Astarte, etc. This view is well refuted by Gsell (*Hist. anc. de l'Afrique du Nord*, 4 (1920), 232; 268, n. 4), who admits that Virgil may have desired to name some deities really worshipped at Carthage, but thinks that he would have had little scruple in perpetrating anachronisms, as in the case of Demeter, whose worship was introduced there much later. It may be noted that in 1, 731-734 Dido invokes a trinity consisting of Jupiter, Bacchus, and Juno, as in 4, 607-610 another composed of Sol (i.e., Phoebus), Juno, and Hecate, to which, as an appendage, are added the *Dirae ultrices et di morientis Elissae*.

Ancient commentators raise other difficulties, for, without troubling to equate Greek or Roman deities here with Punic ones, they inquire why these particular gods were selected. Plut. *Quaest. Rom.* 2, asking why the Romans light five torches at weddings, suggests, *ὅτι πέντε δείσθαι θεῶν τοὺς γαμοῦντας οἴονται, Διὸς τελείου καὶ Ἥρας τελέας καὶ Ἀφροδίτης καὶ Πειθοῦς, ἐπὶ πάσι δ' Ἀρτέμιδος*, and in section 86 he refers to Aphrodite and Hera as *γαμήλιοι θεοί*. It is noteworthy that Venus, who appears in both these lists, receives no sacrifice from Dido — an ominous fact, perhaps implying that the essential element of a union between Dido and Aeneas is lacking; cf. the attitude of Venus as shown in 4, 105-128 (especially 4,

127-128) and contrast Apoll. Rh. 1, 858-860. Servius (*ad loc.*) explains one view of the present selection: *communis hoc habet sensus: sacrificabat, inquit, primo numinibus quae urbi praesunt, quasi nuptura pro utilitate rei publicae; deinde Iunoni, cui curae sunt nuptiae. est etiam sensus altior: nam facturi aliquid ante adversos placamus deos et sic propitios invocamus . . . ergo modo nuptura placat ante Cererem, quae propter raptum filiae nupturas exsecratur; Apollinem, qui expers uxoris est; Liberum, qui nisi raptam coniugem habere non potuit; et sic Iunonem conciliat.* The Schol. Dan. enlarge upon this theory and give still another: *alii dicunt favere nuptiis Cererem, quod prima nupserit Iovi et condendis urbibus praesit . . . similiter et Liber propter Marsyam . . . merito et Apollo; nam et in arce coli solet et muros Troianis instituit; iure ergo in nova urbe his sacra fiunt. Iunoni duplici causa, quia et Carthagini praest et matrimonia dat; Schol. Dan. Aen. 3, 139: quidam dicunt diversis numinibus vel bene vel male faciendi potestatem dicatam, ut Veneri coniugia, Cereri divortia (cf. Plut. Rom. 22), Iunoni procreationem liberorum, etc.; Donat. *ad loc.* says: *primum Cereri legiferae, propterea quod populum consensus nisi legibus teneri non possit, Phoebo, ut in futuris prosperiora perficeret quae optabantur, Libero patri, ut praestaret laetitiam sempiternam, Iunoni vel maxime, quae coniugiorum teneret plenissimam potestatem, et ne Troianis invadens expugnaret Didonis adfectum; cf. also Rossbach, Untersuch. ü. d. röm. Ehe* (1853), 302.*

Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 596) supposes the first three deities selected, as Juno clearly was, on account of their connection with marriage, citing Ter. *Eun.* 732: *sine Cerere et Libero friget Venus; Pervig. Ven.* 45: *nec Ceres nec Bacchus absunt nec poetarum deus; Stat. Silv.* 1, 2, 219-221, where, in an epithalamium, Bacchus and Apollo are mentioned (Bellessort, *Virgile* (1924), 289 thinks Bacchus represents both the freedom of the soul and the fecundity of nature); Himer. *Orat.* 1, 3 (of Apollo in connection with marriage). This explanation might seem to leave meaningless the adjective *legiferae*, and in view of the emphasis in Anna's speech upon the political considerations of the proposed marriage

one might suggest that the members of the triad were chosen purely because of their relation to the founding of cities and the establishment of laws, yet there is another aspect of the epithet to be considered.

The word *legifer* appears first in this line; cf. also Ov. *Am.* 3, 10, 41: *Minos . . . legifer*; and some patristic instances. For Virgil's fondness for adjectives in *-fer* and *-ger* cf. Ladewig, *De Vergilio Verborum Novatore* (1870), 13. The adjective doubtless is intended to suggest the Greek Δημήτηρ θεσμοφόρος, *legifer* being a literal rendering of that epithet. Demeter is often thought to have been so called as the goddess of agriculture, who had changed men from a roving, nomadic life to one of settled culture, and thus to have represented, on the one side fertility and on the other a developed family organization and, later, civil life. In this second connection she is sometimes thought to have become the goddess of family life and the protector of women in their more intimate relations, being celebrated in the Θεσμοφόρια (cf. Serv. *ad loc.*) and worshipped in many Greek cities; cf. Kern in *P.-W.* 4 (1901), 2750-2751. For Demeter as lawgiver cf. Hdt. 6, 91: Δημήτρος θεσμοφόρου; 6, 134; Callim. *Hymn.* 6, 18: ὡς πολίεσσιν ἐαδὸτα τέθμη δῶκε; Diod. 1, 14, 4: διὸ καὶ τοὺς παλαιούς Ἕλληνας τὴν Δήμητρα θεσμοφόρον ὀνομάζειν, ὡς τῶν νόμων πρῶτον ὑπὸ ταύτης θετεμένων; 1, 25, 1; 5, 5, 2: καὶ νόμους εἰσηγήσατο καθ' αὐτὴν θεσμοφόρον ἐπονομασθῆναι; 5, 68, 3; Ov. *M.* 5, 342: *prima dedit leges* (sc. Ceres); Cornut. *N. D.* 28: ἀρχηγὸν ἔλεγον νόμων καὶ θεσμῶν τὴν Δήμητραν αὐτοῖς γεγονέναι· ἐντεῦθεν θεσμοθέτην αὐτὴν προσηγόρευσαν οἶον νομοθέτην οὖσαν, κτλ.; Plut. *Adv. Colot.* 22; for her function as a goddess of fertility and marriage Plaut. *Aul.* 354: *Cererin . . . has sunt facturi nuptias*; Calv. ap. Schol. Dan. on this line: *et leges sanctas docuit et cara iugavit / corpora comubiis et magnas candidit urbes*; Paul. ex Fest. p. 87 M.: *facem in nuptiis in honorem Cereris praeferebant*; Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 39: ἀγαθὴ δ' ἂν εἴη καὶ πρὸς γάμον καὶ πρὸς τὰς ἄλλας ἐγχειρήσεις πάσας κατ' ἰδίαν ὁρῶμένη ἡ Δημήτηρ; Tert. *Ad Uxor.* 1, 6: *ceterum viduas Africanæ Cereri adistere scimus, durissima quidem oblivione a*

59. Iunoni ante omnis, cui vincla iugalia curae.

(iun)oni P. ate M (ante M¹).

[57*] 59. Iunoni . . . curae: Serv. Aen. 3, 20 — omnes —; Eugraph. in Ter. Andr. 473; Mythogr. Vat. III, 9, 13 — omnes —. 59. ante omnis: Gl. Abstr. 10, 29 — omnes —. 59. cui . . . curae: Anth. Lat. no. 17, 30 (1, p. 62 Riese); no. 17, 115 (1, p. 65 Riese); [Claud.] Carm. min. Append. 8, 1. 59. cui curae: Gl. Ansil. 155, 27.

matrimonio allectas. nam manentibus in aeternum viris non modo toro decedunt sed et alias eis utique ridentibus loco suo insinuant, adempto omni contactu usque ad osculum filiorum, et tamen durante usu perseverant in tali viduitatis disciplina quae pietatis etiam sanctae solacia excludit; De Exhort. Castil. 13: novimus et continentis viros. et quidem tauri illius Aegyptii antistites. feminas vero Cereri Africanas; cui etiam sponte abdicatione matrimonio adsenescunt, aversantis exinde contactum masculorum; Wissowa in P.-W. 3 (1899), 1973; Nilsson, Gr. Feste (1906), 313-325; Farnell, Cults of the Greek States, 3 (1907), 75-112; Toutain, Les Cultes païens dans l'Empire rom. 3 (1920), 35-36; Altheim, Terra Mater (1931), 125. Halliday, however, believes (in Camb. Anc. Hist. 2 (1924), 636; also in his ed. of Plut. Quaest. Gr. (1928), 143) that this explanation is wrong, because not agreeing with the facts in the worship of Demeter Thesmophoros. These references suggest that, while Ceres is doubtless invoked as a founder of civilized life, she also merits a place here among the deities supervising the marriage relation. Chateaubriand, Les Martyrs, 8, 116, imitates these sacrifices to Cérès qui porte des lois, etc.; cf. Naylor in Johns Hopkins Stud. in Rom. Lit. and Lang. 18 (1930), 152-153.

De la Ville de Mirmont (Apoll. de Rhodes et Virgile (1897), 711) doubts the existence of a temple of Ceres at Carthage; yet, in the Roman period (which is, of course, what Virgil himself knew), the worship of Cereres in Africa is attested by inscriptions from Theveste and elsewhere; cf. C. I. L. VIII, 1548 (= Dessau 6827); VIII, 1838 (= Dessau 4460); VIII, S. 16693 (= Dessau 4459).

The MS reading *frugiferae* appears a correction by someone ignorant of Δημήτηρ θεσμοφόρος, and the Third Vatican Mythog-

rapher (9, 13) remarks: *Iunoni vero ante omnes sacrificantem inducit; Cereri videlicet ut frugum praestet fecunditatem; Phoebus quia auspiciis, ut supra diximus, praestit quibus urbes reguntur; Lyaeo . . . qui . . . apte urbi-bus libertatis est deus.*

58. *Phoebus*: this god, among his varied attributes, appears as ἀρχηγέτης (cf. Wernicke in P.-W. 2 (1896), 44; Pease in Cl. Philol. 12 (1917), 11-12) and θερμύς, which Pausanias (5, 15, 7) conjectures to be a corruption of θεσμός; cf. Serv. ad loc.: *qui praestit auspiciis quibus urbes reguntur.* For his associations with wedlock I find no evidence save that adduced by Henry and already cited. Dido in line 607 invokes *Sol*, who is perhaps identical with *Phoebus*, but De la Ville de Mirmont (*op. cit.*, 514) thinks that *Apollo* as such was unknown to the Carthaginians and that Dido had learned from the story of Aeneas of his aid to the Trojans, and was here trying to conciliate the protector of her beloved.

58. *patrique Lyaeo*: *Dionysus*, like *Demeter*, was also called by the epithet θεσμοφόρος (Orph. Hymn. 42, 1); on his connection with marriage see above. Against the attempt of Baudissin (*Adonis u. Esmun* (1911), 241) to identify him with *Esmun* cf. Gsell, Hist. anc. de l'Afrique du Nord, 4 (1920), 316, n. 1, who discusses the worship of *Dionysus-Liber* in North Africa. The reverent epithet *pater* is commonly employed with *Liber* (cf. Plut. Quaest. Rom. 104; Wissowa in Roscher, Ausf. Lex. 2, 2 (1894), 2022), and so is here transferred to an epithet substituted for his name. On *Lyaeo* cf. Schol. Dan. ad loc.: *dictus Lyaeos ἀπὸ τοῦ λυεῖν, quod nimio vino membra solvantur*; Höfer in Roscher, *op. cit.*, 2, 2 (1894), 2163; Kruse in P.-W. 13 (1927), 2110; Frazer on Ov. F. 3, 777. Of the other two Virgilian occurrences of the word (G. 2, 229; Aen. 1, 686), the

60. ipsa tenens dextra pateram pulcherrima Dido

(ipsa) P. dextra (dextr in ras.) R. paterhanc M (pateram M²). pulcherrima R (pulcherrima R¹).

60. ipsa . . . pateram: [Acro] in Hor. C. 1, 31, 2-3.

former is as a noun, the latter as an adjective; in the present line editors disagree whether it is a noun in apposition with *patri* or an adjective modifying that word (like *Lavinia* in 1, 2; 4, 236; *Lenaeum* in 4, 207; *Sychaeo* in 4, 552; and *Sirius* in 10, 273). In view, however, of such phrases as *Liber pater* I incline to the former view.

59. *Iunoni*: on her relation to Carthage cf. 4, 91, n. (*Iovis coniunx*); also 1, 446-447: *hic templum Iunoni ingens Sidonia Dido / condebat.*

59. *ante omnis*: cf. Ov. M. 11, 578: *ante tamen cunctos Iunonis templa colebat*; *Juno*, though last in order, is first in importance; cf. Macro. Sat. 3, 12, 10: *tunc Evangelus "numquamne tibi, Praetextate, venit in mentem loto, ut aiunt, caelo errasse Vergilium, cum Dido sua rem divinam pro nuptiis faceret? 'maclat' — enim inquit — 'lectas de more' bidentes / legiferae Cereri Phoeboque patrique Lyaeo' et quasi expergefactus adiecit 'Iunoni ante omnes, cui vincla iugalia'"; Donat. ad loc.: *quam splendida dictio, quam artificiosa, quae in ordinatione verborum novissimam posuit Iunonem nec tamen novissimae sacrificatum memoravit. addendo enim 'ante omnis' ostendit ipsa primo sacrificiorum honores exhibitos*; Kvěčala, Vergil-Studien (1878), 176, who cites parallels for this order in 5, 406 and 11, 806, in each case with the phrase *ante omnis*; to which may be added 4, 141, introduced by *ante alios*.*

59. *cui . . . curae*: cf. G. 4, 113; etc.; a construction frequent in the Eclogues and Georgics but rare in the Aeneid.

59. *vincla, etc.*: cf. 4, 16, n. (*vincolo . . . iugali*); Stat. Silv. 1, 2, 239-240: *dat Iuno verenda / vincula*; Serv.: *quia est Curitis, est Matriona, est Regina*; Schol. Dan.: *hanc Varro Pronubam dicit* (cf. 4, 166). On *Hera* as goddess of feminine fertility, and (sometimes in company with *Zeus*, as in Aesch. Eum. 213-214) as the deity of wedlock cf.

Roscher in Ausf. Lex. 1, 2 (1890), 2098-2104; Eitrem in P.-W. 8 (1913), 392-398; also the epithets γαμήλια, γαμήλιος, γαμοστόλος, ζυγία, συζυγία, τελέια. Apoll. Rh. 4, 96 makes *Jason* appeal to Ἥρῃ Ζυγίῃ. For *Juno* in similar capacities cf. Ov. H. 2, 41: *Iunonemque toris quae praesidet alma maritis*; Thulin in P.-W. 10 (1917), 1115-1116.

Nettleship (Lectures and Essays, 1 (1885), 127) remarks upon Dido's sacrificing to the trinity named, presiding over cities and laws, when she is herself forgetful of her duties as queen, and to *Juno*, goddess of wedlock, while forgetting her pledged faith to her late husband, and *Hahn* (in Cl. Weekly, 27 (1934), 145) notes her similar inconsistency when, after her followers have violated the laws of hospitality (1, 539-543), she invokes at the banquet *Jupiter* the giver of those laws (1, 731-735). In his Suggestions introductory to a Study of the Aen. (1875), 33, Nettleship thinks Dido would not yield to a personal passion but does to *Anna's* picture of the political advantages to Carthage from such a union (4, 47-49); hence the sacrifices to deities associated with states and institutions. For a parallel to this sacrifice in Ronsard's Franciade, 147, 12-23, cf. Lange, Über Ronsards Franciade und ihr Verhältnis zu Vergils Aeneide (1887), 22.

60. *ipsa tenens, etc.*: cf. G. 2, 192: *laticis qualem pateris libamus et auro*; Aen. 1, 729-736; 3, 355: *paterasque tenebant*; 5, 98: *vinque fundebat pateris*; 5, 775-776: *pateram tenet . . . / . . . ac vina liquentia fundit*; 6, 243-244: *iuvencos / constituit frontique invergit vina sacerdos*; 7, 133; 8, 640-641: *ante aram pateramque tenentes / stabant*; 12, 174; Hdt. 2, 39; Pease on Cic. De Div. 2, 37. A *patera* held in the right hand during a libation is shown in many ancient works of art. Dido is here contrasted, by the use of *ipsa*, with her sister or the *vates*, as Sabbadini (ad loc.) observes.

61. candentis vaccae media inter cornua fundit,

candentes *F*, candantis *M* (candentis *M*¹), (can)dentis *P*, cadentis (corr. in candentis) *bc*. inter in *ras. c.* conua *P* (cornua *P*¹).

61. candentis . . . fundit: *Non. pp.* 266–267 *M.*(*p.* 407 *L.*). 61. media . . . fundit: *Serv. Aen.* 6, 244; *Mythogr. Vat.* III, 6, 31.

60. *pulcherrima Dido*: cf. 1, 496: *forma pulcherrima Dido*; Mart. 8, 6, 13–14: *hac propinavit Bithiae pulcherrima Dido / in palera Phrygio cum data cena viro est*. The beauty of Dido is merely touched upon in passing (1, 496–504; 4, 137–139; 4, 192; 4, 589–590; 4, 698; DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 46; Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 123; 126), with little detail. In 1, 498–504 she is compared to Diana, and in 6, 451–454 comparison is suggested with the beauty of the moon; otherwise we learn only of her general bearing, her fair hair (4, 590; 4, 698), and her dress; yet the impression of her beauty is indirectly conveyed, somewhat like that of Helen's charm (*Il.* 3, 156–158, and the 21st chapter of Lessing's *Laokoon*), by its effect upon others. The tradition of her beauty persisted; cf. Justin, 18, 4, 3: *Elissa . . . insignis formae virgine*; *Poet. Lat. min.* 5 (1883), 97, n. III, 1–2 (Auson. p. 420 Peip.); *Append. Planud.* 151, 1–2: ἀρχέτυπον Διδούς ἐρικυδέος, ὧ ξένη, λείσσεις, / εἰκόνα θεοπέσιω κάλλει λαμπρότην. As late as the *Roman de la Rose* or even in various fifteenth-century French poets Dido still remains a type of female beauty; cf. Atkinson, ed. of Villon, *Le Testament* (1930), 266. It is notable that the two great obstacles to the mission of Aeneas, Dido and Turnus, are each characterized by their physical attractiveness (for Turnus cf. 7, 55–56; 7, 649–650). If Dido is intended to suggest Cleopatra the Roman reader might imagine additional details based on the famous charm of her appearance.

Virgil has a tendency to put the word *Dido* at the end of a line (so in 19 out of 34 occurrences), often preceded by a polysyllabic adjective, such as *inscia*, *nescia*, *laetissima*, *effera*, *exterrita*, *candida*, *pulcherrima*, *optima*, *miserrima*, or *Sidonia*.

61. *candentis vaccae*: with the participle

used in place of an ordinary adjective (on which Servius remarks) Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 203) compares 3, 589 (*umentem for umidam*); 5, 97 (*nigrantis for nigros or nigra habentes*); 5, 238 (*liquentia for liquida*); 5, 854 (*madentem for madidam*). Similar cases with *candeo* are 5, 236; 6, 895; 9, 563; 9, 628. The color befits victims offered to a celestial deity like Juno; cf. Henzen, *Acta Fratr. Arvalium* (1874), cxiii; 20; 22; etc.; also G. 2, 146–148 (and *Serv.*); *Aen.* 3, 120; 8, 82–83; *Hor. C.* 3, 8, 6–7; *Carm. saec.* 49; *Liv.* 7, 37, 1; 22, 10, 7; 25, 12, 13; 27, 37, 11; *Ov. Am.* 3, 13, 13; *Ex Pont.* 4, 4, 31; *Paul. ex Fest.* p. 4 *M.*; p. 10 *M.*; *Sen. Med.* 60; *Juv.* 12, 3; *Plin. N. H.* 22, 9; *Gell.* 10, 15, 32; *Arnob.* 2, 68; 7, 19; *Treb. Poll. Gall.* 8, 2; *Julian, Ep.* 58 Wright; *Macrob. Sat.* 1, 17, 29; *Amm. Marc.* 22, 12, 5; 25, 4, 17; *Claud. De VI Cons. Hon.* 507; *Roscher in Ausf. Lex.* 2, 1 (1890), 602; *Krause, De Romanorum Hostiis* (1914), 4–5; 38–39; *Armstrong, Significance of certain Colors in Rom. Ritual* (1917), 33–35; *Krause in P.-W.* 5 Supplbd. (1931), 244–245, who cites additional inscriptional evidence.

61. *media inter cornua*: cf. 5, 479: *media inter cornua*; 6, 243–246: *iuvencos / constituit frontique invergat vina sacerdos, / et summas carpens media inter cornua saetas / ignibus imponit sacris libamina prima*; *Ov. M.* 7, 593–594: *dum vola sacerdos / concipit et fundit purum inter cornua vinum*; *Sil.* 3, 686: *media inter cornua*; 14, 461: *sacra inter cornua fundit*; *Serv. ad loc.*: *non est sacrificium sed hostiae exploratio, utrum apta sit; id., Aen.* 6, 244: *fundere est supina manu libare, quod fit in sacris supernis; vergere autem est conversa in sinistram partem manu ita fundere ut palera convertatur, quod in infernis sacris fit. haec autem pertinent ad victimarum explorationem, ut, si non stupuerint, aptae probentur*.

62. aut ante ora deum pinguis spatiatur ad aras
instauratque diem donis, pecudumque reclusis

(aut a)nte *P.* ut *c*¹. pinguis *P* (pinguis *P*¹), pinguis (ui minio) *M*; pingues *bc*, pinguas *p* (pinguis *p*¹). patiat¹ur *c*¹. auras (corr. in aras) *π*. (inst)aurat *P*.

62–63. aut . . . donis: [*Aug.* *De Gram.* 25 (*Patr. Lat.* 32, 1406) — pingues; *instaurat* (que om.) —. 62. aut . . . aras: *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 4, 5 — ut; pingues —; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 56 — ut *F*; pingues —; *Aug. Regul.* (G. L. K. 5 521); *Diomed. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 418) — pinguis s. a. —; *Prisc. Inst.* 17, 11 (G. L. K. 3, 115) — spaciatur *S* —; *Mythogr. Vat.* III, 6, 35. 62. pinguis ad aras: *Gl. Ansil.* 443, 153.

[62*] 63–64. pecudumque . . . exta: *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 5, 2; *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 478) — pecorumque *G*; et spirantia —.

61. *fundit*: either with *vinum* understood, or, more likely, with *palera* used both as its object and as that of *tenens*.

62. *aut*: logically this should be *et*, as noted by Henry (*Aeneidea*, 1 (1873), 659), for the two clauses refer to successive, rather than mutually exclusive, actions.

62. *ante ora deum*: *Serv.*: *ante simulacra*.

62. *pinguis*: cf. 4, 201–202: *pecudum . . . cruore / pingue solum*; 6, 254: *pingue super oleum fundens ardentibus extis*; 7, 764 (= 9, 585): *pinguis ubi et placabilis ara*; *Schol. Dan.*: *plenas vel sanguine delibutas*. So in Homer there is emphasis upon the fat of sacrifices; e.g., *Il.* 1, 460. An ancient altar would probably not have been altogether attractive to a modern eye or nose.

62. *spatiatur*: *Prop.* 2, 2, 7 seems based on this line: *aut cum Dulichias Pallas spatiatur ad aras*, where, as here, the verb signifies slow and dignified motion, that majestic gait (*incessus*) so dear to the Romans and proper for deities (1, 405) and monarchs (1, 497; 4, 68, n. (*vagatur*)), but so droll and ludicrous in G. 1, 389. Cf. also *Candidus, De Vita Aegili*, 2, 14, 61 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 106): *spatiatur ad aram*. The *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 56 remark: *nec non arae, licet oblique, attamen manifeste meminit 'aut ante . . . ad aras'; quid enim est 'spatiatur' quam spatium lati loci obambulet?* I think the *Schol. Dan.* on our line in error in suggesting that Dido's walking was due to restlessness: *an hoc ad impatientiam amoris*

referendum est, quo iactata Dido loco stare non poterat, etc.

63. *instauratque*: doubtless the same day as at 4, 6, for no actions requiring more time have been mentioned in the meantime; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 343, n. 2; this day closes at 4, 77–85 (for the view that more than one day is here meant cf. Kvičala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 80–81). *Serv.*: *'instaurat' autem ideo quia iam supra sacrificaverat* (1, 631–632); Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 598) thinks Dido was not satisfied with the signs shown by the first *candens vacca* and so offered another; it is more likely that the number was not limited to two (a modest sacrifice for a queen in so important a matter), but that she kept renewing the day with offerings, that is, offered many victims one after another, in the hope of finding a favorable omen; cf. *Donat. ad loc.*: *neque hoc semel sed saepius faciebat, ut produceret diem volens diutius habere praesentem quem amabat*. With the verb cf. 3, 62; 4, 145; 5, 94; 7, 146; 8, 283; etc.; *Liv.* 27, 36, 9: *plebeis ludis biduum instauratum*; *Stat. Theb.* 2, 88 (= 7, 94): *instaurare diem*; *Sil.* 3, 218: *instauratus honos*; 11, 421: *instaurat mensas dapibus*.

63. *donis*: *Serv.*: *muneribus quae aut dis offerebat aut donabat Tyriis vel Troianis*. For gifts, however, to the Tyrians there seems little point; those to the Trojans were, of course, made (cf. 9, 266; 11, 72–75), yet in view of the context there seems little doubt

64. pectoribus inhians spirantia consulit exta.

(pecto)ribus P. inhians γ, inhans (corr. in inhians) π. sperantia consulit F (corr. FI). consuli tecta p.

[63*] 64. pectoribus . . . exta: Schol. Iuv. 6, 550. 64. spirantia exta: Gl. Ansil. 534, 174. 64. consulit: Gl. Aa, 205, 874; q.v.

that we have to deal with offerings to the gods.

63. reclusis: cf. Sil. 1, 119-123: *tum nigra triformi / hostia mactatur divae, raptimque recludit / spirantis artus poscens responsa sacerdos / ac fugientem animam properatis consulit extis*.

64. pectoribus: for the metrical lengthening of a syllable containing a short vowel followed by a single consonant before a following vowel cf. Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 450-452. As in Homer a final -os may be metrically lengthened under the effect of verse ictus (e.g., *Il.* 1, 153; 7, 416; *Od.* 7, 298; 8, 140), so -us in Latin, as in Enn. *Ann.* 87; 170 (cf. Norden, *Ennius und Vergilius* (1915), 81); Lucil. 361 Marx; Catull. 66, 11; while Virgil employs the same license in *Ecl.* 6, 53; *G.* 2, 5; 3, 189; *Aen.* 2, 563; 3, 112; 3, 504; 5, 337; 9, 610; cf. *Ov. M.* 10, 98; 15, 634. These cases (and other yet commoner types) are classified by Norden under various heads. The explanation of the present case, however, seems to be that the suffix -bus was originally long, being still so found in various passages in Naevius, Plautus, and Titinius cited by Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2 ed., 1 (1912), 116.

64. inhians: expressive of open-mouthed wonder (*G.* 2, 463; 4, 483; *Aen.* 7, 814), and hence of the eager haste which Dido shows in her consultation of the exta; cf. De Marchi, *Il Culto privato di Roma antica* (1896), 153, n. 2; Blecher, *De Extispicio* (1905), pl. I, 1, for an ancient representation showing such haste on the part of the priest; also the following note. Here it seems to be Dido who is the subject of the verb, though *valum* in the next line implies that she had the aid of haruspices in the process; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 129, n. 1. Cf. the curious passage in [Quintil.] *Decl.* 8, 20: *stat iuxta medicum pater apertis visceribus* (of

his twin son) *inhians stillantem animae sedem cruentis manibus agitantem*, etc.

64. spirantia: in a note on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 16 (in part following Jastrow in *Studies . . . presented to C. H. Toy* (1912), 143-168) I have summarized arguments for supposing (1) that there were six principal exta: spleen, stomach, veins, heart, lungs, and liver; (2) that in haruspice (extispicy) the liver was the earliest and most significant; (3) that the liver was early regarded as the seat of life and of the soul; (4) that it was long held to possess a mantic power; (5) that just before or at the moment of death, a sacrificial animal, like a dying man (Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* 8, 7, 15 to the contrary) was regarded as most prophetic; and, hence, (6) that the scrutiny of the exta to discover the physical evidences accompanying this prophetic knowledge (which evidences were interpreted in accordance with elaborated rules) should occur as quickly as possible after the slaughter of the victim, before there had been opportunity for significant changes in the appearance of the organs, and while muscular quiverings simulating the motions of respiration might still be in progress and suggest that life was not yet at an end; cf. Serv. *ad loc.*: *spirantia: id est, palpitantia; quasi adhuc viva*. Henry's idea (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 599) that *spirantia* merely = *viva* (breath being the most obvious sign of life), yet implies no motion whatever, might seem to fit this passage, but cannot be harmonized with phrases like *trepidantia*), *agitata*, *tremunt*, *salit*, *palpitans*, *σπαιρόντων*, etc., in the following passages, which illustrate the general principle of haste in consultation: *Aen.* 12, 213-215: *rite sacratas / in flammam iugulant pecudes et viscera vivis / eripiunt*; *Ov. M.* 15, 136: *ereptas viventi pectore fibras*; 15, 576: *trepidantia consulit exta* (a reminiscence of our line); Sen. *Oed.* 353-354: *non levi motu, ut solent, / agitata*

trepidant exta; 391: *fibra vivis rapta pectoribus*; Thyest. 755-756: *erepta vivis exta pectoribus tremunt / spirantque venae corque adhuc pavidum salit*; Luc. 1, 617: *iram superum raptis quae sivit in extis*; 6, 557: *extaque funerae poscunt trepidantia mensae*; 6, 752: *percuttae gelido trepidant sub pectore fibrae*; Stat. *Theb.* 4, 466-467: *semineces fibras et adhuc spirantia reddit / viscera*; Sil. 1, 120-122 (quoted at 4, 63, n. (reclusis), above); Donat. *ad Aen.* 12, 215: *in flammam fundebatur sanguis animalium et, antequam morerentur, extrahebantur eorum viscera et aris inponebantur*; Amm. Marc. 22, 1, 1: *Iulianus . . . exta rimabatur adsidue*; Cod. Theodos. 16, 10, 12, 1: *si quispiam . . . audebit . . . spirantia exta consulere*; Anth. Lat. no. 406, 3-4 (1, p. 315 Riese): *pectoris ingenui salientia viscera flammis / imposuit*; Arnob. 2, 68: *cum Romulo Pompilioque regnantibus percocta plane ac madida cremarentur diis exta, nonne rege sub Tullo semicruda coepistis et leviter animata porricere prisca observatione contempta*; 7, 4: *quod gaudium est . . . animas cum cruore fugientis patefactisque secretis provolvier intestina cum stercore et ex residuo spiritu exsulantia adhuc corda, tremebundisque palpitantes in visceribus venas*; Zeno Veron. 1, *Tract.* 15, 6 (*Patr. Lat.* 11, 367): *qui auguria captant salutemque suam pecudum violenter scissis in ventribus quaerunt*; 2, *Tract.* 17, 3 (*Patr. Lat.* 11, 449-450): *nec pecudum inexpectata morte rapti iecoris spirantis consulunt fibras*; Caesarius, *Dial.* 3, 118 (*Patr. Gr.* 38, 1005): *καὶ σπλάγχων οικείων κατατομών, ὧν ἐπὶ τῶν ἡπάτων σπαιρόντων οἱ μαιφόνροι τῷ αἵματι χραίνονται*; *Epigramm. Gr.* 872, 3-4 Kaibel: *Πατρίη παραβάμια ῥέζει / σπαιρόντων αἰγῶν ἔμβρυα καλ-λὺθτων*; Cyril. Alex. *In Oseam* (*Patr. Gr.* 71, 129): *τοὺς ἐν ἡπατι σφάδασμούς περιαθροῖσιν οἱ δέιλαιοι*; Psell. *De Daemon.* 2 (*Patr. Gr.* 122, 877). So Schol. B Hom. *Il.* 1, 86: *ἀνατέμνοντες γὰρ* (sc. τὰ ζῆγκατα) *σημεῖα τινα ἐθεώρουν ἐν τοῖς ἡπασιν* (where the present participle seems to denote simultaneity of sacrifice and observation). Strabo, 3, 3, 6, says that the Lusitanians τὰ . . . σπλάγχνα ἐπιβλέπουσιν οὐκ ἐκτέμνοντες. In this connection may be mentioned the proverb *inter caesa et porrecta* (Cic. *Ad Att.* 5, 18, 1; Otto, *Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 63-64); also Plin.

N. H. 30, 19 (of moles): *nullis aequae credunt extis, nullum religionum capacius iudicant animal, ut si qui cor eius recens palpitansque devoret divinationis et rerum efficiendarum eventus promittant* (for a thirteenth century parallel cf. Thorndike, *Hist. of Magic and exper. Science*, 2 (1929), 497-498); Apul. *M.* 3, 18: *decanatis spirantibus fibris*; Blecher, *op. cit.*, 73-74, who quotes Polack, *Manners and Customs of the New Zealanders*, 1 (1840), 255: "The New-Zealanders pluck the entrails from the (almost living) human victim, smoking with the warmth of animation"; and Latham, *Descriptive Ethnology*, 1 (1859), 61: "The omens are taken from the warm and reeking livers of sheep sacrificed for the purpose"; also Blecher, *op. cit.*, 187; 243-244; Krause in *P.-W.* 5 Supplbd. (1931), 276.

Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 392) would detect an oxymoron in the expression *spirantia . . . exta*, but in view of the explanation just given this seems needless.

64. consulit: Schol. Dan.: *aruspices enim exta consulere dicuntur cum inspicunt*. Prescott (*Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 274-275) remarks upon the difficulty apparently arising in that we do not learn the result of Dido's inspection of the entrails. This could not have been favorable, or the gods would have been deceiving her; but it is clearly not represented as distinctly unfavorable. The explanation, he thinks, is that Dido herself conducted the examination, and blinded by her love misread or failed to see the "signs which the entrails would have revealed to a less blurred vision." He further explains *valum* in the next line as part of a broad generalization, not implying the actual presence of any expert *haruspex*. I am not entirely convinced by this explanation of *valum*, and, especially in the case of a rite so complicated as haruspice and probably (despite Cic. *De Div.* 1, 16: *extis enim omnes fere utuntur*) so far removed from the experience of a lady — even of a queen —, I should prefer to free the gods from the blame of false prediction on the principle described in Cic. *De Div.* 1, 24: *similis est haruspicum responsio omnisque opinabilis divinatio; coniectura enim nititur, ultra quam progredi non potest*.

65. heu, vatum ignarae mentes! quid vota furentem,

ignare *py.* mentis *FR* (mentes *F*¹). ferentem *R*, furente *p*.

65-66. quid . . . iuvant: *Serv. Aen. 1, 299* — qui vota *BL* (quid vota *I*) —. 65. heu . . . furentem: *Serv. Aen. 4, 464* — furentes in marg. *T* —.

65. heu, etc.: a much disputed clause; for a summary of different interpretations cf. Knorr, *Beiträge zur Erkl. einiger Stellen der Äneide* (1898), 21-23. *Serv.*: non sacerdotes vituperat quasi nescios futurorum, sed vim amantis exprimit, et inde vituperat sacerdotes, qui admonuerunt non credituram; nam omnia futura a sacerdotibus praedicta esse sequens indicat locus, ut (4, 464) 'multaque praeterea vatum praedicta priorum'; Schol. Dan.: ignarae ergo amoris reginae, quia illa alias causas litationis praetendebat, et ideo vota non perficiebat; Donat.: fiebant, inquit, ab imprudentibus sacra nullis amorum necessitatibus profutura . . . quid enim quae solvebantur numinibus vota amanti prodesse potuerant, cum amoris ardor iam dudum molliter serpens in inmoderata incendia prorupisset? Cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 130, n. 1. Virgil is probably imitating Apoll. Rh. 3, 932-935, in which a prophetic crow reviles the diviner Mopsus (ἀκλεῆς δὲ μάντις, δὲ οὐδ' ὅσα παῖδες ἴσασιν / οἷδε νόφ' φράσσασθαι, ὁδοῦκεν οὔτε τι λαρὸν / οὔτ' ἐρατὸν κούρη κεν ἔπος προτιμῶσται / ἤθ' ἔω, εὔτ' ἂν σφιν ἐπ' ἡλῦδες ἄλλοι ἔπωνται, κτλ.), and is himself imitated by Sil. 2, 28: heu, caecae mentes tumefactaque corda secundis; 8, 100: heu, sacri vatum errores; Apul. *M.* 10, 2: heu, medicorum ignarae mentes, quid venae pulsus, quid coloris intemperantia . . . quam facilis, licet non artifice medico, cuius tamen docto Veneriae cupidinis comprehensio, cum videas aliquem sine corporis calore flagrantem. La Cerda (*ad loc.*) compares Lucr. 2, 14: o miseras hominum mentes, o pectora caeca; Plin. *N. H.* 7, 132: heu vana et imprudens diligentia! In 4, 50 Anna had advised Dido to proceed with her love only after securing good omens (*sacris* . . . *litalis*), and Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 344) remarks that the diviners have done their part and apparently secured favorable omens, yet Dido's heart is not at rest, since

her desires have not been attained. She has not really taken the haruspices into her confidence and told them the symptoms of her malady, hence they, in their ignorance of these facts, are unable to give her the real assistance which she needs. Cf. also 4, 464, n. (vatum . . . priorum), below, and the possibility there noted that Dido may have neglected some of the predictions which did not accord with her desires, or may have misinterpreted them in her enthusiasm.

On heu followed by a question or an exclamation cf. 4, 13, n. (heu). Virgil in general, like Homer, strives for epic objectivity of statement, yet at times, particularly in the Dido story — the most Hellenistic part of the *Aeneid* —, subjective parentheses appear, such as the present line, in its neoteric style, the use of *infelix* (e.g., 4, 68; 4, 450; 4, 529) and *misera* (4, 697), and such lines as 4, 169; 4, 296; 4, 408; 4, 412 (cf. Valmagg in *Riv. di Filol.* 25 (1897), 47-48; Heinze, *op. cit.*, 371; Jackson in *Harv. Stud. in cl. Philol.* 24 (1913), 49; also 4, 90, n. (*quam, etc.*), infra). Other instances cited by Kvíčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 82, and n. 2) include the striking lines in 9, 446-449; also Sil. 2, 696-707; 4, 396-400. Mac-kail (introd. to his edition, lxxxiii) condemns such cases, in which Virgil, he thinks, ceases to be an artist and becomes a moralist. Even in Homer, however, subjective touches are not altogether lacking, and Conington cites *Il.* 4, 127; 4, 146-147. DeWitt (*The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 51) suggests that this sentence (heu . . . iuvant) corresponds to the part of the chorus in a Greek tragedy, occurring when a chorus might be expected to present the reflections of the poet (cf. Rebert in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 59 (1928), 61). With the ironic contrast between the apparent success of the omens and the reader's foreboding of Dido's fate cf. 10, 500-502: quo nunc Turnus ova

66. quid delubra iuvant? est mollis flamma medullas

(quid delubra iuu)ant *Pap. Fl.* molli *p.* medullas (m in ras.) *R*, (a corr. ex u, s in ras.) *b*, medulla *p.*

[65] 66-67. est . . . volnus: *Macrob. Sat.* 6, 6, 18 — uulnus —. 66-67. est . . . interea: [Acro] in *Hor. C.* 1, 13, 7; *Prob. Inst.* (G. L. K. 4, 186) — mollis om. —. 66. quid . . . iuvant: *Anth. Lat. no. 719a, 114* (2, p. 192 Riese). 66. est . . . medullas: *Diomed. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 386); *Serv. G.* 1, 151; [Acro] in *Hor. C.* 3, 19, 28; in *Ep.* 1, 2, 39, ed. *Hauhal* — om. γ —; *Comm. Cruq. Hor. C.* 1, 13, 8; *Gram. Vat.* (in *Auct. class.* 5, 321 *Mai*) — mollis om. —; [Acro] in *Hor. Ep.* 1, 2, 39, ed. *Hauhal*. 66. mollis flamma: *Gl. Ansil.* 374, 200.

spolio gaudetque potitus. / nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae / et servare modum, rebus sublata secundis; also Valmagg in *Riv. di Filol.* 25 (1897), 47-48, who, following Giussani (*Studi di Lett. Rom.* (1885), 91) notes the mild and tempered pessimism of such subjective passages as this and 4, 296.

65. quid vota: I cannot suppose with Schüler (cf. 4, 50, n. (*veniam*), above) that Dido by these religious rites sought merely to allay her passion. We must not be misled by 4, 478-479, which represents both a feigned explanation and an advanced stage in her love. The first part of the present sacrifices (4, 56-59 — perhaps even 4, 56-62) is propitiatory, prompted by conscience and by the insomnia of 4, 9; the extispicy indicates an inquiry into the future, of a more serious sort, to be sure, yet similar to the numerous forms of divination by which superstitious women of all times have tried to secure information about their destined husbands. With the sentiment Professor A. D. Nock well compares Gardiner, *Library of A. Chester Beatty* (1931), 34, 8 (an Egyptian erotic papyrus): "If the master-physicians come unto me, my heart hath no comfort (of) their remedies; the magicians, no resource is in them; my sickness is not discerned."

65. furentem: cf. 4, 8, n. (*male sana*). Fowler (*Roman Essays and Interpretations* (1920), 186) remarks that Dido was possessed by a spirit of madness (cf. 4, 376) quite incompatible with serious marriage, and contrasts (p. 188) with the respectful love of Roman marriage the animal passion of a *furens*.

66. quid, etc.: lines 66-68 and 99-102 appear in a fifth-century papyrus (*Papiri gr. e lat.* 1 (1912), 47, n. 21) provided with marks of accent and quantity (cf. Moore in *Cl. Philol.* 19 (1924), 322; Shipley in *Washington Univ. Stud.* 12, Humanist. Ser. 1 (1924), 144, and n. 7; Mountford in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 56 (1925), 152-153): [quid delubra iuu]ant est mollis flamma medullas / [interea et tacitu]m uuln sub pectore uulnus / [urit]ur infelix Dido totaque u[aga]tur.

66. delubra: cf. 4, 56.

66. est: cf. 5, 683, where also *est* is used of burning (*lentusque carinas est vapor*) and is put in a prominent initial position in the line as here in the clause. Not only is fire often described as devouring (e.g., *G.* 3, 566), but passion, grief, and other emotions are thus depicted (e.g., 6, 442; 12, 801; *Il.* 6, 202; 24, 128-129; *Od.* 9, 75 (= 10, 143); *Cic. Tusc.* 3, 63; *Lucr.* 3, 993; *Hor. C.* 1, 18, 4; 2, 11, 18; *Ep.* 1, 2, 39).

66. mollis: perhaps modifying *flamma* and meaning 'subtle,' thus contrasting the apparent slightness of the flame with its devastating effects (cf. the *caeco* . . . *igni* of 4, 2); or, more probably, modifying *medullas*, as in Catull. 45, 16: *ignis mollibus ardet in medullis* (where Ellis thinks of the marrow as liquefying under the effects of heat, though the mere softness of the marrow as contrasted with the hard bone around it is an adequate explanation); *Arnob.* 7, 20: *mollis . . . medullas*. The latter view is also supported by the adjective *tenerae* in *Ov. Am.* 3, 10, 27 (quoted below); cf. Zingerle, *Kl. philol. Abhand.* 3 (1882), 18-20. The *mollis* . . . *flamma* of 2, 683-684 is of quite a different

67. interea et tacitum vivit sub pectore volnus.

(interea et tacitu)m Pap. Fl. tacitum γ¹. uulnus FMRbcpγ², Pap. Fl.

[66*] 67. interea . . . volnus: *Gl. Ansil.* 543, 297 — uulnus —; 550, 61 — uulnus —. 67. et . . . volnus: *Hier. Ep.* 125, 7, 2 — tacitus H; uiuat; uulnus —; *Porphyr. in Hor. C.* 1, 13, 6 — uulnus —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 5, 445 — uoluit Pb; uulnus —.

(and harmless) sort, and cannot be taken as supporting here the view of *mollis* as nominative.

66. *flamma*: cf. 4, 2, n. (*igni*).

66. *medullas*: cf. 4, 101, n. (*per ossa*). For the marrow as a typical seat of love cf. *Eur. Hipp.* 253–255: *χρὴν γὰρ μετρίας εἰς ἀλλήλους / φίλας θνητοὺς ἀνακλινάσθαι, / καὶ μὴ πρὸς ἄκρον μυελὸν ψυχῆς* (where the scholiast says: *τροπικῶς δὲ εἶπεν, ὥς ἐπὶ σώματος καὶ ὁστέου, τὸ βάθος τῆς ψυχῆς*); *Theocr.* 3, 17: *ὅς με κατασμήνων καὶ ἐς ὁστέον ἄχρῃς λάπτει*; *Plaut. Most.* 243: *videas eam medullitus amare*; *Cic. Ad Fam.* 15, 16, 2: *de te, qui mihi haeres in medullis* (cf. *Ad Att.* 15, 4, 3); *Catull.* 35, 14–15: *ex eo misellae / ignes interiorum edunt medullam*; 64, 92–93: *cuncto concepit corpore flammam / funditus atque imis exarsit tota medullis* (cf. 64, 196); 66, 23: *quam penitus maestas exedit cura medullas*; *Virg. G.* 3, 271: *avidis . . . subdila flamma medullis*; *Aen.* 1, 660: *incendat reginam atque ossibus implicet ignem*; 4, 101; 8, 388–390: *ille repente / accepit solitam flammam, notusque medullas / intravit calor et labefacta per ossa cucurrit*; *Dirae*, 10, 1: *quam tua de nostris emigret cura medullis*; *Ov. Am.* 3, 10, 27: *ut tenerae flammam rapuere medullae*; *M.* 14, 351: *flammaque per totas visa est errare medullas*; *Trist.* 1, 5, 9; *Sen. Phaedr.* 279–282: [*labitur totas furor in medullas / igne furtivo populante venas.*] / *non habet latam data plaga frontem, / sed vorat lectas penitus medullas*; *Agam.* 132: *flammae medullas et cor exurunt meum*; *Luc.* 5, 811: *flamma tacitas urente medullas*; 9, 741–742: *carpitque medullas / ignis edax*; *Apul. M.* 10, 3: *isti enim tui oculi per meos oculos ad intima delapsi praecordia meis medullis acerrimum commovet incendium*; *Avien.* 2, 1176–1178: *caluerunt dira medullis / protinus in mediis incendia, plurimus ardor / pectore flagravit*; *Anth. Lat.* no. 83, 24–26 (1, p. 114 Riese):

penitusque cucurrit / sopilus per membra calor diroque medullas / igne vorat; *Venant. Fort. Misc.* 6, 2, 18 (*Patr. Lat.* 88, 204): *inhaesit flamma medullis*; *Pichon, De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 198; *McCartney in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 56 (1925), 71, n. 13. The marrow typifies the innermost citadel, the last to be captured, yet itself easily overcome when the outer defences have fallen; but with this there is undoubtedly combined the idea of secrecy and freedom from observation.

67. *interea*: 'all this time'; placed in the emphatic position (*Henry*); cf. *Ov. Rem. Am.* 105: *interea tacitae serpunt in viscera flammae*. On *Virgil's* use of *interea* cf. *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 388, n. 2; *Reinmuth in Proc. Am. philol. Assoc.* 63 (1932), li–lii.

67. *tacitum*: cf. 4, 2, n. (*caeco*); *Callim. Epigr.* 44, 1: *ἔλκος ἔχων ὁ ξείνος ἐλάνθανεν*; *Theocr.* 11, 15–16: *ἐχθιστον ἔχων ὑποκάρδιον ἔλκος / Κύπριδος ἐκ μεγάλας*; *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 286–287: *βέλους δ' ἐνεδαλετο κούρη / νέρθεν ὑπὸ κραδίῃ*; 3, 296–297: *τοῖος ὑπὸ κραδίῃ εἰλυμένος αἰθερο λάβρῃ / οὖλος ἔρωτος*; *Ov. M.* 4, 64: *quoque magis legitur, lectus magis aestuat ignis*; *Sen. Phaedr.* 362: *torretur aestu tacito*. The adjective is perhaps, as *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* thinks, to be construed in the predicate.

67. *vivit*, etc.: cf. *Lucr.* 2, 639: *aeternumque daret matri sub pectore volnus*; *Aen.* 1, 36: *aeternum servans sub pectore volnus*; 4, 689: *infixum stridit sub pectore volnus*; 11, 40: *patens in pectore volnus*; *Sil.* 5, 594: *pulchrum sub pectore vulnus*; *Anth. Lat.* no. 636, 23 (2, p. 103 Riese): *vivit pectore sub dolente vulnus*; also the verse ending *in pectore volnus* (*Carm. Lat. epigr.* no. 490, 5; no. 637, 3 *Bücheler*). With *sub pectore* cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 287: *νέρθεν ὑπὸ κραδίῃ*; *Nonn.* 15, 319: *ἐμπεδον ἔλκος ἔρωτος, ὑπὸ φρένα βοσκόμενον πύρ*; *Maphaeus Vegius, Aen.* 13, 57: *sub pectore volvens*.

68. uritur infelix Dido totaque vagatur

(uritur infelix Dido) Pap. Fl. u(aga)tur Pap. Fl.

68–69. *uritur* . . . *furens*: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 62. 68. *uritur* . . . *Dido*: *Prisc. Inst.* 8, 36 (*G. L. K.* 2, 403) — *labitur* (cf. *Aen.* 5, 329?) —; [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 1, 19, 7 — *urit a* —; *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C.* 1, 6, 19; *Isid. Etym.* 13, 10, 8 — *oritur C* —; *Hrab. Maur. De Univ.* 11, 18. 68. *uritur infelix*: *Anth. Lat.* no. 11, 69 (1, p. 43 Riese).

68. *uritur*, etc.: for the rather Hellenistic treatment of the details of Dido's passion cf. *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 397; and for love as a fire 4, 2, n. (*igni*); *Ov. H.* 7, 25: *uror*.

68. *infelix*: in seven other places in the *Aeneid* used of Dido: 1, 712; 1, 749; 4, 450; 4, 529; 4, 596; 5, 3; 6, 456; cf. also *Sil.* 2, 414–415; [*Aus.*] p. 417, VIII, 1 *Peiper*; and contrast 4, 657: *felix, heu nimium felix*. The word is, then, almost a permanent epithet, like *pius* used of Aeneas. For its subjective quality cf. 4, 65, n. (*heu, etc.*). The frequency and the effect of this word have been noted by various critics; e.g., *Green, Stray Studies from England and Italy* (1876), 278: "Little words, like 'misera,' 'infelix,' 'fati nescia,' sound the first undertones of a woe to come, even amidst the joy of the first meeting or the glad tumult of the hunting-scene"; *Pichon, De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 168; *Duckett, Hellenistic Infl. in the Aeneid* (1920), 13, who compares *σχέριλος* in *Callimachus*; *Hahn in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 56 (1925), 187; 190–191; 197; *Rebert, The Felicity of Infelix in Virgil's Aeneid* (*Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 59 (1928), 57–71; reprinted in *Virgil and those others* (1930), 13–28); *DeWitt (in Cl. Weekly*, 25 (1932), 90), who explains the word as 'ill-starred'; *Duckworth, Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil* (1933), 13; 120; also cf. 4, 32, n. (*solane, etc.*), above. *Rebert* points out that *infelix*, applied to a considerable series of characters in the *Aeneid*, expresses "artistically, dramatically, and tragically, a poetical concept which lay very close to the poet's heart. Where words leave off, its implied significance takes up the tale"; and he notes how it constantly expresses the poet's own sympathies, i.e., how it introduces a subjective element into the objective epic (*Jackson*

in *Harv. Stud. in cl. Philol.* 24 (1913), 49, gives good parallels to this in other Latin writers).

I think that in addition we may properly emphasize the literal meaning of the word as 'unfruitful' or 'sterile' (cf. *Ecl.* 5, 37 (= *G.* 1, 154); *G.* 2, 239; 2, 314; etc.; *Boetticher, Der Baumkultus der Hellenen* (1856), 303, and *Latte in P.-W.* 9 (1916), 1540–1541 on *infelices arbores*; *Oldfather in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 39 (1908), 70, n. 4), its root appearing also in *fecundus*, *fetus*, and (though this is disputed) *femina*. Contrast the use of *felix* ('fruitful,' 'fertile'); e.g., *G.* 2, 81; 4, 329; *Aen.* 7, 725–726; *Hor. Epod.* 2, 14; etc.; *Plin. Ep.* 3, 7, 2: *beatus et felix nisi quod minorem ex liberis duobus amisit, sed maiorem . . . reliquit*; the title *Arabia Felix*; and, at a later date, the verse *bella gerant alii, tu, felix Austria, nube*. Underlying all the tragedy of Dido is the fact, clearly expressed in 4, 327–330, that she leaves no descendant to carry on her race (note that *Ovid's* Dido, possibly pregnant (*Her.* 7, 133–134), is not called *infelix*). The prospect of singleness (virginal or widowed), of dying untimely (*ἄωρος*) before marriage, or of outliving one's offspring and thus losing a sort of racial immortality destined for those whose descendants can engage in ancestor worship appears in *Aesch. Choeph.* 505–507: *παῖδες γὰρ ἀνδρὶ κληδόνες σωτήριον / θανόντι· φελλοὶ δ' ὥς ἄγονσι δίκτυον, / τὸν ἐκ βυθοῦ κλωστήρη σφύζοντες λίβου*; *Plat. Legg.* 4, p. 721 B–C; 6, p. 773 E; *Eur. Androm.* 418–419: *πᾶσι δ' ἀνθρώποις ἄρ' ἦν / ψυχὴ τέκν'*; *Athenag. De Resurr. Mort.* 12: *ποιεῖται δὲ καὶ παῖδας . . . ἐπὶ τῷ εἶναι τε καὶ διαμένειν καθόσον οἶόν τε τοῖς ὑπ' αὐτοῦ γεννωμένοις, τῇ τῶν παίδων καὶ τῶν ἐγγόνων διαδοχῇ τὴν αὐτοῦ τελευτὴν παραμυθούμενος καὶ ταύτῃ τὸ θνητὸν ἀπαθανατίζειν οἰόμενος*; also *Apul. Asclep.* 4: *quamvis omnia genera in-*

69. urbe furens, qualis coniecta cerva sagitta,

[68] 69-73. qualis . . . harundo: *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 6, 9 — cerua om. *P*¹; chresia *P*; alla (*pro illa*) *P* — 69. qualis . . . sagitta: *Serv. Aen.* 12, 8.

mortalia sint, species non omnes inmortales; etc.; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 3 (1911), 369-371; Nock in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* 11 (1925), 134, and n. 5; also Rupert Brooke, 1914 (1915), 3, 7-8: "and those who would have been, / Their sons, they gave, their immortality." This was especially sad to a race like the Romans which so stressed its family connections. The curse of childlessness, then, is one of the most severe that can be imagined; cf. Riess in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 46 (1925), 224-225, citing *Levit.* 20, 20. To youths untimely slain, like Troilus (1, 475), Coroebus (2, 345), Euryalus (9, 390; 9, 430), Lausus (10, 829), and the maiden Camilla (11, 563), or to parents losing their children, like Tereus (*Ecl.* 6, 81), Priam (*Aen.* 3, 50), Brutus (6, 822), the mother of Euryalus (9, 477), Mezentius (10, 850), and Evander (11, 53; 11, 175), or to a sister bereft of her brother (Iuturna, in 12, 870) is applied the adjective *infelix*, typifying the frustration of those natural desires for the reproduction of one's race the pathos of which a bachelor, like Virgil himself, may well have felt with peculiar poignancy. Apposite in this connection is *Clem. Strom.* 2, 23: ἐπεὶ καὶ γάμον τινὰ οἰκτεροῦσιν οἱ ποιηταὶ ἡμιτελῆ καὶ ἄπαιδα μακαρίζουσι δὲ τὸν ἀμφιβαλῆ (cf. also the Roman emphasis upon the completeness of a family in which children are *patrimi et matrimi*); also *Pap. Gr. magicae*, 1 (1928), no. 4, 2730-2734 Preisendanz: τὰν Ἐκάταν σε καλῶ συναποφθιμένοιαν ἄωροις, καὶ τινες ἡρώων ἔθανον ἀγύναιοι τε ἄπαιδες. Here again appears a parallel between Dido and Turnus, the two great obstacles to the mission of Aeneas, in that both perish untimely (cf. 4, 697, n. (*ante diem*), below), before their race is perpetuated. The contrast between this adjective and the thoughts and surroundings of Dido parallels the (also subjective) use of *pius* for Aeneas in 4, 393; in each case the poet calls our thoughts from the immediate to the ultimate. On *infelix* *Dido* cf. 4, 322, n. (*extinctus pudor*), below.

68. *tota*: for similar hyperbole cf. Hunziker, *Die Figur d. Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), 58; and, for the cadence, Walafridus Strabo, *De Vita . . . Mammæ*, 22, 30 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 292): *totaque vagantur*.

68. *vagatur*: Schol. Dan.: *potest accipi 'vagatur' dum opera ostendit Aeneae*; Donat.: *cum illa omnia frustra agerentur, amor Didonis medullas et viscera consumebat neque eam patiebatur ullo in loco consistere, ut vaganti totius civitatis non sufficerent spatia*. Dido's restlessness culminates in 4, 300-303. So the lovesick Scylla in *Cir.* 167: *infelix virgo tota bacchatur in urbe*; and Amata in her madness (*Aen.* 7, 376-377); cf. Heinze, *op. cit.*, 287, n. 1, who notes the ἀσχημσύνη involved. Doubtless the physical wandering suggests mental wandering as well; cf. Heliod. *Aethiop.* 4, 7: τὴν διάνοιαν δ' ἀλβεῖ. The verb *vagor* is in contrast with the dignified or formal *incessus*, admired by the Romans, which should characterize a person of consequence, like a queen; cf. 1, 46; 1, 405; 1, 497; 4, 62, n. (*spatiatur*); 4, 141; 5, 553; 8, 722; 9, 308; 12, 219; Prop. 3, 13, 11; Ov. *Ars am.* 3, 299-300: *est et in incessu pars non contempta decoris*; / *allicit ignotos ille fugatque viros*.

69. *furens*: cf. 4, 8, n. (*male sana*); *Serv.*: *furor enim est amor in quo nihil est stabile*; Pichon, *De Sermonem amatorio* (1902), 157-158.

69. *qualis*: Virgil's commonest introduction for a simile, found thus 27 times in the poem (including 4, 143; 4, 301); cf. Fraser in *Cl. Journ.* 19 (1923), 48-49. The origin of the comparison is possibly (though not very probably) *Il.* 11, 473-481: ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρ' αὐτὸν / Τρῶες ἔπον ὡς εἰ τε δαφνοῖσι θῶες δρεσφιν / ἀμφ' ἔλαφον κεραὸν βεβλημένον, ὃν τ' ἔβαλ' ἀνὴρ / ἰφ' ἀπὸ νευρῆς· τὸν μὲν τ' ἥλυξε πόδεςσιν / φεύγων, ὅφρ' αἶμα λιαρὸν καὶ γούνατ' ὀρώρη κτλ.; cf. Hornbostel, *Die Gleichnisse bei Vergil* (1870), 9 (who notes the infrequency in Virgil, as compared with Homer, of similes involving animals of the chase);

70. quam procul incautam nemora inter Cresia fixit

intere (*corr. in inter*) *p*. cressia (si *ex corr.*) *F*¹, cressia *p*. fix(it) *P*, fi. xit *b*.

[69*] 70-71. quam . . . telis: *Non. p.* 243 *M.* (*p.* 364 *L.*). 70. nemora . . . Cresia: *Gl. Ansil.* 388, 257.

Houben, *De Comparationibus Vergilianis* (1876), 7; Kopetsch, *De Comparationibus Vergilianis* (1879), 4; Baur, *Homerische Gleichnisse in Vergils Aeneide* (1891), 54; Schuardt, *Die Gleichnisse in Vergils Aeneis* (1904), 11-12; Keith in *Cl. Journ.* 28 (1933), 606. The simile is imitated by Petrarch, *Sonnets*, 155, 9-12: *e qual cervo ferito di saetta, / col ferro avvelenato dentr'al fianco / fugge, e più duolsi quanto più s'affretta*, etc.; Boiardo, *Orl. inn.* 1, 5, 14, 3-6: *come cerva ferita di saetta, / che al lungo tempo accresce il suo dolore; / e quant'il corso più veloce affretta, / più sangue perde ed ha pena maggiore*, etc.; Ariosto, *Orl. fur.* 16, 3, 5-8: *e come cervo / ferito, ovunque va, porta la freccia: / ha di se stesso e del suo amor vergogna, / nè l'osa dire, e invan sanarsi agogna*; cf. Haber, *Comp. Study of the Beowulf and the Aeneid* (1931), 92-93, who cites *Beowulf*, 1368-1372; see also Shelley, *Adonais*, 33, 9: "A herd-abandoned deer struck by the hunter's dart"; Cowper, *Task*, 3, 108-111: "I was a stricken deer that left the herd / Long since; with many an arrow deep infix'd / My panting side was charged, when I withdrew / To seek a tranquil death in distant shades." For another simile from deer cf. 12, 749-755. In the present case it may be felt that the simile tends to overbalance the incident illustrated, yet if we accept the explanation of the Scholia Danielis there is perhaps justification for this: *salis congrua comparatio: singula enim singulis, cervam Didoni, sagittam amoris, pastorem Aeneae, nemora urbi, ictum letalem amoris mortifero comparavit*; Donat.: *Dido-nem comparavit cervae, silvas civitati, mobilitatem cervae Didonis discursibus, sagittam pastoris sagittae Cupidinis, pastorem Cupidini, cursum inefficacem cervae cum Didonis errantis inmoderatis anfractibus*. The interlocked order *qualis coniecta cerva sagitta* deserves notice.

69. *coniecta*: cf. 9, 698; 12, 362; etc.;

Ermoldus, *Ad Pippinum*, 1, 101 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 82): *coniecta cerva sagitta*.

69. *sagitta*: cf. 4, 1, n. (*saucia*); 4, 2, n. (*volnus*). The arrow suggests those of Eros (Cupido); Xen. *Mem.* 1, 3, 13: ἰσως δὲ καὶ οἱ Ἑρῶτες τοξόται διὰ τοῦτο καλοῦνται, ὅτι καὶ πρῶτον οἱ καλοὶ τιτρώσκουσιν; Lucr. 4, 1052; 4, 1278; Hor. C. 3, 27, 67-68; Tib. 2, 1, 81; *Pervig. Ven.* 30-33; etc. The bow and arrow as an attribute of Eros appear first in the fourth century B.C.; cf. Furtwängler in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1886), 1363; Waser in *P.-W.* 6 (1909), 507; also Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 124. Forbiger (*ad loc.*) calls attention to the variety of expression in *sagitta . . . telis . . . ferrum . . . harundo* (cf. Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 4, 73).

70. *quam*, etc.: for the development of this picture, word by word, cf. *Ecl.* 8, 37.

70. *Cresia*: cf. 8, 294; *Serv.*: *Cresia Cretensia: nam Graece Κρής facit, unde et Κρήτες et Κρήσια facit. Latine 'Cretensis' facit, unde est 'Cretensia'*. Plin. *N.H.* 8, 228 states: *mirabilis in eadem insula (sc. Creta) cervos praeterquam in Cydoniarum regione non esse*, which Solin. 11, 10-11 misunderstands: *ager Creticus silvestrium caprarum copiosus est, cervo eget*. On the evidence of toponymy and the remains of bones for the former presence of deer in Crete, where they are now extinct, cf. Büchner in *P.-W.* 11 (1922), 1741. Virgil here uses the adjective not to add any significant scientific fact but to make the picture more vivid, as Horace often employs geographic adjectives, e.g., C. 1, 1, 13-14: *ut trabe Cypria / Myrtoum . . . secet mare*. Virgil himself (*Ecl.* 10, 59-60) says: *libet Partho torquere Cydonia cornu / spicula*, and refers to Cretan bowmen in G. 3, 345; *Aen.* 5, 306-307; 11, 773; cf. Hor. C. 1, 15, 17; 4, 9, 17-18; Prop. 2, 12, 10.

70. *fixit*: cf. *Ecl.* 2, 29: *figere cervos*; G. 1, 308: *figere dammas*.

71. pastor agens telis liquitque volatile ferrum
nescius; illa fuga silvas saltusque peragrat

agens *c*¹. liquid *P*, linquit *π*. ferro (*corr. in ferrum*) *π*.
saltus siluasque *F*.

[69, 70] 71-72. liquitque . . . nescius: *Serv. Aen. 10, 706* — libro ut quae (que *M*)
ASM —. 71. volatile ferrum: *Macrob. Sat. 6, 5, 15*.

[69*, 71] 72-73. illa . . . Dictaeos: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 12, 413* — peragra dictatos *F* —.
72. nescius: *Gl. Ansil. 390, 427; q.v.*

71. agens telis: cf. *G. 3, 411-412*: *apros / latratu turbabis agens*; *Aen. 1, 190-191*: *omnem / miscet agens telis nemora inter frondea turbam*; 7, 481.

71. liquit: as Henry notes (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 606-607), this verb, as a sort of complement, makes more precise the verb *fixit*; cf. 11, 637: *hastam intorsit equo ferrumque sub aure reliquit*; *Lucr. 4, 1137*: *verbum iaculata reliquit*; *Ov. M. 11, 776*: *dente pedem strinxit (sc. coluber), virusque in corpore liquit*; *Stat. Theb. 11, 565-567*: *erigit occulte ferrum . . . / . . . et ense / . . . fraterno in corde reliquit*. The verb combines the loss of the weapon to the hunter, who does not know (*nescius*) where it is, and its permanent fixing in the body of the deer.

71. volatile, etc.: cf. 8, 694-695: *stuppea flamma manu telisque volatile ferrum / spargitur*; also *Sueius ap. Macrob. Sat. 6, 5, 15*: *volucrumque volatile telum*; *Lucr. 1, 970*: *iaciatque volatile telum*; *Ov. Ars am. 1, 169*: *telumque volatile sensil*; *M. 7, 841*: *telumque volatile misi*; *Il. Lat. 347-348*: *laterique volatile telum / incidit*; *Venant. Fort. De Vit. S. Martini, 1, 348*: *excussum . . . volatile ferrum*; *Laurent. Veron. De Bell. Balear. 5, 65 (Patr. Lat. 163, 544)*. The Latin is probably modelled upon *Il. 4, 116-117*: *ἰὸν / . . . περὸντα*; 5, 171: *περὸντες ὄιστοι*; 16, 773: *οἱ τε περὸντες*. The alliteration should be noted; cf. *Maxa in Wiener Stud. 19 (1897), 111*.

72. nescius: *Schol. Dan.*: *quidam 'nescius' ad Aeneam referunt, qui nescit amore suo vulneratam reginam*; more probably than some views catalogued by *Servius*, who says: *aut nescius quod ferierit, aut ignoratus et latens; non qui cervam nesciret; id., Aen. 10, 706*: *nescius pro 'qui nesciebatur.'* Virgil has so

far given no indication that Aeneas suspected Dido's passion, and his own words in 4, 337-339 deserve some weight; cf. *DeWitt, The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil (1907), 28*. On the effect of the run-over adjective cf. 4, 23, n. (*impulit*). The juxtaposition with *illa* makes an especially effective contrast. For parallels to this sentence structure cf. *Weissenborn, Untersuch. ü. d. Satz- u. Periodenbau in Vergils Äneide (1879), 14-15*.

72. silvas, etc.: cf. *Lucr. 2, 355*: *saltus orbata peragrans*; 5, 1386: *avia per nemora ac silvas saltusque reperta*; *Catull. 34, 10-11*: *silvarumque virentium / saltumque reconditorum*; *Virg. G. 3, 40*: *silvas saltusque sequamur*; 4, 53: *saltus silvasque peragrat*; *Ov. M. 2, 498-499*; perhaps suggested by the deer in *Il. 11, 118*: *καρπαλίμως δ' ἤξε διὰ δρυμά πικνὰ καὶ ἔλην*. On the alliterative phrase *silvas saltusque* cf. *Wölfflin in Sitzb. d. k. bayr. Akad. 2 (1881), 83 (= Ausgewählte Schriften (1933), 275)*.

72. peragrat: Virgil may here be simply thinking of the deer as roaming in aimless frenzy, but the *Scholia Danielis* (on *Aen. 12, 412-413*) suggest that it is seeking the healing herb *dictamnus*, of which they say: *haec herba licet ubique nascatur, melior in Creta est, quae Dicta dicitur, unde proprium herbae nomen. haec admola vulneri, in quo ferrum est, extrahit ferrum in tantum ut animalia apud Cretam, cum fuerint vulnerata, ad hanc herbam currant eaque depasta tela corpore dicantur excutere*; cf. *Serv.* on our passage. On this popular belief cf. the passages collected by *Schmidt*, in *P.-W. 5 (1905), 582-583*; to which add *Cic. N. D. 2, 126*; *Plin. N. H. 8, 97*; *Plut. Brut. Anim. 9*; *Terrest. Anim. 20*; *Tert. De Paenit. 12*; *Pacianus, Paraenesis, 11 (Patr. Lat. 13, 1088)*: *caprae ferae, ut dicunt,*

73. Dictaeos; haeret lateri letalis harundo.
nunc media Aenean secum per moenia ducit
Sidoniasque ostentat opes urbemque paratam.

heret *Pγ*, aeret (*corr. in haeret*) *b*. latere *F* (lateri *F*¹). loetalis *γ*, laetalis (*corr. in loetalis*) *b*.
hunc *π*. aeneam *Rc*, aenean (*corr. in aeneam*) *π*.
ostendat *γ*. opes (*e m. 2*) *γ*. param *R* (*corr. m. rec.*).

[69, 72*] 73. letalis harundo: *Gl. Ansil. 336, 264-265* — arundo —; *Gl. Abol. 141, 5* — arundo —; *Gl. Verg. (C. G. L. 4, 450, 2)* — aurundo *f*, arundo *abcg*, harundo *de* —.

74. media per moenia: *Gl. Ansil. 361, 63*.

75. Sidonias . . . opes: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 1, 446*. 75. urbemque paratam: *Serv. Aen. 4, 655*.

remedia sua noverunt; confixas quippe, audio, venenatis sagittis (probably a confusion between *ios* 'dart' and *ios* 'venom,' according to *Thompson on Arist. H. A. 8, 26, n. 4*), *saltus peragrarum Dictaeos, quoad dictami [sic] caule detonso, salutarium virulento latice succorum, pulsa decutiant tela corporibus*; *Ambros. Hexaem. 3, 40; 6, 26*; *Epiphan. Panaria, 2, 1, Haeres. 51*; *Isid. Etym. 17, 9, 29*: *Dicta mons Cretae, ex quo dictamnium herba nomen accepit, propter quam apud Vergilium cerva vulnerata saltus peragrat Dictaeos. tantae enim potentiae est ut ferrum a corpore expellat, sagittas excutiat; unde ei eius pabulo ferae percussae sagittas a corpore inhaerentes eiciunt*; *Etym. M. s.v. ἄνθος*; *Thompson on Arist. H. A. 8, 26 (n. 5)*; and on *H. A. 9, 6*; *Sargeant, Trees, Shrubs, and Plants of Virgil (1920), 40-41*; *Pease on Cic. De Div. 2, 135*; *Fowler, Death of Turnus (1927), 81-82*; also *Fabricius, Bibl. Gr. 3 (1716), 643-644*, for a Greek poem on this plant.

73. Dictaeos: cf. *Ecl. 6, 56*; *G. 2, 536*; 4, 152; *Aen. 3, 171*: *Dictaea . . . arva* (*Sen. Agam. 833-834*).

73. haeret: of a weapon sticking in its mark; cf. 9, 419; 11, 804; 11, 864; *Ov. M. 12, 570*; *Mar. Victor. Aleth. 3, 663*; *Paul. Nol. Carm. 21, 73*: *haeret ovals lateri*. For the asyndeton cf. *Loewe, Symbolae ad enarr. Serm. Poet. Lat. 2 (1873), 12*.

73. lateri: dative, to avoid the short syllables of the more idiomatic ablative *latere* (which is the reading of *F*¹); cf. *Kern, Zum Gebrauch d. Abl. bei Vergil (1881), 10-11*; *Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 232*; also *Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.*

2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 318. *Sabbadini (adn. crit. ad loc.)* considers *lateri* as an ablative.

73. letalis: cf. 9, 580; 11, 749; *Gualterus, Alexandreis, 3, 22*: *letalis harundo* (cf. 5, 201; 9, 243). The adjective calls to the reader's attention the outcome of Dido's wound.

73. harundo: figurative for *sagitta*, as in 5, 525; 5, 544; 7, 499; 12, 387; and several times in *Ovid*, and as *calamus* is used in 10, 140; cf. *Braunmüller, Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergils Aeneis, 1 (1877), 6*; *Kunz, Realien in Vergils Aeneis (1894), 6*; *Sargeant, The Trees, Shrubs, and Plants of Virgil (1920), 50-51*.

74. nunc: correlative with *nunc* in line 77, and indicating repeated actions; cf. *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik, 3 ed. (1915), 343, n. 2*. *Forbiger (ad loc.)* thinks the first *nunc* refers to the daytime, the second to the approach of evening. The skill with which Virgil in lines 74-89 has so strikingly yet so concisely sketched the progress of Dido's passion has been justly admired.

74. Aenean: the regular accusative in Virgil, though before a consonant some MSS at times read *Aeneam* (as cod. *R* here); cf. *Koczyński, De Flexura Gr. Nom. propr. apud . . . Vergilium (1892), 18-19*; *Thes. Ling. Lat. 1 (1900), 982, 1-17*; *Cottino, La Flessione dei Nomi greci in Virgilio (1906), 18*; *Kühner-Holzweissig, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 1, 2 ed. (1912), 434*.

74. moenia: for *urbs*; cf. 2, 234; *Braunmüller, op. cit., 1 (1877), 19*.

75. Sidonias: cf. 4, 36, n. (*Tyro*). Into the earlier history of Sidon (cf. *Honigmann*

76. incipit effari mediaque in voce resistit;

effari (corr. in effari) γ.

76. incipit . . . resistit: Serv. *Aen.* 1, 135 — om. C —; 1, 663; 4, 69; [Acro] in *Hor. C.* 4, 1, 36; *Anth. Lat.* no. 11, 75 (1, p. 44 Riese) — voca A —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 3, 87 — affari Pb —; *Mythogr. Vat.* III, 11, 18. 76. incipit effari: *Anth. Lat.* no. 16, 12 (1, p. 56 Riese); no. 17, 371 (1, p. 76 Riese); *Orest. Trag.* 163 (*Poet. Lat. min.* 5, 209 Vollmer). 76. media in voce: *Gl. Ansil.* 361, 61. 76. resistit: *Gl. Ansil.* 495, 1523; q.v.

in *P.-W.* 2 Reihe, 2 (1923), 2216–2218) we need not enter, save to say that the tradition related by Justin, 18, 3, 5 may have been known to Virgil: *post multos deinde annos a rege Ascaloniorum expugnati, navibus appulsi Tyron urbem ante annum Troianae cladis condiderunt* (sc. *Sidonii*), as possibly also the claim appearing on Sidonian coins (Hornigmann, *op. cit.*, 2217) that Sidon was the mother city of Carthage, Hippo, Citium, and Tyre; cf. also Sall. *Iug.* 78, 1–4 (Leptis as a Sidonian colony); Sil. 15, 38: *Sidoniasque domos* (of the Carthaginians); Hier. *Comm. in Is.* 5, p. 228 Vall. (Tyre a colony of Sidon); *id.*, 5, p. 227 Vall. (Carthage a colony of Tyre; so in *Comm. in Ezech.* 8, p. 310 Vall.); *Comm. in Hierem.* 5, p. 1018 Vall. (Carthage a colony of Tyre and Sidon). Eiselen, *Sidon* (1907), 16–26, considers the question of priority, and decides in favor of Tyre as the older and more early politically prominent, as well as (111 and n. 2) probably the mother city of Carthage. In the Dido story in the *Aeneid* the two cities are mentioned almost indiscriminately, *Tyros* and *Tyrius* appearing 29 times and *Sidon* and *Sidonius* 11 times. Serv. *Aen.* 1, 235 remarks: *Didonem Sidoniam dicit, cum sit Tyria, a loci vicinitate* (they are, in fact, about 25 miles apart); 1, 338: *nihil interest utrum Tyrios an Sidonios dicat. ut diximus enim nomine de vicino mutantur*; 1, 446 (see below); 1, 613: *Sidonia pro Tyria a vicinitate*; 8, 165: *cum sciamus poetas vicinas omnes pro uno habere civitates, sicut de Didone facit, quam nonnumquam Tyriam aliquotiens Sidoniam vocat*. It seems more likely that the racial descent of one city from the other is the cause of this mingling, for other cities near one another are not usually so confounded. Though Dido is repre-

sented as exiled from Tyre (cf. 1, 338–347; Meltzer, *Gesch. d. Karthager*, 1 (1879), 116), she herself is not by Virgil called *Tyria* (contrast Hephaest. in *Catal. Cod. astrol. Gr.* 6 (1903), 94, 56: *Καρχηδών Τυρίας Διδούς χερὶ δαμνηθείσα*) but four times designated as *Sidonia* Dido (1, 446; 1, 613; 9, 266; 11, 74; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 4, 2, 1: *Sidoniae . . . Elissae*; Sil. 15, 746; Hier. *Comm. in Osee*, 1, p. 24 Vall.: *Dido Sidonia regii generis*), in three of these cases in connection with gifts or wealth, which, with the present passage, perhaps suggested the Scholia Danielis on *Aen.* 1, 446: *licet et Sidon civitas sit Phoenices tamen hic pro Tyria posuit. sane quidam opportune hic 'Sidoniam' volunt positam, ut ostenderet locupletem; Sidonii enim locupletes habiti sum, ut 'Sidonias ostentat opes.'* Cf. also Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 11, who thinks that the epithet *Sidonia* calls to the reader's mind the origin of both Dido and Tyre. No case of *Sidonia* or *Phoenissa* in the sense of 'Carthaginian' seems to occur earlier than Virgil; cf. Moseley, *Characters and Epithets* (1923), 23–24. Drew, *The Allegory of the Aeneid* (1927), 83, rather fancifully holds the expression *Sidonia Dido* to conceal *Scribonia* (*Libonis*), who was, like Dido, both a widow and deserted.

With the short *o* of *Sidonias* cf. 1, 678; 4, 137; 4, 545; 4, 683; 5, 571; *Cir.* 387; Tib. 3, 3, 18; elsewhere in Virgil it is long (1, 446; 1, 613; 9, 266; 11, 74). In Greek we find both *Σιδώνιος* and *Σιδώνιος*, and perhaps we may here read the word as a trisyllable: *Si-dōn-ias*.

75. *ostentat*: in pride, rather than 'repeatedly shows' (with emphasis upon the frequentative form of the verb); cf. Valmaggi in *Riv. di Filol.* 25 (1897), 37.

75. *opes*: in addition to the sentimental temptation to Aeneas there is a distinct material one, and Virgil repeatedly suggests the wealth of Tyre and of Dido; e.g., 1, 343; 1, 358–364; 1, 447; 1, 637–640; 4, 134–139; 4, 261–264; 4, 392; 9, 266; 11, 72–75 (in contrast with the needy condition of the exiled and storm-tossed Trojans, as noted in 1, 598–599; 4, 373–375); cf. Schol. Dan. 1, 446 (quoted in the previous note); Avien. 3, 1070: *hic Tyrus est opulens*; also below, 4, 134, n. (ostro). Suet. *Nero*, 31–32, tells of Nero's interest in the search for Dido's hidden treasure. Cf. also *Introd.*, p. 56, above.

75. *paratam*: Serv.: '*paratam*' ad illud pertinet quod Aeneas propter civitatem navigat. sed alii movent quaestionem quomodo '*paratam*' cum paulo post (4, 88; cf. also 4, 260) inferat '*pendent opera interrupta*.' sed *paratum potest dici cui etiam paululum superest*; etc. In other words, the participle means, not 'finished,' but 'provided,' and the appeal is "to the weariness of those whose city was yet to seek" (Conington). For the force of such an appeal cf. 1, 437–438; 1, 557–558 (with mention of the search for *sedes . . . paratas*); 3, 493–505; 5, 623–640; etc. Donat.: *qui enim non teneretur divitiarum alienarum spe et adfectu eius urbis quam alterius labor et instantia procurasset. sed hoc pro animo Didonis est positum; ceterum Aeneas amores eius furoremque nesciebat*.

76. incipit, etc.: cf. Alcaeus, 12 (55), 1–2: *θέλω τι φέπειν, ἀλλὰ με κωλύει / αἰδώς*; Sappho, 2, 9: *ἀλλὰ καὶ μὲν γλώσσα φέαγε* (Catull. 51, 9: *lingua sed torpet*); Apoll. Rh. 3, 681–686: *δὴν δὲ μιν αἰδώς / παρθενίη κατέρυκεν ἀμείψασθαι μεμανίαν. / μῦθος δ' ἄλλοτε μὲν οἱ ἐπ' ἀκροτάτης ἀνέτελλεν / γλώσσης, ἄλλοτ' ἔνερθε κατὰ στήθος πεπόνητο. / πολλάκι δ' ἱμερόεν μὲν ἀνὰ στόμα θύεν ἐνισπείν / φθογγὴ δ' οὐ προύβαινε παροϊτέρω*; 3, 967–968: *τῷ δ' ἄνεφ καὶ ἀναυδοὶ ἐφέστασαν ἀλλήλοισιν, / ἥ δρυσὶν ἢ μακρῆσιν ἐειδόμενοι ἐλάττησιν, κτλ.*; Parthen. 36 (of Arganthon and her passion): *τὸ μὲν πρῶτον ἡσυχάζει αἰδοῖ κατεχομένη*; Hor. C. 4, 1, 35–36: *cui facunda parum decoro / inter verba cadit lingua silentio*; Ov. H. 4, 7–8: *ter tecum conata loqui ter inutilis haesit / lingua, ter in primo destitit ore sonus*; F. 1,

538: *substitit in medios praescia lingua sonos*; Val. Fl. 7, 118: *atque loqui conata silet*; Stat. Theb. 10, 151: *et medio adfatu verba imperfecta relinquit*; Tasso, *Rinaldo*, 9, 64, 6–7: *apre a parlar la bocca, e poi si tace / e la voce troncata a mezzo resta*; Chateaubriand, *René*, 97 (Naylor in *Johns Hopkins Stud. in Rom. Lit. and Lang.* 18 (1930), 143): *elle commençait une phrase qu'elle ne finissait pas*. In line 85 below Dido's love is again described as *infandum*. She probably thinks of Aeneas as himself recognizing that affection which is so clear to her yet which delicacy prevents her from expressing, but he is too much occupied with other interests (his voyage, and the practical services he can render her in the establishment of her city; cf. 4, 260–267) to detect her deeper sentiments. Valmaggi (in *Riv. di Filol.* 25 (1897), 37–38) observes that we are not here told what the feelings of Aeneas were. As she hesitates to tell her love, so he, in 4, 283–286 and again in 4, 390–391, lacks words to prepare her mind for his departure — another indication of a friendship lacking in the fundamental of mutual confidence. Crump (*The Epyllion* (1931), 248, n. 1) finds the whole tragedy one depending largely on mutual misunderstanding, in which "an ambitious and unimaginative man is brought into contact with an emotional woman, whose temperament is beyond her own control. Aeneas is not deliberately brutal; he merely fails to understand why Dido cannot view the position with common sense. Dido equally fails to understand why Aeneas should want anything except her love."

76. *effari*: to speak out, without reservation; cf. 4, 456; this idea is less strong in 4, 30 and 4, 499. Of course Dido had not been literally mute while showing the city to Aeneas! Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) well suggests that she is tempted to repeat to him individually the offer she had made to the Trojans collectively in 1, 573: *urbem quam statuo vestra est*.

76. *mediaque in voce*: cf. 4, 204; 4, 277: *medio sermone*; 4, 388: *medium . . . sermonem*; 4, 663.

76. *resistit*: cf. Ov. H. 13, 121: *semper in his apte narrantia verba resistunt*.

77. nunc eadem labente die convivium quaerit,
Iliacosque iterum demens audire labores
exposcit pendetque iterum narrantis ab ore.

ores *M* (ore *M*¹).

77. labente die: *Gl. Ansil.* 326, 34; *Gl. Abol.* 140, 2. 77. convivium quaerit: *Gl. Ansil.* 145, 2030.

78. Iliacos labores: *Gl. Ansil.* 290, 24.

79. pendetque . . . ore: *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 500); *Serv. Aen.* 6, 151; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 8, 631 — narrantes *F* —; *Donat. in Ter. Eun.* 1079 — pendetque i. n. a. o.; *vid. var. lect. in ed. Wessneri* —.

77. nunc: cf. 4, 74, n. (*nunc*).

77. eadem: doubtless modifying *convivium* (cf. Kroll in *Glotta*, 5 (1914), 343), though by Gossrau and others less appropriately construed as referring to Dido; cf. Jahn in *Burs. Jahresb.* 196 (1924), 256. Virgil means the same (sort of) banquets (as previously); cf. 1, 699–756.

77. labente die: cf. 11, 914: *die labente*; the verb is used of the insensible passage of time in general (*aetas*, as in *Tib.* 1, 8, 48; *tempora*, in *Ov. F.* 6, 771) or its subdivisions (e.g., *lustra* in *Aen.* 1, 283; *anni*, *G.* 1, 6: *labentem caelo quae ducitis annum*; *Aen.* 2, 14; *Hor. C.* 2, 14, 2; *Ov. Trist.* 4, 10, 27; *F.* 1, 65), the thought being probably suggested by the movement of the heavenly bodies through the sky (cf. 3, 155: *sidera . . . labentia caelo*; 4, 524: *medio volvitur sidera lapsu*). Cf. *Stat. Silv.* 4, 6, 3–4: *iam moriente die rapuit me cena benigni / Vindictis*.

77. convivium quaerit: so Alcinoüs presses Odysseus (*Od.* 11, 373–374): *νῦν δ' ἤδε μάλα μακρὴ ἀθέσφατος· οὐδὲ πω ὥρη/εὐδεν ἐν μεγάρω· σὺ δὲ μοι λέγε θεσκελὰ ἔργα*; cf. *Stat. Silv.* 4, 2, 1–4: *regia Sidoniae convivium laudat Elissae, / qui magnum Aenean Laurentibus intulit arvis, / Alcinoique dapnes mansuro carmine monstrat, / aequore qui multo reducem consumpsit Ulixem*; *Val. Fl.* 7, 118–120.

78. Iliacos . . . labores: not limited to the fall of Troy but including the wanderings of the Trojans, for the adjective is applied to ships (e.g., 4, 46; 4, 537; 5, 607), battle-lines (10, 635; 12, 861), etc., at other places than at Troy.

78. iterum: note the anaphora with *iterum* in the next line, each used postpositively.

With the situation cf. *Ov. Ars am.* 2, 127–128: *haec* (sc. Calypso) *Troiae casus iterumque iterumque rogabat, / ille referre aliter saepe solebat idem*; *Prop.* 2, 22, 49–50: *et rursus puerum quaerendo audita fatigat, / quem, quae scire timet, quaerere plura iubet*; *Val. Fl.* 2, 351–354: *praecipueque ducis casus mirata requirit / Hypsipyle, quae fata trahant, quae regis agat vis, / . . . unius haeret / alloquio et blandos paulatim colligit ignes*. Donatus remarks: *consumptis omnibus inventionibus, cum iam nihil esset quod ad moras proficere potuisset quodque ipsa ulterius monstraret aut diceret, ipsum volebat iterum narrare labores atque ultimos exitus Troiae. demens, inquit, utpote quae ante paululum narrata iterum desideraret audire*; cf. *Shakesp. Tit. Andron.* Act 3, Sc. 2: “To bid Aeneas tell the tale twice o’er, / How Troy was burnt and he made miserable.”

78. demens: cf. 4, 8, n. (*male sana*); Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 126.

78. audire: no indication is given of any linguistic difficulties arising between the Trojan Aeneas (doubtless speaking in a Greek dialect) and the Semite Dido, any more than later between Aeneas and the Latins or the Etruscans. An interpreter would have detracted much from the spirited effect of the dialogue, and the arbitrary suppression of the question altogether is not uncommon in epic; cf. 4, 305, n. (*dissimulare, etc.*), below; Gehman, *The Interpreters of foreign Languages among the Ancients* (1914), 62; also, on the subject in general, Snellman, *De Interpretibus Romanorum* (1914–1919), especially 1, 40–51; 2, 61–80, for the use of interpreters between the Romans and Carthaginians.

80. post ubi digressi, lumenque obscura vicissim
luna premit suadentque cadentia sidera somnos,

digressum *C*¹. vicissim (ui et iss in ras.) *R*.

praemit *F* (corr. *F*¹) *b*p. suadet *F* (suadent *F*¹). somnus *p*.

80–81. obscura luna: *Gl. Ansil.* 404, 20. 80. post . . . vicissim: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 1.

[80] 81. cadentia sidera: *Gl. Abol.* 108, 30.

On the infinitive cf. Lohmann, *De Graecismo-rum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 73.

78. labores: for the assonance cf. 4, 54, n. (*amore*); for the phraseology *Troiae labores* (1, 597; 6, 56; 9, 202); also 1, 373: (*si*) *vacet annalis nostrorum audire laborum*; 2, 11: *Troiae supremum audire laborem*.

79. exposcit: with the infinitive in *Sil.* 8, 78; *Tac. Ann.* 14, 13; with the accusative and infinitive in *Aen.* 9, 193.

79. pendet: cf. Catull. 64, 69–70: *illa vicem curans toto ex te pectore, Theseu, / toto animo, tota pendebat perdita mente*; *Lucr.* 1, 37: *equae tuo pendet resupini spiritus ore*; *Ov. H.* 1, 30: *narrantis coniunx pendet ab ore viri*; *Curt.* 3, 6, 10: *spiritus meus ex te pependit*; [Quintil.] *Ded.* 301: *habes uxorem . . . quae tota ex tuo vultu pendeat*; *Sil.* 6, 565: *pendent ex ore loquentum*; 8, 93: *ad vultus conversa tuos, ab imagine pendet*; *Val. Fl.* 1, 481: *pervigil Arcadio Tiphys pendebat ab astro*; *Map, De Nugis Curialium*, 4, 1: *ab ore narrantis pendentem*; *Mozley in Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 178. The verb implies close attention and resembles some uses of *κρεμάννυμι*, as well as the English expression “hang on the lips”; *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 1, 10, 7: *della bocca intento pende*; 7, 14, 1–2: *pende / dalla soave bocca intenta*. For the rapt attention paid to the recital of Aeneas cf. 2, 1: *conticuere omnes intentique ora tenebant*; 3, 716: *intentis omnibus*.

80. post ubi digressi: for the omission of the copula cf. 4, 53, n. (*dum, etc.*). *Post ubi* is a frequent verse beginning, from Lucretius on; e.g., *Lucr.* 3, 451; 5, 886; 6, 128; *Virg. G.* 3, 235; 4, 189; 4, 544; 4, 552; *Aen.* 5, 362; *Aetna*, 378; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 28, 138.

80. obscura: it is unnecessary with Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 321; 392) to explain this by hypallage as equivalent to *obscurum*, for the moon may itself be properly described

as *obscura* (e.g., 6, 453–454; *Aug. Ep.* 93, 30), and the word here gains especial force from juxtaposition with *vicissim*, the moon growing faint, in her turn, as the sun had done — a thought suggested by the *Scholia Danielis* (*ad loc.*): *an ipsa luna suum lumen reprimat, occidens et se obscurans*, and elaborated by Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 610–612) with various parallels. The banquet began near sunset (*labente die*) and ended toward morning (*cadentia sidera*). This is later than the usual bedtime, for in 4, 524 everyone is asleep at a time when the stars are in the middle of their course. It is remarkable what an important part of the Dido story is laid in the night-time; e.g., 1, 697 — 4, 5; 4, 77–85; 4, 460–473; 4, 522–583. Achilles Tatius describes (1, 6, 3–4) the greater effect of emotions during the repose of night-time: *δταν γὰρ ἀναπαύηται τὸ σῶμα, τότε σχολάζει τὸ ἔλκος νοσέειν· τὰ δὲ τῆς ψυχῆς τραύματα, μὴ κινουμένου τοῦ σώματος, πολὺ μᾶλλον δδύνῃ. ἐν ἡμέρᾳ μὲν γὰρ ὀφθαλμοὶ καὶ ὤτα πολλῆς γεμιζόμενα περιεργίας ἐπικουφίζει τῆς νόσου τὴν ἀκμὴν, ἀντιπεριγόντα τὴν ψυχὴν τῆς εἰς τὸ πονεῖν σχολῆς· ἐὰν δὲ ἡσυχία τὸ σῶμα πεδηθῇ, καθ’ ἑαυτὴν ἡ ψυχὴ γενομένη τῷ κακῷ κυμαίνεται. πάντα γὰρ ἐξεγείρεται τότε τὰ τέως κοιμώμενα· τοῖς πενθοῦσιν αἱ λύπαι· τοῖς μεριμνῶσιν αἱ φροντίδες· τοῖς κινδυνεύουσιν οἱ φόβοι· τοῖς ἐρώσι τὸ πῦρ.*

81. suadentque, etc.: in discussing *G.* 4, 496 (*fata vocant, conditque natanlia lumina somnus*), Glover (*Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 178) remarks upon “the rare and sleepy rhythm,” and compares the description of overwhelming sleep in *Aen.* 5, 856: *cunctantique natanlia lumina solvit*; cf. also the analysis of the metre by Knight, *Vergil's Troy* (1932), 19. Other passages by rhythm (or phraseology combined with rhythm) suggestive of sleep are: Catull. 64, 122–123: *aut ut eam devinc-*

82. sola domo maeret vacua stratisque relictis

amaret *F* (maeret *F*¹), aeret *M* (maeret *M*¹). uaque *P*¹.

82–83. stratisque . . . incubat: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 659. 82. sola . . . vacua: *Non. p.* 344 *M.* (p. 545 *L.*); *Serv. Ecl.* 10, 48 — maneret *H* —; *Schol. Dan. G.* 4, 90 — meret *V* —. 82. domo vacua: *Gl. Ansil.* 187, 128 — uaque —. 82. stratisque relictis: *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 116 (1, p. 54 *Riese*); *Quaest. gram. Cod. Bern.* 83 (*Anecd. Helv.* 188).

iam lumina somno / liquerit (cf. *Cir.* 206: iamque adeo dulci devinctus lumina somno); 64, 188: non tamen ante mihi languescunt lumina morte; *Virg. G.* 4, 413–414: qualem / videris incepto legeret cum lumina somno; *Aen.* 2, 8–9: iam nox umida caelo / praecipitat suadentique cadentia sidera somnos (partly identical with the present line); 4, 185: nec dulci declinat lumina somno (cf. *Auct. De Viro bono*, 14: in dulcem declinans lumina somnum); 10, 418: canentia lumina solvit; 10, 463: victoremque ferant morientia lumina Turni (of the sleep of death); 10, 745–746: urget / somnus, in aeternam clauduntur lumina noctem; *Cul.* 93: languentia corpora somno; *Ov. H.* 12, 107: flammea subdixi medicato lumina somno; 20, 199: nec loquor, et tecto simulatur lumine somnus; *M.* 1, 714: succubuisse oculis adopertaque lumina somno; *F.* 2, 635: iamque ubi suadebit placidos nox umida somnos; *Calpurn.* 3, 47: disperdit lumina somno; *Val. Fl.* 1, 300: mox ubi victa gravi ceciderunt lumina somno; 3, 33: leves spargebant sidera somnos; 3, 69: declinant lumina Thebae; 8, 85–86: luctantia lumina cantu / obruit; *Luc.* 3, 8–9: inde soporifero cesserunt languida somno / membra ducis; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 389: invitat tenuis ad dura cubilia somnos; 1, 585: suadetque leves cava fistula somnos; 2, 30–31: ni deus horrentem Lethaeo vimine mulcens / ferrea tergemino domuisset lumina somno; 2, 124: et undanti perfundit vulnere somnum; 2, 642–643: procubere pares fati, miserabile votum / mortis, et alterna clausurunt lumina dextra; 5, 539–540: fugit illicet artus / somnus, et in solam patuerunt lumina mortem; 7, 463: tenuis demisit lumina somnus; 10, 302–303: tali miseris deus aliger umbra / incubat et tantum morientia lumina solvit; 11, 558: cerno graves oculos atque ora natantia leto; *Silv.* 5, 4, 4: et simulant fessos curvata cacumina somnos; *Sil.*

5, 529: longo componit lumina somno; 7, 204: donec composuit luctantia lumina Somnus; 7, 292–293: taurino membra iacebat / effultus tergo et mulcebat tristia somno; 7, 633: erratque niger per lumina somnus; 10, 152–153: dum supremam Telesinus in auras / exhalat lucem et dubitantia lumina condit; 11, 368: solvit convivia somnus; 12, 249–250: atris / decrescens tenebris languentia lumina condit; 13, 641: implebat quamquam languentia lumina somnus; *Seren. Samm.* 998: gravem dispellunt lumina somnum; *Anon. Genesis*, 34 (*Patr. Lat.* 2, 1156): illicet irriguo persuadit lumina somno; *Anth. Lat. no.* 253, 125 (1, p. 207 *Riese*): deponit lumina somno; *no.* 808, 108 (2, p. 289 *Riese*): omnia fessa domat caelestia sidera somnus; *Claud. Carm. min.* 30, 91: si placido cessissent lumina somno; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 21, 635: ad tempus placido sopiri corpora somno; *Venant. Fort. Misc.* 3, 36, 3 (*Patr. Lat.* 88, 150): cum tua blanditus retineret lumina somnus; 7, 2, 9: somno languentia lumina claudo; *C. I. L. VI*, 25427, 11: et postquam fati morientia lumina solvit; *X*, 8131: maior in aeternam mersit sua lumina noctem; *Paul. Diac. Fab.* 7, 17: si tua perpetuus non claudit lumina somnus; *Anon. Vita Leudegarii*, 1, 326 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 15): suadebantque cadentia sidera somnum; *Gualterus, Alexandreis*, 5, 204: fertur et aeterno clauduntur lumina somno; 9, 282: aeterno sopivit lumina somno; *Vida, Bombycum*, 1, 293: demittent lumina somno; *Christias*, 4, 824: placida clausurum lumina morte; *Aonius Palearius, De Anim. Immortal.* 1, 488: sunt quae non dulci declinent lumina somno; *Molsa, Eleg. ad Hen. Brit. Reg.* 201: ut neque iam dulci declinet lumina somno; *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 19, 131, 8: che'l cader de le stelle al sonno invita; *Milton, Sylvae, In V Novemb.* 187: lumina non umquam tacito nutantia somno; cf. *La Roche in Wiener Stud.*

23 (1902), 125; *Norden*, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 434. With the closing of the hexameter by some form of *somnus* preceded by a dactyl cf. *Hom. Il.* 2, 2: Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε ἥδονος ἕπνος (cf. 4, 131; 11, 241; 14, 242; 16, 454; etc.).

81. cadentia sidera somnos: other such verse-endings with words of a diminishing number of syllables are found in lines 64, 89, 202, 236, 313, 323, 340, 344, 412, 416, 500, 635, 642, 674, 698; cf. 4, 132, n. (*canum vis*).

Serv. Aen. 2, 9 remarks: cadentia sidera: aut epitheton est siderum quae semper et oriuntur et occidunt; aut certe maiorem partem noctis vult esse transactam; cf. *Virg. Aen.* 8, 59: primisque cadentibus astris; *Dante, Inf.* 7, 98: già ogni stella cade. Many such expressions, relating to the stars and to night, are discussed in the *Heyne-Wagner* edition, 4, 400–401.

81. somnos: for the plural cf. *G.* 1, 342; 2, 470; 3, 435; 3, 530; *Aen.* 2, 9; 4, 244; 4, 530; 4, 555; 4, 560; 7, 88; 7, 754; also the phrase in somnis (1, 353; 2, 270; 3, 151; 4, 353; 4, 466; 4, 557; 12, 908; for which cf. *Stearns, Stud. of the Dream as a technical Device in Lat. Epic and Drama* (1927), 21, n. 65; *Löfstedt, Syntactica* (1928), 50–54); and for this plural in general *Spitta, Quaestiones Vergilianae* (1867), 37–38; *Braumüller, Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 15.

82. sola: cf. 4, 32, n. (*solane, etc.*); *Val. Fl.* 7, 115–116 (of Medea): oraque quaerens / hospitibus, aut sola maeret defecta cubili; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 166: vacua cum solus in aula. *Terzaghi, Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 19, n. 20, would trace this line, through *Philetas* or *Parthen. Narr.* 2, 2 (where *Polymela*, abandoned by *Odysseus*, grieves over the objects he has left behind), to *Sappho*, 19 (54), 4: ἔγω δὲ μόνα κατεῦδω; where see the parallels noted by *Smyth, Greek Melic Poets* (1906), 243. *Servius* says: sola: sine eo quem amabat; nam regina sola esse non poterat. est autem *Plauti*, qui inducit inter multos amatores positum dicentem quod solus sit; and the *Schol. Dan.* add: ut ipse alibi (*Ecl.* 10, 48): me sine sola vides, quam constabat *Antonii castra* comitatam, sed 'sola' sine amatore tuo.

There is no evidence that Aeneas lodged in Dido's palace during his stay at Carthage.

At 1, 627 he is invited in (cf. 1, 631–632) and stays through the banquet occupying the rest of Book I and Books II and III. At 3, 718 the verb *quievit* gives no clue where he spent the night. Even *Iarbas* (4, 214) makes no charge that Aeneas lives at the palace, and at 4, 140–142 the Trojans seem to come from a different direction from that of Dido's party. Aeneas's building activities (4, 260) are in the daytime; at 4, 396 he returns to the fleet, and it is presumably to and from it that Anna carries messages (4, 424; 4, 438); while at 4, 554–555 Aeneas is sleeping on shipboard. It is a not unreasonable inference that he lived on or near the ships and came to the palace only for banquets or special occasions.

82. vacua: cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 285: δμῶις ὅπως κενεοῖσι λελείφονται ἐν μεγάροις. The *Schol. Dan. G.* 4, 90 remark: 'vacua' hic ad aemulum refertur, ut 'sola domo maeret vacua,' in qua maritus non erat. Cf. *Catull.* 64, 168 (said by the lonely Ariadne): nec quisquam adparet vacua mortalis in alga; *Ov. Am.* 1, 1, 26: in vacuo pectore regnat Amor; 3, 10, 2; *Remed. Am.* 752: de vacuo pectore cedat amor; *Prop.* 1, 1, 34; 1, 9, 27; 1, 10, 30; 1, 15, 19: *Hypsipyle vacuo constitit in thalamo*; 2, 33, 22; 3, 17, 11; *Consol. ad Liv.* 328: in vacui parte priore tori; *Luc.* 5, 31: vacuas . . . domos.

82. stratis: cf. 1, 176; 4, 392; 8, 367; 8, 415; *Ov. M.* 5, 34; *Luc.* 5, 790–791. So in 4, 650 associations are renewed by lying upon a familiar couch; cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 655–657: λέκτροισιν πρηνῆς ἐνικάππεσεν εἰλεχθεῖσα. / ὥς δ' ὅτε τις νύμφη θαλέρων πόσιν ἐν θαλάμοισιν / μύρεται; 3, 661–662: ἡ δ' ἐνδοθι δαιμένη περ / σῖγα μάλα κλαίει χῆρον λέχος εἰσορώσα (where *Rütten, De Vergilii Studiis Apollonianis* (1912), 68, observes that Virgil has combined into a single concept the fact and the simile of *Apollonius*); *Ov. Ep.* 10, 51–54: saepe torum repelo, qui nos acceperat ambos / . . . / et tua, quae possum, pro te vestigia lango / strataque quae membris intepuere tuis; 15, 149: incubui teligique locum qua parte fuisti; in *Sil.* 8, 90 Anna says of Dido: sacrum timuit teligisse cubile. In the present case the *stratis* seem to be those of the banquetting hall; cf. *Ov. M.* 5, 34.

82. relictis: *Schol. Dan.*: potest intelligi ab Aenea, which seems probable (cf. 2, 2: toro pater Aeneas sic orsus ab alio), rather than

83. incubat. illum absens absentem auditque videtque,

[82] 83. illum . . . videtque: *Donat. in Ter. Ad. 668* — absentes audit et videt C —; *Donat. in Ter. Hec. 350* — illum absens abs. a. u. —; *Serv. Aen. 4, 4* — uiditque F —; *Gloss. apud Barth, Advers. crit. (1648), 38, 14, p. 1748.* 83. auditque videtque: *Gl. Ansil. 72, 87* — audetque —.

that it means the bed left by Sychaeus at his death, or one from which Dido herself had risen and to which she now returned (Heyne-Wagner (*ad loc.*) compare Luc. 5, 790-791).

83. *absens absentem*: Schol. Dan.: *unum suffecerat; sic (10, 600) 'et fratrem ne desere frater.'* Terentius (*Ad. 668*) '*praesens praesentem eripi, etc.*' Kvičala, *Vergil-Studien* (1878), 258-259, cites other Virgilian cases of such polyptoton in G. 2, 109; *Aen.* 1, 684; 3, 150-160; 3, 329; 5, 447; 5, 569; 7, 656-657; 10, 360; 10, 361; 10, 600; 10, 734; 11, 632; 12, 139; as well as instances in other Greek and Latin poets, and an even larger Virgilian collection is that of Hahn, *Coordination of non-coordinate Elements in Vergil* (1930), 12, n. 54; cf. also Breazeale in *Stud. in Philol.* 14 (1917), 314 and nn. With ἐκόντι (as in Aesch. *Prom.* 218) the repetition emphasizes the mutuality of the relation, as here with *absens absentem*.

With the general situation cf. 4, 3, n. (*multa . . . multus*) and especially Apoll. Rh. 3, 453-458 there quoted; 4, 4, n. (*haerent*); Sil. 8, 136-138: *diem et convivia mente reduxit / festasque adventu mensas teque ordine Troiae / narrantem longos, se pervigilante, labores*; also Ter. *Eun.* 192-195; Lucr. 4, 1061-1062: *nam si abest quod ames, praesto simulacra tamen sunt / illius et nomen dulce obversatur ad auris*; Hor. C. 4, 1, 37-40; Ov. H. 7, 25-26; *Consol. ad Liv.* 325-328; Quintil. 6, 2, 29-30; Plut. *Amat.* 16: αἱ τῶν ἐρώτων (sc. φαντασίαι), διαλεγόμενων ὡς πρὸς παρόντας, ἀσπαζομένων, ἐγκαλοῦντων; Val. Fl. 7, 196-197; Maximian, 4, 18-20 (*Poet. Lat. min.* 5, 337); etc. It is not clear whether Dido's imaginings are in wakeful or in sleeping moments; if we force the expression *si . . . posuit* in line 85 we might infer the former, though it may merely refer to a sense of conscious effort to do or feel something which one sometimes experiences in dreams. Other references in this book to dreams are in lines 9; 351-353; perhaps 461-462; 465-473; 554-570.

83. *auditque videtque*: = Ov. M. 1, 769; such doubling of *-que* at the end of a verse (an imitation of τε . . . τε, appearing, from *Il.* 1, 167 on, in many examples) is paralleled by cases of *-ve . . . -ve* (e.g., 9, 211) and *-ne . . . -ne* (e.g., 12, 321), and appears in Ennius, Accius, Lucilius, Cicero, Catullus, Lucretius, and often in Virgil (other cases in this book are lines 558, 581, 605, 629, 682), being used with words of differing lengths, sometimes combined with hypermetry (e.g., 4, 558; 4, 629), and sometimes extended to a triple (e.g., 6, 483) or a quadruple (e.g., 6, 683) polysyndeton (for which cf. Quintil. 9, 3, 51, citing G. 3, 344-345). On the whole subject and for statistics of the frequency of use in different poets cf. Belling, *Stud. u. d. Compositions-kunst Vergils i. d. Aeneide* (1899), 234-236; Christensen in *Archivf. lat. Lex.* 15 (1907), 165-211; Smith on Tib. 1, 1, 33. Sight and hearing are often mentioned as two of the principal vehicles of love; e.g., Catull. 51, 3-4: *qui sedens adversus identidem te / spectat et audit*.

Janell in his edition sets off *illum . . . videtque* as parenthetical, but *aut* seems more aptly to connect Aeneas (*illum*) and Ascanius than *incubat* and *detinet*, and the parenthesis is harsh and awkward.

84. *aut, etc.*: for the chance acrostic in this and the following four lines (*adnet*) cf. Hilberg in *Wiener Stud.* 21 (1900), 295, who notes (pp. 296; 299) two other cases in this book (340-344: *maure*; 341-345: *aires*). The situation here described is told by Anna to Aeneas in Sil. 8, 88-94: *mox turbida anhelum / retulit in thalamo cursum subitoque tremore / substitit et sacrum timuit teligisse cubile. / inde amens nunc sidream fulgentis Iuli / effigiem fovet amplexu, nunc tota repente / ad vultus conversa tuos, ab imagine pendet / conqueriturque tibi et sperat responsa remitti*.

84. *gremio*: cf. 1, 684-688: *notos pueri puer indue voltus, / ut cum te gremio accipiet*

84. aut gremio Ascanium, genitoris imagine capta,

gremio M (gremio M¹), gremios P, gremio. γb. geneitoris F (genitoris F¹), geni . . . toris b.

84. *genitoris . . . capta*: *Carm. Lat. epigr. no. 424, 5 Bücheler* — *capti* —. 84. *genitoris imagine*: *Gl. Ansil. 265, 154* — *genitori imaginem* —.

laetissima Dido / . . . cum dabit amplexus atque oscula dulcia figet, / occultum inspires ignem fallasque veneno; 1, 715-719: *ille ubi complexu Aeneae colloque pependit / et magnum falsi implevit genitoris amorem, / reginam petit. haec oculis, haec pectore toto / haeret et interdum gremio fovet inscia Dido / insidat quantus miserae deus*. That Cupid in the form of Ascanius attended one or more of the banquets and was fondled by Dido is the thought of the poet, despite the distress of some commentators that so young a boy should have kept such late hours (!); that he stayed after the banquets so that Dido is here actually fondling him cannot be supposed, for Aeneas would not have left his son and heir behind in this way, nor, if Cupid impersonating him had remained (though 1, 683-684 explicitly says that the impersonation was to last for not more than one night), would it have appeared natural even to the love-sick Dido. Some of the ambiguity arises from Virgil's failure to state explicitly at what point in the story Cupid ceases to appear in the form of Ascanius; cf. Conington (*ad loc.*); Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad* (1930), 101. Peerlkamp and Gossrau would meet the difficulty by keeping a literal interpretation for lines 84-85 and transposing them after line 79, but it seems more likely that the two lines represent, like line 83, the imaginings of Dido after the guests are gone, so that transposition is unnecessary. This view is preferable, I think, to supposing with Conington that Virgil is here describing the events of various days. For a Pompeian painting sometimes interpreted as Dido holding Ascanius in her lap in the presence of Aeneas and Anna cf. Reinach, *Répert. de Peintures gr. et rom.* (1922), 176, no. 5, and the works there cited. The child, however, seems very young for this identification. On the significance of *gremio* cf. Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 162.

The age at which Ascanius sits in Dido's lap has been much discussed, and can hardly be determined with certainty. At the fall of Troy he was led by the hand of his father, whom he accompanied *non passibus aequis* (2, 723-724), and in Book II he is five times (563, 674, 677, 710, 723) called *parvus*, a relative term, not applied to him in any other book. Since the fall of Troy seven years have passed (1, 755-756); in 3, 491 he is an adolescent (*pubesceret*; though at 5, 546 he is *impubis* while his associates (5, 599) are called *pubes*), contemporary with Astyanax were the latter alive, but Astyanax, according to *Il.* 6, 400, was a babe in arms just before the fall of Troy (cf. Potter in *Cl. Journ.* 21 (1926), 617-618). At 4, 156-159 Ascanius — perhaps 11 or 12 years old — rides a spirited horse, hunts deer, and — doubtless in boyish bravado — wishes to hunt boars and lions; at 5, 670, a few days after leaving Carthage, he delivers an address to the women who have fired the Trojan ships; and in the ninth book he has a prominent and responsible part (e.g., lines 232-233; 255-313; 501; in 9, 311 he is described as *animumque gerens curamque virilem*), though in 10, 70 Juno contemptuously calls him *puero*. The apparent inconsistencies in his age are probably due to a changing conception in Virgil's mind as the poem progressed, and some or all would have been eliminated by a final revision. On this subject of his age cf. Rossbach in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 1613; Roiron, *Étude sur l'Imagination auditive de Virgile* (1908), 224-226; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 157-158; Moseley, *Characters and Epithets* (1926), 49-50; Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 265-266; Potter, *l.c.*; Fowler, *The Death of Turnus* (1927), 87-92, who notes (89) that Virgil ingeniously introduces him only when there is no fighting going on.

84. *Ascanium*: though two persons of this name occur in the *Iliad* (2, 862; 13, 792)

85. detinet, infandum si fallere possit amorem.
non coeptae adsurgunt turres, non arma iuventus

falle (corr. in fallere) γ. amantem F (cf. 4, 296), imago R (ex v. praeced.).
iuuentis M (iuuentus M¹), uenus F (iuuentus F¹), iuuen() P.

85. infandum . . . amorem: Serv. Aen. 4, 329 — possit fallere F —. 85. infandum amorem: Gl. Ansil. 299, 650.

86–89. non coeptae . . . caelo: Donat. Aen. 4, 191 — ingentesque aequata L —. 86–87. non arma exercet: Gl. Ansil. 394, 125.

neither is the son of Aeneas, who first appears as *Ascanius* (doubtless an eponymous name based on one of two or three *Ascanias* in Phrygia and Mysia) in the Posthomeric tradition, including the *Iliupersis* of Stesichorus (as reflected in the *Tabula Iliaca*); cf. Rossbach in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 1611. Virgil in *G.* 3, 269–270 had used the name for a river.

84. *genitoris imagine*: as Aeneas is handsome (cf. 4, 11, n. *ore ferens*, above), so the beauty of Ascanius is emphasized (e.g., 5, 570: *forma . . . ante omnis pulcher Iulus*; 7, 107: *pulcher Iulus*; 7, 477–478: *pulcher . . . Iulus*; 10, 132–138 (too long to quote); cf. Sil. 8, 91–92 (quoted in note on *aut*, etc. above); Sainte-Beuve, *Étude sur Virgile* (1857), 311, and it is not likely that Cupid, when impersonating him, was any less well-favored. Dido supposes (4, 329) that a child of Aeneas would resemble his father, and other writers often mention such real or supposed family likenesses; e.g., Apul. *M.* 10, 3; Synes. *Ep.* 56 (of a girl to her uncle).

84. *capta*: cf. Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 99; Anon. *Vita Leudegarii*, 1, 251 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 13): *imagine captus*.

85. *detinet*: cf. 1, 670–671: *nunc Phoenissa tenet Dido blandisque moratur / vocibus*.

85. *infandum*: cf. 4, 76, n. (*incipit*, etc.). Virgil means a love for which she could find no expression (cf. the *infandum . . . dolorem* of 2, 3), and Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 613) well compares Aristaen. 1, 16: *Ἐρωτι περιπεσὼν ἀπορήτω*. A thing may be indescribable through sentimental emotion (as here), or through strangeness (3, 644, of the Cyclopes) and loathing (as in 2, 132; 4, 613; 7, 583; 8, 483; 12, 804; etc.). The Schol. Dan. here say: *infandum iuxta iudicium reginae, ut illa sentiebat; vult enim eam culpae eximere. alii*

'infandum' quia falli non potest accipiunt, hoc est, ipsam libidinem, in cuius vicem nihil subponi potest. With the phraseology cf. Sil. 6, 193: *infandum si posset [al. possit] fallere monstrum*.

85. *si*: with this loosely connected condition cf. 6, 78–79: *bacchatur vates, magnum si pectore possit / excussisse deum*.

85. *fallere*: cf. 4, 296: *quis fallere possit amantem*; Hor. *S.* 2, 2, 12: *studio fallente laborem* (= Ov. *M.* 6, 60); 2, 7, 114: *iam vino quaerens, iam somno fallere curam*; Ov. *Tr.* 3, 2, 16: *fallebat curas aegraque corda labor*; 5, 7, 39: *delineo studiis animum, falloque labores*; Ex *Pont.* 4, 10, 67: *detinui, dicam, tempus curasque fefelli*; Sen. *Apocol.* 4, 1, 17: *detinet intentas cantu fallitque laborem*.

86. *non*, etc.: cf. 4, 36, n. (*non . . . non*). Virgil here passes from the thoughts of Dido on one (or possibly more than one) night to the practical effects of her infatuation upon the building operations of the city. How long a period is described is not clear, but it is long enough to produce a contrast with the activity described in 1, 421–438; 1, 504–508 (an activity to some degree renewed at 4, 260–267); cf. Glover, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 191–192. Dido's superintendence of the work must have been here definitely interrupted, otherwise it would be ridiculous, as Gercke (*Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 42) suggests, to suppose that the masons would cease their work simply because the queen was in love. Donatus remarks: *hic ostenditur rectorem complere omnia, cum insistit et iubet, atque eius negligentia omni modo frigere universa quae ante ferebant.* So in Sen. *Phaedr.* 103–104: *Palladis telae vacant / et inter ipsas pensa labuntur manus*; etc. It is noteworthy that the fortifications are not yet completed

87. exercet portusve aut propugnacula bello
tuta parant; pendent opera interrupta minaeque

exercit F (exercet F¹). portisque P (portusque P¹). que γ¹.
parent M (parant M²).

[86]

[86] 88–89. pendent . . . ingentes: Non. p. 528 M. (p. 849 L.). 88–89. minaeque . . . ingentes: Serv. Aen. 1, 162; 4, 75; Schol. Dan. Aen. 2, 240; Porphy. in Hor. C. 3, 4, 54 (ed. Hauthal); Schol. Lucan. 7, 450. 88–89. minaeque murorum: Serv. Aen. 2, 628. 88. pendent . . . interrupta: Serv. Aen. 4, 75; 4, 655; 4, 656; Schol. Dan. Aen. 8, 631. 88. minae: Gl. Ansil. 370, 79; q.v.

(cf. also 4, 260), though in 1, 726 Dido's banquet hall is already elaborately furnished. On the slow metre of this passage, appropriate for the delay of the work, cf. Maxa in *Wiener Stud.* 19 (1897), 88.

86. *adsurgunt*: cf. 1, 365–366: *ubi nunc ingentia cernis / moenia surgentemque novae Karthaginis arcem*; 1, 437: *o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt*; Ov. *H.* 7, 11–12: *nec te crescentia tangunt / moenia*; Avien. 3, 375–376: *surgentia . . . / templa*.

86. *arma*: with the phrase *arma . . . exercet* the Schol. Dan. compare 8, 424: *ferum exercebant*. Cf. also Val. Max. 5, 1, 3: *in quo . . . exerceas arma*; Ov. *M.* 13, 54: *exercet spicula*; Val. Fl. 3, 161–162: *arcus exercet*; Sen. *De Benef.* 5, 16, 5: *arma cruentius exerceverunt*; Tac. *Ann.* 11, 16: *arma contra patriam . . . exercuisse*. The phrase suggests, as noted by Masera (*ad loc.*), the Campus Martius at Rome.

87. *portus*: cf. 1, 427: *hic portus alii effodiunt*; and the Schol. Dan. on that passage: *effodiunt ut portus scilicet faciant. et vere ait, nam Carthaginenses Cothone fossa utuntur, non naturali portu* (Paul. ex Fest. p. 37 M.: *Cothones appellantur portus in mari interiores arte et manu facti*; Strab. 17, 3, 15: καὶ τοῦ στόματος τοῦ Κώθωνος φρουρουμένου διώρυξαν ἄλλο στόμα; App. *Pun.* 127); also the full treatment by Oehler in *P.-W.* 10 (1917), 2180–2190 (with maps). For the plural cf. 4, 588; 4, 612; etc.; Braumüller, *Ueber Troien u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 12. The change by some editors to *portas* is unjustifiable.

87. *propugnacula*: Schol. Dan.: *quibus porro pugnatur*; Aen. 9, 170: *pontisque et*

propugnacula iungunt; 9, 664: *it clamor totis per propugnacula muris*; Tac. *H.* 2, 19: *solidati muri, propugnacula addita, auctae turres*. Though Stat. *Silv.* 3, 3, 101–102 speaks of *propugnacula . . . aequoris* there seems no need here to interpret the word as 'breakwaters,' but rather as the ramparts of the city walls.

88. *parant*: cf. Caes. *B.G.* 5, 42, 5: *turres . . . falces testudinesque . . . parare ac facere coeperunt*.

88. *pendent*: cf. Sil. 1, 581: *rerum omnes pendent actus*; a poetical and (in later prose) a legal use of the verb; Mozley (in *Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 178) compares Prop. 4, 7, 5.

88. *opera*: = *fabricae*, according to Nonius, p. 528 M. The term may well cover, however, the *minae* and *machina* which follow.

88. *minae*: Serv.: *eminentiae murorum, quas pinnae dicunt*; Schol. Dan.: *quidam 'minaeque' ad interrupta opera referunt, ut quae imperfecta sunt sic videantur, quasi ruinam minentur*. The word is used of projecting tops (Avien. 4, 138–139: *montium minae / caelo inseruntur*), and especially of merlons on city walls; cf. Amm. Marc. 20, 6, 2: *propugnatores . . . ingentibus animis per turres discurrebat et minas*; 24, 2, 12: *in qua excelebant minae murorum, bitumine et coctilibus laterculis fabricatae, quo aedificii genere nihil esse tutius constat*; 24, 2, 19: *circumfusi . . . per turres ac moenium minas*; 29, 6, 11: *ad usque celsarum turrium minas expediit*. For *pinnae* (or *pennae*) cf. Caes. *B.G.* 5, 40, 6: *turres contabulantur, pinnae loricaeque ex cratibus atlexuntur*; 7, 72, 4;

89. murorum ingentes aequataque machina caelo.

morum (moerorum ?) c^l. macchina P_γ.

[86*, 88] 89. aequata caelo: *Gl. Ansil.* 36, 195.

Quadrig. ap. Gell. 9, 1, 1: *a pinnis hostis defendebant facillime funditore*; *Aen.* 7, 158-159: *sedes / castrorum in morem pennis atque aggere cingit*. Several city walls shown on the Column of Trajan, for example, display such merlons. Heyne and others have objected that *minae* in the sense of *pinnae* is a late and technical rather than poetic usage, and that the expression is here figurative, like 2, 235-236: *rotarum / ... lapsus*; 4, 132: *odora canum vis*, etc. Cf. also 1, 162-163: *vastae rupes geminique minantur / in caelum scopuli*; Spenser, *Mother Hubbard's Tale*, 1173-1174: "and lifted up his loftie towres thereby, / that they began to threat the neighbour sky." As between the literal and the figurative explanations of *minae* it is difficult to decide — and perhaps not absolutely essential.

89. *ingentes*: on this favorite and overworked Virgilian adjective cf. Sellar, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1883), 420; Henry, *Aeneidea*, 3 (1889), 39-45, with classification of the objects to which it is applied; Biletschi in *Primitiae Czernovicienses* (1909), 12-13; Mackail in *Cl. Rev.* 26 (1912), 251-254; Conway in *Cl. Rev.* 26 (1912), 254-255. The word does not occur in the *Eclogues* (Wetmore, *Index Verborum Vergilianus* (1911), 240), but is found 199 times in the *Georgics* and *Aeneid* (once in every 60 lines); in this book, however, it occurs but three other times (lines 181, 402, 505), or once in 176 lines.

89. *aequata ... caelo*: cf. 2, 185-186; 2, 460-461; 4, 177 (and notes); 6, 178; 8, 99-100: *lecta vident, quae nunc Romana potentia caelo / aequavit*; Val. Fl. 2, 491: *Neptunus muros cum iungeret astris*; Sil. 2, 599-600: *certatim structus surrectae molis ad astra / in media stetit urbe rogas*; 3, 624: *et iungat nostro templorum culmina caelo*; 14, 300: *turris, multiplici surgens ad sidera tecto*; Stat. *Theb.* 4, 358-360: *fide sacra / aequatos caelo surdum atque ignobile muros / firmat opus*; Mart. 8, 36, 1-12, especially 11-

12: *haec, Auguste, tamen, quae vertice sidera pulsant, / par domus est caelo*; Anon. *Panegy. Const.* 23, 5 (*Panegy. Lat.* p. 219 Baehrens, ed. 2): *sedemque iustitiae in tantam altitudinem suscitari ut se sideribus et caelo digna et vicina promittant*; also the Greek word *οὐρανομήκης*; Hunziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), 63-65; Zabughin, *Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital.* 1 (1921), 323, n. 120. Leopardi imitates the phrase (*Palinodia*, 50): *e le macchine al cielo emulatrici*.

89. *machina*: elsewhere in Virgil (2, 46; 2, 151; 2, 237) only of the Trojan Horse. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 614-618) holds that the word here means, not any instrument of construction or of war, but the ingenious fabric (*Kunstwerk*) of the wall itself, citing such passages as *machina caeli* (Stat. *Silv.* 3, 1, 181; Claud. *De III Cons. Honor.* 169; to which may be added Avien. 2, 906; also *machina mundi* in Lucr. 5, 96; Avien. 2, 84; 2, 562), *machina rerum* (Claud. *De Rapt. Pros.* 280); etc., as well as others capable of a quite different explanation, and lays especial emphasis upon Val. Fl. 6, 383-385: *tunc ruit, ut montis latus, aut ut machina muri, / quae scopulis trabibusque diu confectaque flammis / procubuit tamen, atque ingentem propulit urbem*, where, however, the references to flames might well suggest some wooden contrivance on top of the wall. That in the present line engines of war (cf. Lamert in *P.-W.* 14 (1928), 155-157) are not meant may be inferred from the unfinished state of the wall. On the other hand, it would be highly appropriate that cranes should have been thought of by Virgil as used in the construction, and, placed high and overtopping the unfinished parts of the wall, these might from below appear on a level with the sky. For such cranes cf. Vitruv. 10, 1, 1: *machina est continens e materia coniunctio maximas ad onerum motus habens virtutes. ea movetur ex arte circulatorum rotundationibus,*

90. Quam simul ac tali persensit peste teneri

'simulac hyphen legendum' (*Diomed. Art. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 1, 435)). pesse P. tenere F (teneri F¹).

90-91. *quam ... coniunx*: *Diomed. Art. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 1, 435) — *simulac*; *persensit* p. t. c. i. c. —. 90. *tali peste*: *Gl. Ansil.* 551, 130 — *preste* —.

quam Graeci κυκλικήν κίνησιν appellant; 10, 1, 2: *tractorium vero* (sc. *genus*) *cum onera machinis pertrahuntur ut ad altitudinem sublata conlocentur*; in 10, 2, 1-11 he describes different types of tackle and derricks; cf. also Cic. *In Verr.* 2, 1, 145; 2, 1, 147; Hor. *Ep.* 2, 2, 73; Suet. *Calig.* 57; Stat. *Silv.* 1, 1, 63-64: *strepit ardua pulsu / machina* (clearly of the derrick, though Henry applies it to the statue raised by it); Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 1, 424: *manibus subvolvere saxa: cur manibus? an quia adhuc machinae non erant?* For a representation cf. the tomb of the Haterii in the Lateran Museum (Reinach, *Rép. de Reliefs gr. et rom.* 3 (1912), 285). *μηχανή* in Greek shows uses parallel to those of *machina*. On the whole subject of lifting machines see Blümner, *Technologie u. Terminologie der Gewerbe u. Künste*, etc., 3 (1884), 111-129. Other views of the *machina* in this line as scaffoldings or as towers on the walls need hardly detain us. I believe, then, that the proper interpretation here is 'crane,' and certainly the words of Donatus seem to favor the view that it is a definite engine rather than the whole fabric of the wall: *denique cum iam opera murorum ac turrium ordinatis machinis prope perfecta viderentur et ad effectum plenum sola deesset instantia, torpuerant omnia et omnium operum fervor desertione plena languerat*.

90. *quam*, etc.: the following scene (90-128), like 4, 219-237 and various passages in the other books (including the intrigues of Venus in 1, 657-690, to which Gercke, *Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 44, considers this passage a companion piece), brings into the story, by the convention used by ancient writers of epic (save Lucan), the personal intervention of deities as an explanation of the course of human events. Homer (*Il.* 14, 153-223) has a scene between Hera and Aphrodite which some have thought the

original of ours, for, though Virgil's account lacks the setting of the Homeric passage, there is present the same air of intrigue; cf. Ihm, *Vergilstudien*, 1 (1902), 8. Even Euripides in his prologues had employed such a device (cf. Glover, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 181-182, citing especially the case of the *Hippolytus*), and Apollonius Rhodius introduces (3, 6-110) the pleading of Hera and Athena with Aphrodite to make Medea fall in love with Jason; cf. Rütten, *De Vergilii Studiis Apollonianis* (1912), 31-33, and Keith in *South Atlantic Quart.* 21 (1922), 69, for parallels to Virgil; and for other cases, ancient and modern, see Eichhoff, *Études grecques sur Virgile*, 1 (1825), 246. Crump (*The Epyllion* (1931), 251, n. 1) thinks Virgil's weakest passages dealing with the gods are those where he comes nearest to the spirit of Apollonius, but Bertrand (in *Annales de l'Univ. de Grenoble*, 10 (1898), 197) considers this scene a little comic interlude in the sombre drama.

Behind the contrasted figures of Aeneas and Dido appear, at intervals, those of their divine champions, Venus and Juno, like personifications of those forces (or prudential considerations) which impel Aeneas to seek Italy (4, 36: *Italiam non sponte sequor*) and those which conspire to keep him from it (1, 1-4; 1, 8-11; 1, 229-233). Nor can the connotation of the great struggles of Rome and Carthage be kept entirely out of the mind of the reader. Glover (*op. cit.*, 181) notes that this divine intervention effects nothing which could not have been produced without it (but see the opposite view of Fowler, *The Death of Turnus* (1927), 82). Yet it may be considered as another opportunity for that displaying of inner motives and that subjective expression of the author for which the cold objectivity of the epic would otherwise give little chance, and thus as playing the part

91. cara Iovis coniunx nec famam obstare furori,

caro *M* (cara *M*²; cf. Fairclough in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 63 (1932), 219). coniux *Rpγ*. pudori *Rm*.

[90*]

of a chorus in a Greek tragedy; cf. 4, 65, n. (*heu*, etc.), above. It is also a part of that careful planning in advance which so sets forth the psychology of characters that Virgil can sketch them very hastily when they come into real action. In this case such preparation had extended, here and there, through the first three books; cf. Wili, *Vergil* (n. d.), 93. Thus the gods explain, as Terzaghi (*Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 24) notes, in an outward and formal manner the psychological progress of Dido's sensual intoxication.

On the contrasting characters of Juno and Venus as here portrayed cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 306-308. In the arrangement of lines 90-104 Belling (*Stud. u. d. Compositions-kunst Vergils* (1899), 206) detects a division into groups of three, followed in 105-116 by groups of four lines. With the verse beginning *quam simulac* cf. *Lucr.* 6, 440; *Aen.* 12, 222; *Cir.* 163; 220; also Catull. 64, 12.

90. *persensit*: cf. 4, 448.

90. *peste teneri*: cf. 4, 47, n. (*surgere regna*); Aug. *De Moribus Manich.* 68: *eadem peste teneri*; also Catull. 76, 20: *eripite hanc pestem perniciemque mihi*; *Aen.* 1, 712: *pesti devota futurae*; Val. Fl. 7, 252-253: *pestemque latentem / ossibus atque imi monstrabat pectoris ignem*. Servius says: *amore, incendio*, and compares 5, 683 (of literal fire).

91. *cara*: formal, like Greek φίλη (as in *Il.* 3, 138: φίλη... ἀκούεις; 6, 495; 15, 156: φίλης ἀλόχοιο; *Od.* 9, 207); cf. *Aen.* 1, 646; 9, 84. Hence it is needless, with Wakefield, to emend to *clara*, on the ground that so quarrelsome a deity could not be dear.

91. *Iovis coniunx*: cf. 4, 45, n. (*Iunone secunda*); also 1, 46-47: *Iovisque / et soror et coniunx*; 7, 287: *saeva Iovis coniunx*; 7, 308: *magna Iovis coniunx*; 10, 607 (Jupiter speaking): *o germana mihi atque eadem gratissima coniunx*; 12, 178: *Saturnia coniunx*; also *Il.* 15, 156: φίλης ἀλόχοιο; *Orph.*

Hymn. 16, 2: Διὸς σύλλεκτρε μάκαιρα. The concept of Juno as the wife of Jupiter is not part of the old Roman religion, which did not recognize such divine relationships, but an imitation of the Greek wedlock of Zeus and Hera; cf. Thulin in *P.-W.* 10 (1917), 1119; Fowler, *Virgil's "Gathering of the Clans"* (1918), 39.

Juno in the *Aeneid* is the patroness of Rome's early enemies (Moseley, *Characters and Epithets* (1926), 31), particularly Carthage and various Italian cities, and therefore could be treated by Virgil with some freedom; cf. 4, 105, n. (*simulata mente*); Fowler, *Virgil's "Gathering of the Clans"* (1918), 38-40; *The Death of Turnus* (1927), 146. Her hostility to Rome and friendship for Carthage appears also in Horace (*C.* 2, 1, 25-27: *Iuno et deorum quisquis amicior / Afris inulta cesserat impotens / tellure*, etc.; 3, 3, 17-68) and Silius (Kroll, *Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 165), and is recognized at the outset of the *Aeneid* (1, 12-32; in 1, 446-447 Dido is erecting a large temple to her), inspiring the advice of Helenus (3, 433-440) that the Trojans should placate her at all costs. In short, she typifies all the ideals opposed to and thwarting the development of Rome (Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 96-98; Mackail, *Cl. Studies* (1925), 101; Moseley, *Characters and Epithets* (1926), 29-42; Perroni, *Saggio sulla Religiosità di Virgilio* (1927), 51; Frazer on *Ov. F.* 6, 41), and so is constantly hostile to Aeneas, unlike Hera's attitude toward Jason in Apollonius; cf. Mooney's ed. of *Apoll. Rh.* (1912), 34.

On the identity of this Juno cf. Klausen, *Aeneas u. d. Penaten*, 1 (1839), 506-507 and n. 822; Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 2 (1897), 612-615; Cumont in *P.-W.* 3 (1899), 1247-1250; Gsell, *Hist. anc. de l'Afrique du Nord*, 4 (1920), 255-258. The chief goddess of the Carthaginians, *Tanit*, was known in Latin as *Caelestis*, *Virgo Caelestis*, *Dea Caelestis*, etc.

92. talibus adgreditur Venerem Saturnia dictis:
'egregiam vero laudem et spolia ampla refertis

talib(us ad)greditur *P*, aggreditur *b*.

93-115: *fMPR*. (*egr*)egiam *P*. mpla *M* (ampla *M*¹).

92. talibus... dictis: *Donat. in Ter. Hec.* 731 — aggreditur; saturnia *om. B* —; *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 452). 92. talibus adgreditur: *Gloss. ap. Barth, Advers. crit.* (1648), 38, 14, p. 1748 — aggreditur —.

93-95. egregiam... est: *Beda, De Schem. et Trop. sacr. Script.* (1533 ed.), 89 — nomen; diuum —. 93-94. egregiam... nomen: *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 461) — tuque p. m. m. n. —. 93-94. egregiam... tuus: *Donat. Ars gram.* 3, 6 (G. L. K. 4, 401-402) — tuque puerque tuus *om. LP* —; in *Ter. Eun.* 894 — et s. a. r. t. p. t. —; *Pomp. Comm.* (G. L. K. 5, 310); *Iulian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris*, 6, 80. 93. egregiam... refertis: *Diomed. Art. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 1, 462) — egregiam v. l. e. s. a. r. —; *Serv. Aen.* 7, 556 — *om. LH* (egregiam... laudem add. l) —; *Donat. in Ter. Eun.* 89 — et s. a. r. —; 93. egregiam... laudem: [*Iul. Rufin.*] p. 62 *Halm*; *Pomp. Comm.* (G. L. K. 5, 310); *Donat. in Ter. Eun.* 908; *Gl. Ansil.* 196, 55 — *om. vero* —.

(Roscher, *op. cit.*, 612), and by the Romans commonly identified with Juno (Cumont, *op. cit.*, 1249; Gsell, l. c.), though her characteristics would more naturally suggest equating her with the Phoenician Astarte, the Greek Aphrodite, and the Roman Venus (cf. Cumont, *op. cit.*, 1249). Herodian, 5, 6, 4, speaks of Dido as bringing her worship to her new city. At the destruction of Carthage this deity was formally evoked by Scipio and brought to Rome (Roscher, *op. cit.*, 614; Cumont, *op. cit.*, 1248), but at the founding of the Roman colony at Carthage in 122 B.C. she became its patron goddess and the place was renamed *Colonia Iunonia* (cf. *Plut. C. Gracch.* 11; *Solin.* 27, 11).

91. *famam*: cf. 4, 170.

91. *furori*: *Serv.*: iam non amor.

92. *talibus*: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); also Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 2 (1926), 817, for parallels in the *Aeneid* to *talibus*... *dictis*, of which 12, 212 and 12, 238 are in the same verse position. As in 1, 663 and 5, 780 there is no hint where the following dialogue occurs; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 318; Henselmanns, *Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis* (1914), 126.

92. *adgreditur*: cf. 3, 358: *his vatem adgredior dictis*; 4, 476: *dictis adgressa sororem*; 6, 387: *sic prior adgreditur dictis*; Val. Fl. 6, 587: *tunc his germanam adgreditur*...

dictis; *Juvenc.* 1, 386: *tum sic adgreditur vocis fallente veneno*; *Donat. ad loc.*: *cum dicit adgressa ostendit eam aliquid invidiose dicturam*; *Schol. Dan.*: *cum calliditate loquitur, et quasi ex praeparato vel ex insidiis ut alibi* (G. 4, 404) '*facile ut somno adgrediare iacentem*'; *Wilms, Qua Ratione Vergilium in Aeneide aut locuturum aliquem aut locutum esse indicaverit* (1865), 11.

92. *Venerem*: on her character in the *Aeneid* cf. Glover, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 297 (who contrasts the picture of her in Homer); Fowler, *The Death of Turnus* (1927), 82-84; Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 87-88; Moseley, *Characters and Epithets* (1926), 43-46; above, *Introd.*, p. 54.

92. *Saturnia*: *Schol. Dan.*: *ubi nocituram Iunonem poeta vult ostendere Saturniam dicit; scit enim Saturni stellam nocendi facultatem habere, ut alibi* (quoting 5, 606 and 12, 830) ... *ubi autem propitiare eam promittit ait* (3, 437) '*Iunonis magnae*' et iterum (1, 734) '*... bona Iuno*'. To the four cases of *Saturnia* in the first six books (1, 23; 3, 380; 4, 92; 5, 606) this generalization would apply, and in some of the twelve cases in the last six books, where the epithet reminds the reader that Juno naturally sided with the Italians against the Trojans; cf. Moseley, *op. cit.*, 29-42. The adjective had been used by Ennius of Juno (*Ann.* 64: *Iuno Saturnia sancta dearum*); cf. Carter, *Epitheta Deorum*

94. tuque puerque tuus; magnum et memorabile nomen,
una dolo divom si femina victa duorum est.

(tu)que P. numen codd. fere omnes, nomen dell.
(u)na P. diuum codd.

[93*] 94. tuque . . . tuus: *Auson. Cento nupt.* 7, p. 209 *Peiper*; *Prisc. Inst.* 13, 2 (G. L. K. 3, 2); *Serv. Aen.* 2, 598; [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 1, 32, 10; 3, 2, 2; *Schol. Iuv.* 14, 3 (ed. Heinrich). 94. puerque tuus: *Gl. Ansil.* 473, 79. 94. magnum . . . nomen: *Centio Probae*, 429. 94. et . . . nomen: *Anth. Lat. no.* 10, 3 (1, p. 39 *Riese*) — nomen A, numen edd. — 94. memorabile nomen: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 334 (1, p. 74 *Riese*) — ucaī A, numen *Burmān* —.

[93*] 95. una . . . est: *Donat. in Ter. Eun.* 68 — diuum; *vid. adn. crit. Wessneri* —. 95. dolo divom: *Gl. Ansil.* 187, 71 — diuum —.

(1902), 50. For its position in the present line, separated from its noun, cf. Kvíčala, *Vergil-Studien* (1878), 66, with Virgilian parallels.

93. *egregiam*: with this sarcastic use — emphasized by initial position and by the added *vero* — cf. 6, 523: *egregia . . . coniunx*; 7, 556; *Tac. Ann.* 1, 59, 3: *egregium patrem, magnum imperatorem, fortem exercitum, quorum tot manus unam mulierculam avexerint*; *H.* 4, 32. For the thought Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 618) compares *Ov. M.* 3, 654–655: *quae gloria vestra est, / si puerum iuvenes, si multi fallitis unum*; and *Anth. Pal.* 7, 533, 1–2: *καὶ Διὶ καὶ Βρομῷ με διάβορον οὐ μέγ' ὀλισθεῖν, / καὶ μόνον ἐκ δοίων, καὶ βροτὸν ἐκ μακάρων*; to which add *Tib.* 1, 6, 3–4: *an gloria magna est / insidias homini composuisse deum* (sc. *Cupidinem*)? *Servius* remarks: *ironia est, inter quam et confessionem sola interest pronuntiatio; et ironia est cum aliud verba, aliud continet sensus*; *Schol. Dan.*: *singula aulem hic pronuntianda sunt et morandum in singulis verbis; habent enim singula invidiam*; *Kroll in Neue Jahrbücher f. d. klass. Altert.* 21 (1908), 525, on Virgil's irony, other cases in this book being in lines 217–218, 381, and 534–544. *Kroll* compares *Eur. Med.* 509–515. See also *Ercole in Atti d. r. Accad. di . . . Palermo*, 3 Ser., 16 (1931), 222.

93. *ampla*: cf. *Nep. Cato*, 1: *amplissimum . . . triumphum*; *Anth. Lat. no.* 462, 25 (1, p. 341 *Riese*): *scilicet ad patrios referes spolia ampla penates*; *Fest. p.* 186 M.: *opima spolia . . . magnifica et ampla*; *Flodoardus Remensis, De Christi Triumphis apud Ital.*

1, 1, 241: *spolia ampla senatus*; *Anon. Vila Leudegarii*, 2, 43 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 26): *spolia ampla reiecit*.

93. *refertis*: cf. 10, 542; 10, 862–863: *spolia illa cruenta / . . . referes*; *Tac. Ann.* 12, 54, 4: *spoliaque et praedas ad procuratores referre*.

94. *tuque puerque*: cf. *Ov. H.* 7, 142: *intrasses portus tuque comesque meos*; *Serv.*: *puer: filius; Graece dixit παῖς*.

94. *magnum et memorabile*: cf. *Ter. Heaut.* 314: *non fit sine periclo facinus magnum nec memorabile*; *Liv.* 39, 51, 10: *nec magnam nec memorabilem ex inermi proditoque Flamininus victoriam feret* (said by Hannibal); *Vell.* 2, 33, 1: *magnasque ac memorabiles res*; *Luc.* 4, 496–497: *nostris magnum et memorabile fati / exemplum, Fortuna, paras*; also *Ov. M.* 4, 416–417: *Bacchi memorabile Thebis / numen erat*; 10, 607–608: *habebis / Hippomene victo magnum et memorabile nomen*; *Sen. Rhét. Suas.* 6, 22: *vir magnus ac memorabilis*; *Tac. Agr.* 28: *magnum ac memorabile facinus*; cf. *Plin. Paneg.* 61; *Wölfflin in Sitzb. d. k. bayr. Akad.* 2 (1881), 67 (= *Ausgewählte Schriften* (1933), 266).

94. *memorable nomen*: cf. 2, 583–584: *elsi nullum memorabile nomen / feminea in poena est, habet haec victoria laudem*; *Luc.* 9, 964: *nomen memorabile Troiae*; *Sil.* 8, 31: *a vestro nomen memorabile Belo*; *Avien.* 2, 811: *vel fit memorabile nomen*; *C. I. L. VI*, 17622, 11: *semper memorabile nomen*. Interpretation of the phrase hinges upon whether we should read (1) *numen*, the clause

96. nec me adeo fallit veritam te moenia nostra
suspectas habuisse domos Karthaginis altae.

(n)ec P. . . nostra b.
susceptas P (suspectas P²). carthaginis MPR, chartaginis fp, cartaginis γ, cartaginis (corr. in carthaginis) b. alte f.

96. nec . . . fallit: *Gl. Ansil.* 386, 85. 96. moenia nostra: *Gl. Ansil.* 365, 338.
97. suspectas . . . altae: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 661.

then (a) standing in apposition with *puer*, or (b) (on the analogy of *Ov. M.* 4, 451–452: *illa sorores / nocte vocat genitas, grave et inplacabile numen*) with *tuque puerque*, or (c), understanding *erit*: “it will be a great and memorable exercise of divine power” (*Anth.*; cf. *Ammann, Vergiliana* (1870), 6–7); or (2) *nomen*, in construction parallel to *laudem et spolia* (for *nomen referre* cf. 11, 688–689). Either *numen* or *nomen*, then, can be construed; the former has the support of the older MSS and *Donatus*, the latter that of later MSS, of the close parallel quoted from 2, 583–584, and of the imitations in *Ovid* and *Avienus*. *Servius* gives no clue, but had he read *numen* it is unlikely that he would have left the phrase without comment, whereas *nomen* is so clear as to require none. Henry, who defends *numen*, would deny any sarcastic effect, as being tactless in one seeking a favor, but he seems to overlook *egregiam vero* in the preceding line, and *Conington* well remarks: “the words are chosen so as to be as sarcastic as possible; the triumph is of two over one, of gods over a mortal, and that not even a man but a woman.” Cf. *Tib.* 1, 6, 3–4: *an gloria magna est / insidias homini composuisse deum*; *Racine, Phèdre*, 2, 5, 681: *ces dieux qui se sont fait une gloire cruelle / de séduire le coeur d’une foible mortelle*. On the whole question cf. also *Dietsch, Theologumenon Vergil. Particula* (1853), 10–11; *De la Ville de Mirmont, Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile* (1894), 263, n. 5.

95. *una*, etc.: note the complicated word-order, especially effective in connection with the two-fold antithesis (*una* and *duorum*, *diuom* and *femina*); cf. *Loewe, Symbolae ad enarr. Serm. Poet. Lat.* 2 (1873), 8.

95. *si*, etc.: in the sense of an explanatory *quod*-clause paralleled by 11, 705–706: *quid tam egregium, si femina forti / fidis equo*; *Ov.*

M. 3, 654–655 (quoted in 4, 93, n. (*egregiam*) above).

95. *femina*: *DeWitt, The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 74, notes that the three occurrences of this word in the Fourth Book (lines 95, 211, and 570) have each a touch of contempt, which he would trace to a conservative Roman retention of the ancient epic disdain for the erotic motive; perhaps cf. also 11, 734.

95. *duorum*: *Serv.*: *bene cessit masculino femininum*.

96. *nec*, etc.: cf. *Lucr.* 1, 136: *nec me animi fallit* (= 1, 922; 5, 97); *Bailey in Proc. of the cl. Assoc.* 28 (1931), 39. *Cartault (L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 344–345) remarks that Juno here seems to have had a stenographic record of the speech of *Venus* to *Cupid* in 1, 664–688, for *veritam* recalls *vereor* (1, 671), *suspectas habuisse domos* echoes *domum timet ambiguum* (1, 661), while *tota quod mente petisti* suggests *nostram nunc accipe mentem* (1, 676).

96. *adeo*: modifying the phrase *nec me . . . fallit* rather than *me* alone, which, as elided, could hardly receive such emphasis as in *Ecl.* 4, 11; *G.* 1, 24.

96. *veritam*, etc.: cf. 1, 671–672: *vereor quo se Iunonia vertant / hospitia*.

97. *Karthaginis altae*: = 4, 265; *Sil.* 15, 417. The adjective probably imitates the stock Homeric one in the phrase αἰπὺν πτολίεθρον (e.g., *Od.* 3, 485). It may also indicate pride in the city's defences (cf. 4, 88–89; *Cartault, op. cit.*, 1, 345), as in 1, 7: *altae moenia Romae*; 2, 56: *Priamique arx alta*; 2, 290: *ruit alto de culmine Troia*; also *G.* 1, 485–496: *altae / . . . urbes*; *Hor. C.* 1, 16, 18: *allis urbibus*; *Ov. M.* 4, 57–58: *ubi dicitur altam / coctilibus muris cinxisse Semiramis urbem*; *Tr.* 1, 3, 33: *urbs . . . alta Quirini*. At other times the adjective may refer liter-

98. sed quis erit modus aut quo nunc certamine tanto?
quin potius pacem aeternam pactosque hymenaeos

quis *in ras.* *R.* erat *M* (erit *M*²). aut /// quo *b.* certamina tanta *Heinsius et al.* (*quin*) *Pap. Fl.* pastos *M* (pactos *M*¹). hymeneos *b*, imineos *f*, hymoeneas *p.* pactos(*que hymenaeos*) *Pap. Fl.*

98. quo . . . tanto: *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 82* (*1, p. 44 Riese*).

99-100. quin . . . exercemus: *Schol. Lucan. 8, 441* — hymeneos —. 99. quin . . . aeternam: *Cledon. Ars* (*G. L. K. 5, 67*); *Anth. Lat. no. 719a, 118* (*2, p. 193 Riese*). 99. pacem . . . hymenaeos: *Anth. Lat. no. 18, 6* (*1, p. 80 Riese*) — himeneos *A* —. 99. pactosque hymenaeos *Anth. Lat. no. 15, 1* (*1, p. 50 Riese*) — himeneos *A* —. 99. pactos hymenaeos: *Gl. Ansil. 419, 46* — ymeneos —.

ally to lofty situation; e.g., 7, 682: *altum Praeneste*; *Ov. M. 8, 526: alta iacet Calydon*; etc. *Apul. M. 6, 4* speaks of *celsoe Carthaginiis*, and considering that the top of the *Byrsa* is 60.5 m. above sea level (*Oehler in P.-W. 10* (1919), 2205) the term may well be used literally. In 1, 419-420 Virgil thinks of the citadel as overtopped by neighboring heights.

98. *sed, etc.*: cf. *Ecl. 10, 28: 'equis erit modus?' inquit*; *Mart. Cap. 9, p. 888, 3: 'quis modus,' inquit, 'erit?'* The *Scholia Danielis* consider this an archaism. *Rütten, De Vergilii Studiis Apollonianis* (1912), 32, would compare *Apoll. Rh. 3, 12: τὶ χροῖος, κτλ.*

98. *quo nunc, etc.*: *Rütten (l. c.)* compares *Il. 4, 15-16: ἢ ῥ' αὖτις πόλεμον τε καὶ φλόσιν αἰνῆν / ὄροσμεν*. *Servius* and the *Schol. Dan.* offer several explanations: '*quo nunc*' aut quo; aut ad quam rem; aut quid opus est tanto certamine? aut figurate, quo tibi hoc, id est, quo nunc certamen tantum; aut quis modus erit in tanto certamine; aut quousque, ut 'usque' extrinsecus accipiamus; *Donat.*: quid necesse est, ait, inmoderatas inimicitias ulterius retinere? We may render: "To what point now (are we to go) with such a contest?" (*Wakefield* explained as *quo tenditis cum tanto discrimine*; others have understood *opus est*). The emendation of *Heinsius* seems unnecessary; yet cf. *Wagner, Lect. Vergil. Libellus* (1859), 78-79; *Palmer on Ov. H. 2, 53*.

99. *quin, etc.*: cf. 4, 66, n. (*quid, etc.*) for the papyrus fragment of lines 99-102 with accents, reading: [*quin*] *pótius pácem aetérnam páctōs[que hymenaeos / exerce]mus*

hábēs tōta quōt mēnte pe[tisti / ardet ama]ns Dido traxitque per ossa [furorem / communem h]ūnc e[rgo populum p]a[ribusque regamus]. The *Scholia Danielis* gloss *quin* by *cur non*; cf. *Ecl. 2, 71*.

99. *pacem . . . exercemus*: so *exercere* is used with *amicitiam* and *inimicitiam*, *gratiam* and *odium* or *iras* (as in *G. 3, 152*); cf. also 4, 622-623: *genus omne futurum / exercele odiis*, as less exactly and by zeugma, used with *hymenaeos*, it may be compared with 1, 499: *exercent Diana choros*. *Gercke, Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 129, observes that *Juno* is at times aware of what is fated for the *Trojans*, but at other times (as here and in 1, 18; 7, 334-554; and 10, 65-95) apparently ignorant.

99. *aeternam*: cf. 4, 126: *conubio iungam stabili*.

99. *pactos*: of the marriage bond; cf. 10, 79; 10, 649; 10, 722; *Vell. Pat. 1, 1, 3*; *Juv. 6, 200*; etc. *Lejay (ad loc.)* sees an allusion to a contract (*tabulae dotales*), and compares *dotalis* in 4, 104.

99. *hymenaeos*: the story of *Hymenaeus* is told by *Serv. Aen. 1, 651* and the *Schol. Dan.* on our passage; cf. 4, 127, n. (*hic hymenaeus erit*), below; *Stoll in Roscher, Ausf. Lex. 1* (1890), 2800-2804; *Maas in P.-W. 9* (1916), 130-134. On the figurative use of the term in Virgil cf. *Braumüller, Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 7; *Kunz, Realien in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1894), 18. On the tendency to use the plural of words connected with marriage (*conubium* (as in 3, 319; 7, 96), *coniugium* (cf. 7, 555), *hymenaeus*, *thalamus* (cf. 7, 97; 10, 389; 10, 649), *foedus* (cf. 4, 339), etc.) cf. *Spitta, Quaest. Vergili-*

100. exercemus? habes tota quod mente petisti:
ardet amans Dido traxitque per ossa furorem.
communem hunc ergo populum paribusque regamus

(*exerce*)mus *Pap. Fl.* quot *Pap. Fl.* pe(tisti) *Pap. Fl.*
(*ardet ama*)ns *Pap. Fl.* do *P* (dido *P*²). taraxit *f* (traxit *f*¹). (*furorem*) *Pap. Fl.*, furore *p.*
(*communem h*)unc *Pap. Fl.* e(rgo populum *p*)a(ribusque regamus) *Pap. Fl.* rogamus *f*.

[99] 100. habes . . . petisti: [*Acro*] in *Hor. Epod. 17, 30* — totum *Γ^b* —. 100. tota . . . petisti: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 100* (*1, p. 65 Riese*) — tot. a *A* —; *Cento Probae*, 267.

101. ardet . . . Dido: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll. 8* (*G. L. K. 4, 245*); [*Acro*] in *Hor. C. 3, 9, 6*; *Schol. Dan. Aen. 9, 196*.

102-103. paribusque . . . auspiciis: *Anth. Lat. no. 18, 48-49* (*1, p. 81 Riese*); *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 340* — rogamus *F*, rogamur *Ambros.* —. 102. regamus: *Gl. Ansil. 490, 724*; *q.v.*

anae (1867), 25, who ascribes it to the idea of mutuality; cf. 4, 112, n. (*foedera*); also *Güthling, Adnotat. ad Vergilii Aeneidem* (1877), 16-17.

100. *tota . . . mente*: a feminine adjective with *mente*, developing into an adverbial phrase, and eventually into the Romance adverb, is a familiar idiom discussed by many authors; cf. the works cited by *Pease on Cic. De Div. 2, 149*. In Virgil the cases are not all very clear, but may include *Aen. 1, 26*; 2, 407 (= 2, 588); 4, 105; 9, 292; also *Cul. 309*; 327; cf. *Radin in Cl. Journ. 16* (1920), 49-51. Especially frequent is *tota mente*; e.g., in *Cic. Tusc. 3, 33*; *De Or. 1, 121*; 2, 89; *Ad Fam. 10, 5, 2*; *Ad Att. 16, 10, 2*; *Catull. 62, 14*; 64, 70; 68, 25; *Liv. praef. 5*; *Ov. Ars am. 3, 424*; *Rem. Am. 414*; *M. 5, 275*; 9, 635; *Sen. Rheth. Controv. 2, praef. 4*; *Sen. N. Q. 7, 1, 1*; *Phaedr. 185*; *Apul. Asclep. 1*; *Treb. Poll. Gall. 1, 5*; *Claud. De Cons. Stil. 2, 143*; *Lact. Inst. 7, 27, 9*; *Arnob. 2, 60*; *Cypr. De Laps. 29*; *Hier. Vit. Paul. 14*; *Vit. Malch. 8*; *Ep. 61, 4, 2*; 66, 7, 2; *Adv. Rufin. 2, 35*; *Comm. in Ez. 3, p. 96 V.*; *Comm. in Is. 6, p. 270 V.*; 11, p. 467 V.; 8, p. 348 V.; *Comm. in Naum, p. 551 V.*; *Comm. in Tit. p. 690 V.*; *Querolus, p. 18* *Peiper*: habes nunc plane tota mente quod rogas; *C. I. L. XI, 5996* (= *Dessau 5519*); also *Milton, Sylvae, Mansus, 98*. In some of these cases, as in *Vulg. Matt. 22, 37*, it is not clear how far the phrase is adverbial, if at all. For the analogous phrase *toto pectore* cf. *Otto, Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 270. On the wish of *Venus* here described see 1, 676-688.

101. *ardet amans*: cf. 4, 2, n. (*igni*); *Pichon, De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 88-89. The expression is equivalent to *ardet amore* (cf. 11, 782; *Rantz, Der Accusativus bei Vergil, 1* (1871), 23, n. 1, who compares *G. 2, 499*; 2, 510; *Aen. 5, 575*; 10, 500; 12, 6-7; 12, 82; 12, 702-703).

101. *traxit*: *Schol. Dan.*: 'traxit' autem dixit ut spiritum trahere dicimus. An unusual figure, without close parallels, yet cf. *Ov. M. 4, 673-676: vidit Abantiades . . . / . . . / . . . trahit inscius ignes / et stupet*; *Tr. 5, 13, 3: traxi contagia corpore mentis*; *Luc. 9, 934: ore venena trahens*; *Mar. Vict. 3, 14* (*G. L. K. 6, 121*): dudum saucia cura traxerit furorem; *Paul. Nol. Carm. 33, 62: trahit per membra rigorem*; also *Aen. 1, 749: bibebat amorem*; *Sil. 4, 685-686: flamma vorax, imo penitus de gurgite tractos / absorbet latices*.

101. *per ossa*: cf. 1, 660; 4, 8, n. (*male sana*); 4, 66, n. (*medullas*); *G. 3, 258-259: quid iuvenis, magnum cui versat in ossibus ignem / durus amor*; *Cir. 164: et validum penitus concepit in ossa furorem*; and similar phrases noted by *Braumüller, Über Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 2 (1882), 12; *Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI* (1916), 139. The bones are affected, as *Forbiger (ad loc.)* notes, by fear (3, 57), pain (*G. 3, 457*; *Aen. 5, 172*), love (*G. 3, 258-259*; *Aen. 1, 660*; 7, 355), or frenzy (as here).

102. *communem*: *Schol. Dan.*: utrum ad solum Carthaginiensem retulit, quem vellet sibi communem esse cum Venere; an utrumque, id est, Tyrios et Troianos? Probably both ideas are intended; cf. *Donat.*: quia quod speciale

103. auspiciis; liceat Phrygio servire marito
dotalisque tuae Tyrios permittere dextrae.'

(a)uspiciis P, auspiciis M (auspiciis M¹). frigio f, phrygios γ¹. seruere Pγ¹.
(d)otalis P, dotalis bfr. quae P (que P²), ue π. tue add. sup. π.

[102] 103. liceat . . . marito: Serv. Aen. 4, 214. 103. Phrygio . . . marito: Anth. Lat. no. 10, 32 (1, p. 40 Riese) — frigio A —; no. 18, 49 (1, p. 81 Riese) — frido A —.

104. tuae dextrae: Gl. Ansil. 574, 32 — dextrae —.

singularum fuit factum est me volente commune, utrumque populum regamus pares, utraque servemus. For such minglings of two peoples cf. 4, 110–111; 4, 214; 4, 374; 8, 475–476; and Lersch, *Antiquitates Vergilianae* (1843), 4–5, notes the proposed union of Latium and Troy in 12, 819–837, perhaps suggested by the legendary one of the Romans and the Sabines (cf. Liv. 1, 13, 4–5).

102. paribus . . . auspiciis: cf. 7, 256–257: *paribusque in regna vocari / auspiciis*; Serv.: *aequali potestate* (though his suggestion that the idea is taken from consular elections is less likely). Cf. Dietsch, *Theologumenon Vergil. Particula* (1853), 24–25, for *auspicia* as implying *imperium*.

102. -que: as noted by Knapp (*Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 143), the conjunction here joins expressions alike in function but different in form, *communem* being equivalent to *communi imperio* and hence adverbial, like *paribus . . . auspiciis*.

103. liceat: Schol. Dan.: *id est, non necesse sit, sed in voluntate sit Didonis, si velit*. Juno cunningly puts the case as though all the concessions were to be made by her or the Carthaginians, rather than by Aeneas, should he abandon his destined course to his promised land.

103. Phrygio servire marito: Strab. 14, 3, 3 remarks: *οἱ ποιηταὶ δὲ μάλιστα οἱ τραγικοὶ συγχέοντες τὰ ἔθνη, καθάπερ τοὺς Τρώας καὶ τοὺς Μυσοὺς καὶ τοὺς Λυδοὺς Φρύγας προσαγορεύουσιν, οὕτω καὶ τοὺς Λυκίους Κἄρας*; 14, 5, 16: *καλέσας ἐκείνος* (i.e., Sophocles) *αὐτὴν* (i.e., Κιλικίαν) *Παμφυλίαν τραγικῶς, καθάπερ καὶ τὴν Λυκίαν Καρίαν καὶ τὴν Τροίαν καὶ Λυδοὺς Φρυγίαν*. Serv.: *ἐμφοτικῶς, ac si diceret 'exuli'*; cf. Schol. Dan.: *alii invidiose dictum volunt 'liceat Phrygio marito,' id est, qui victus est; et non dixit 'nubere' sed 'servire.' quidam*

'servire' dubitant utrum Didonem an Tyrios dixerit (which is followed by an account of different forms of Roman marriage, and the attempt to associate that here proposed with *coemptio*); Ov. M. 14, 79–80: *non bene discidium Phrygii latura mariti / Sidonis*; Mart. 8, 3, 14: *Phrygio cum data cena viro est*. Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 420, n. 1) observes that *Phrygius* is commonly used (though not solely; cf. 4, 140) by the enemies of the Trojans as a term of contempt; by Juno (here and at 7, 294), Amata (7, 358; 7, 363), Allecto (7, 430), Turnus (7, 579; 9, 134; 11, 403; 12, 75; 12, 99), Numanus (9, 599; 9, 617), and the matrons of Laurentum (11, 484). This is doubtless due to an idea of Phrygian effeminacy; cf. 4, 215 (and the Schol. Dan.), which is to be coupled with 12, 99; also Donat.: *quod enim dixit Phrygio, ibi est subtile convicium, quasi abiecto et infimae gentis homini*. Braumüller (*Über Trophen u. Figuren in Vergils Aeneis*, 2 (1882), 8) lists the various uncomplimentary terms applied to Aeneas by his enemies. The contemptuous effect of *Phrygio* is increased by the use of *servire* instead of *nubere* (even though Juno uses the former word as a snare to tempt Venus). The word *marito* usually applies however, to a legitimate spouse; cf. Pichon, *De Sermonem amatorio* (1902), 196–197. With the present passage cf. Prud. *Cont. Symm.* 2, 496–497: *concessit et ipsa / Iuno suos Frygiis servire nepotibus Afros*.

104. dotalis: cf. 9, 737 (= 11, 369): *dotalis regia*. The word generally applies to inanimate objects, though occasionally to slaves (e.g., Plaut. *Asin.* 85), but is here extended to include subjects of a monarch (Serv.: *regalem spectavit personam*). Cf. Ov. H. 4, 163: *est mihi dotalis tellus Iovis insula, Crete*; 7, 149–150: *hos potius populos in*

105. Olli (sensit enim simulata mente locutam,
quo regnum Italiae Libycas averteret oras)

simulta P, simula (simulata m. recentissima) R.

(q)uo P, quo// b. libicas fγ, lybicus b¹, lybicas p. auertere R, auerterec P (auerteret P²), aduerteret π, cod. Oblongus Pierii; Serv.: 'adverteret oras: absolutior quidem est haec lectio, sed verior et figuratior illa est Libycas averteret oras.' oras (o in ras.) b, aras p.

105. olli . . . locutam: Anth. Lat. no. 11, 152 (1, p. 46 Riese). 105. olli: Gl. Ansil. 410, 62; q.v. — ollis —. 105. sensit . . . locutam: Prisc. Inst. 18, 185 (G. L. K. 3, 295) — simulatam aelocutam V —. Cf. Gl. Ansil. 525, 334.

106. regnum . . . oras: Serv. Aen. 3, 379 — adverteret FCME¹ —; Donat. Aen. 4, 127–128 — aduerteret LR (cf. 4, 105: auerteret LR) —.

dotem, ambae remissa, / accipe et advectas Pygmalionis opes; M. 8, 67–68: *stat sententia tradere secum / dotalem patriam*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 621–622) compares Claud. *Carm. min.* 30, 177–180: *le non Hesperidum pomis, non amne subacto, / non socerum fallente rota, sed iudice dignus / Augusto variis Stilicho spectatus in armis / accipit et regni dotes virtute paravit*.

104. tuae . . . dextrae: Serv.: *quasi per manus conventionem; secundum ius locutus est*. Conington (*ad loc.*) remarks, "Venus is said to receive into her power what Aeneas, her son, receives; and there may be also a notion, as Wund[erlich] thinks, of Venus becoming a tutelary goddess of Carthage."

105. olli: Serv.: *aut illi aut tunc*. The former is undoubtedly correct. Quintil. 8, 3, 24–25 says: *propriis dignitatem dat antiquitas. namque et sanctiorem et magis admirabilem faciunt orationem quibus non quilibet fuerit usus, eoque ornamento acerrimi iudicii P. Vergilius unice est usus. 'olli' enim et 'quianam' et 'mihi' et 'pone' pellucet et aspergunt illam quae etiam in picturis est gratissima, vetustatis inimitabilem arti auctoritatem*; cf. Varr. L. L. 7, 42. Archaic forms in *ol-* or *oll-* (of which *olim* alone survived in classical prose) early disappeared from popular speech, being absent from Plautus and Terence, but lingered in poetic diction, appearing five times in Ennius (four times at the beginning of the hexameter), eleven times in Lucretius (all but two as the last word of a verse, and none as the first), and twenty-three times in Virgil (four medial, one final, and eighteen initial; cf. Wotke in *Wiener Stud.* 8 (1886),

140–141); they also appear in Avien. 3, 136 (by emendation); 3, 192; 3, 344; 4, 377; Flodoardus Remensis, *De Triumphis Christi* (Antioch.), 2, 8, 184. All Virgil's cases are of *olli* (dat. sing. or nom. pl.) and *ollis*. Forms of *olle* and *ille* are sometimes closely juxtaposed; cf. Lucr. 3, 270–271; Aen. 12, 306–309. On the form cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 603. Glockner (*Archiv f. lat. Lex.* 14 (1905), 187) compares its initial use with the Homeric τὸν δ' . . . In 7, 505 Virgil constructs another sentence beginning with *olli* followed by a long parenthesis.

105. sensit: cf. Val. Fl. 6, 467: *sensit diva dolos*.

105. enim: explaining why Venus does not herself speak sincerely.

105. simulata mente: cf. 4, 99, n. (*tota . . . mente*); also 4, 128: *dolis . . . repertis*; Il. 14, 197: τὴν δὲ (sc. Ἀφροδίτην) δολοφρονέουσα προσήδα πότνια Ἥρη; 14, 300; 14, 329; Aug. *De Sermon. Dom. in Monte*, 1, 27: *simulato animo*; Ekkehard, *Waltharius*, 242: *simulata mente locutum*. The ascription of deceit to Juno is, perhaps, in part an imitation of the Homeric tradition of gods whose moral qualities are still undeveloped, but also an attempt to ascribe to the patron deity of the Carthaginians something of that insincerity which patriotic Roman tradition associated with the Punic race itself; cf. 4, 91, n. (*Iovis coniunx*); 4, 305, n. (*perfidie*).

106. quo: Schol. Dan.: *pro 'ut': pronomen pro coniunctione causali*. On the thought cf. 1, 37–38: *mene incepto desistere victam / nec posse Italia Teucrorum avertere regem*; Ov.

107. sic contra est ingressa Venus: 'quis talia demens abnuat aut tecum malit contendere bello? si modo quod memoras factum fortuna sequatur.

(*si*) contra *P*, (*si*)c contra *P*¹, (*si*) contra *P*², si *c*, sic (*c add. sup.*) *γ*. est *om.* π, rem *p*. quisi *P* (quis *P*²).

(*ab*)nuat *P*. mallit *R*.

(*si*) *P*. quot *P*.

107-108. quis . . . bello: *Non. p.* 219 *M.* (*p.* 396 *L.*). 107-108. quis . . . abnuat: *Anth. Lat. no.* 719a, 54-55 (2, *p.* 191 *Riese*); *Gl. Ansil.* 481, 254 — demens *om.* —. 107. sic . . . Venus: *Anth. Lat. no.* 10, 20 (1, *p.* 40 *Riese*) — si *A* —.

[107]

109. si . . . sequatur: *Prisc. Inst.* 15, 28 (*G. L. K.* 3, 81) — fortuna *DL* —. 109. si . . . factum: *Anth. Lat. no.* 719a, 50 (2, *p.* 190 *Riese*).

H. 7, 151: *Ilion in Tyriam transfer felicius urbem.*

106. regnum Italiae: not existing but prospective; cf. Donat.: *potestas omnis quam fata Italiae decreverant.*

106. Libycas averteret oras: Servius, reading *adverteret*, comments: *absolutior quidem est haec lectio, sed verior et figuratior illa est 'Libycas averteret oras': nam plerumque trahitur schema, ut aliquo iluri non ad locum sed de loco ponamus significationem, ut si dicas 'de Campania abeo in Tusciam', 'abeo' honestius est quam si 'eo' dixeris. nec hoc tantum hoc loco facit, sed pluribus; hinc enim est (6, 375) 'ripamve iniussus abibis?' Ussani (in *Atene e Roma*, 10 (1907), 270) would see in these words an allusion to the reputed will of Antony, by which (Dio Cass. 50, 4, 1) ἂν κρατήσῃ τὴν τε πόλιν σφῶν τῇ Κλεοπάτρῃ χαριεῖται καὶ τὸ κράτος ἐς τὴν Αἰγύπτου μεταθήσεται.*

107. sic, etc.: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effula*); Schol. Dan.: *calliditatis est, ut supra* (4, 92); *habet enim haec vox insidiarum significationem.*

107. ingressa: cf. 6, 867; 11, 704.

107. quis, etc.: cf. *Il.* 14, 211-213: τὴν δ' αὖτε προσέειπε φιλομειδῆς Ἀφροδίτῃ / οὐκ ἔστ' οὐδὲ τοῖκε τῶν ἔπος ἀρνήσασθαι / Ζηνὸς γὰρ τοῦ ἀρίστου ἐν ἀγκόνησιν ἰάβεις; Xen. *Anab.* 2, 5, 12: τοῦτων δὲ τοιοῦτων ὄντων τίς οὕτω μαινεται ὅστις οὐ βούλεται σοὶ φίλος εἶναι; Aug. *De Quant. Animae*, 5: *quis hoc demens crediderit?*

108. tecum: thrown forward in its clause,

perhaps, as Page suggests, for ironical emphasis.

108. contendere bello: cf. 9, 518: *caeco contendere Marte.*

109. modo, etc.: note the double alliteration: *modo . . . memoras, factum fortuna.* Schol. Dan.: *oblique, dum consentit, docet fieri non posse.*

109. fortuna: without a modifier, is used either of good fortune or of bad; cf. Fabricius, *De Iove et Fato in P. Vergili Maronis Aeneide* (1896), 5-6; Canter in *Stud. in Philol.* 19 (1922), 78, n. 145. The Scholia Danielis remark: *subauditur fortuna prospera*, and the verb *sequatur* may suggest *fortuna secunda* (as in 9, 282) or *secundet* (cf. *G.* 4, 397; *Aen.* 3, 36; 7, 259). There seems here no thought of a deified Fortune, though whether the word "represents the abstract principle of personification of luck, accident, the incalculable element in nature and human life, etc.," under which Canter (*op. cit.*, 78; 80) would class this line, is doubtful, for the following lines seem rather to imply that the final result depends on the will of Jupiter. So Fowler in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 6 (1914), 101 (cf. *id.* in *Cl. Rev.* 17 (1903), 153; *Rom. Ideas of Deity* (1914), 77) remarks: "For Virgil, when Rome or Aeneas or even Evander . . . is in question, Fortuna is the same thing as Fate, or Providence, or the will of Jupiter representing the Divine government of the world, or the Destiny of the Stoics"; cf. Knight in *Cl. Weekly*, 26

110. sed fatis incerta feror, si Iuppiter unam esse velit Tyriis urbem Troiaque profectis, miscerive probet populos aut foedera iungi.

(*sed*) *P*, set *MR.* fa. tis by.

ue. lit b. tyrios (*corr. in tyriis*) *p*. profecti. s b.

miseri *P* (misceri *P*²), misceri (isceri *in ras.*) *b*. que *R* (ue *R*²). federa *f*, phoedera *γ*, foedere *p*, cod. *Venetus*, *dett.*; cf. *Serv. in explic. citatum*; *Mart. Cap.* 2, 125, 30: foedere iungi.

110. incerta feror: *Gl. Ansil.* 293, 150. 110. si . . . unam: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 115.

111. esse velit: *Gl. Ansil.* 210, 19.

112. miscerive . . . populos: *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (*G. L. K.* 6, 444) — miserieue *B* —.

112. foedera iungi: *Gl. Ansil.* 238, 87 — foedera —; 238, 96 — foedere —.

(1933), 202, n. 16. Perhaps here, then, the word means rather 'outcome' (*Serv.*: *hoc ad casum pertinet*). With the verse-ending cf. 8, 15-16: *quem, si fortuna sequatur, / eventum pugnae cupiat*; 10, 49: *quomcumque viam dederit Fortuna, sequatur*; 12, 677: *quo dura vocat Fortuna, sequamur*; *Ov. Am.* 1, 4, 69: *noctem fortuna sequetur*.

110. fatiis, etc.: *Serv.*: *bene omnia teligit quibus res humanae reguntur: casum, fata, voluntatem deorum*; and the Schol. Dan. add: *alii sic exponunt: quia scio fatiis aliud videri, ideo de Iovis voluntate nunc dubito. ergo 'fatis' propter fata. sane oratorie et blanditur et pugnol, sed non palam, dicendo incertam se esse de voluntate fatorum.* The significance of fate in Virgil (cf. 1, 14, n. (*fatis*), above) is well summarized by Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 293-297, who considers it as identical with the will of an omnipotent Jupiter (cf. 4, 614: *fata Iovis*; less precisely called *fata* (or *fatum*) *deum*; 2, 54; 2, 257; 3, 717; 6, 376; 7, 50; 7, 239), though Greene (in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 43 (1922), 351) thinks "the identification of fate with the will of Jupiter is not complete; the two forces remain at the most only parallel"; cf. also Glover, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 299-302. The original doctrine of *εἰμαρμένη*, according to Heinze, is thus by Virgil identified with *πρόνοια*, though the logical conclusions of this are not carried out in all details, because of the exigencies of the epic poem, with concessions also to the Stoic view that while large events are determined by fate there yet remains, at some points, a chance for mortals

to influence by prayers the actions of the gods.

The grammatical construction of *fatis* is hard to explain; Dietsch, *Theologumenon Vergil. Particula* (1853), 26, notes that we lack other cases of such an ablative dependent upon *incertus*, our nearest analogy perhaps being the ablative with *callidus* and *peritus*. To connect *fatis* closely with *feror* is easy in grammar but hard in sense; most editors therefore resort to making *fatis* dependent, not upon *incerta* alone, but upon the phrase *incerta feror*, and cite 4, 376: *furiis incensa feror*; 10, 630-631: *veri / vana feror* — unsatisfactory parallels at best.

110. feror: Geist, *Erklärung einiger Stellen aus der Aen. Vergils* (1878), 41-42, equates this with *πέλομαι*; also cf. *φέρωμαι*; e.g., Thuc. 2, 60: *καλῶς . . . φερόμενος ἀνὴρ*; yet see 4, 376, n. (*feror*), below.

110. si, etc.: for the form of sentence Kvíčala, *Vergil-Studien* (1878), 90, compares 1, 218-219: *dubia seu . . . / sive*, etc.

111. esse: Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 147, takes this as equivalent to *fieri*, and compares 10, 221: *Hor. S.* 1, 8, 3. But it seems simpler to understand here a permanent situation, rather than the temporary process of construction of the city, in which case we have a dative of possession. With the whole line cf. 1, 731-733: *Iuppiter . . . / hunc laelum Tyriisque diem Troiaque profectis / esse velis*.

112. misceri: cf. 4, 48, n. (*coniugio*); the difficulties in such racial mixture were considerable, and the protection of purity of race

113. tu coniunx, tibi fas animum temptare precando.
perge, sequar.' tum sic excepit regia Iuno:
'mecum erit iste labor. nunc qua ratione quod instat

coniux *Rp.* praecando *Rp.* pre(ca)ndo *P.*
regia *f.*

(quod in)stat *P.*, qđinstat (qđin *m. 2 in ras.*) *γ.* instar *M* (instat *M*¹).

113. tu . . . precando: *Cento Probae*, 194 — coniux *PSπA*; praecando *Lb* —. 113. animum temptare: *Gl. Ansil.* 54, 280.

115–116. nunc . . . docebo: *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 167 — quod *i.* cf. *p. a. d.*; *vid. adn. crit. Wessneri* —. 115. mecum . . . labor: *Cledon. Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 66); *Anth. Lat. no. 15*, 27 (1, *p. 51 Riese*) — eret *A* —; *Cento Probae*, 597. 115. mecum erit: *Gl. Ansil.* 361, 33.

by the prevention of intermarriage was sufficiently familiar to make it remarkable that Juno, as a goddess of marriage, should herself propose such a mingling.

112. aut: Forbiger (*ad loc.*) thinks it not disjunctive but conjunctive; cf. 4, 62, n. (*aul*). But may we not think of two distinct possibilities: (a) coalescing of the two races, and (b) confederation of the two without actual mixture?

112. foedera: *Serv.*: si 'foedera,' per se plenum est; si 'foedere' ad populos pertinet. *Foedera* is plural because of the mutuality of the relationship (as of the uniting Trojans and Latins in 12, 191); cf. 4, 99, n. (*hymenaeos*); 7, 546: foedera iungant; 8, 56: foedera iunge; 8, 641: iungebant foedera; 12, 822: foedera iungent.

113. tu: cf. 1, 76–79: tuus, o regina, quid optes / explorare labor; mihi iussa capessere fas est. / tu mihi quodcumque hoc regni, tu sceptrum Iovemque / concilias. Rütten, *De Vergilii Studiis Apollonianis* (1912), 32, compares *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 34–35: εἰ δὲ σοὶ αὐτῇ μῦθος ἐφανδάνει, ἢ τ' ἂν ἐγώ γε / ἐσποίμην· σὺ δὲ κεν φαίης ἔπος ἀντιώσσα; *Schol. Dan.*: dicendo 'coniunx' ostendit eam non posse ignorare impossibile esse quod petit; *Donat.*: quicquid secretum, oīl, retinent viri facile confitentur uxoribus. *Masera (ad loc.)* detects a subtle irony in the speech, hinting at Juno's inability to penetrate and control the purposes of Jupiter.

The line shows a double omission of the copula, *es* being understood in the first clause and *est* in the second.

113. fas: commonly used of what is per-

mitted to man in his relations to the gods (e.g., 6, 266; 6, 563), but sometimes of what is allowed to a deity in relation to other deities or even to human beings (e.g., 1, 77; 5, 800; 6, 63; 8, 397).

113. animum temptare: cf. *Cic. Pro Cluent.* 176: animi servorum et spe et metu temptati; *Dict. Cret.* 6, 2: temptandos prius civium animos; *Ov. Am.* 2, 3, 17: precibus temptasse; *M.* 11, 239: precibus temptata repugnas; *Suet. Tib.* 12: temptare singulorum animos. For the verse-ending cf. 4, 413: iterum temptare precando.

114. perge: *Serv.*: bene aliud agens aliud ostendit; ante est enim Iunonis officium ex matrimonio, sic usus Venerius; unde paulo post (4, 125) 'adereo . . . voluntas.'

114. excepit: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); 9, 258; *Ov. M.* 4, 790; 5, 260; 5, 523; 7, 681; *Schol. Dan.*: et potest 'excepit' pro 'insidiosae respondit' accipi (comparing 3, 332; 6, 173). *Ercole* (in *Atti d. r. Accad. di . . . Palermo*, 3 ser., 16 (1931), 222) remarks that the protectress of love cannot fail to be also a mistress of lying!

114. regia Iuno: cf. 1, 443; 7, 438; 10, 62; *Val. Fl.* 6, 650; *Stat. Theb.* 8, 503; also the title *Iuno Regina* (for which see *Thulin* in *P.-W.* 10 (1917), 1119–1120); cf. *Eitrem* in *P.-W.* 8 (1913), 382; 401–402 for Ἥρη Βασίλεια (or Βασίλισ).

115. mecum erit: cf. *Sil.* 8, 328: mecum erit haec prorsus pietas; *Il. Lat.* 94: mecum labor iste manebit.

115. iste labor: cf. 1, 76–77: tuus, o regina, quid optes / explorare labor; 2, 708 (in a literal sense); 4, 379: is superis labor est.

116. confieri possit, paucis (adverte) docebo.
venatum Aeneas unaque miserrima Dido

116–121: *fMR.* quodfieri *M* (confieri *M*¹), confieri (con *m. 2 in ras.*) *c*, confier *p*, quodfieri (quod *m. 2 in ras.*) *γ*, quofieri *π* (*corr. in quonfieri*) *b*, quofieri, habundat quo uel quod, *in marg.* uel conferri *f*, quo fieri *r*; cf. *Serv. et Schol. Dan. in explicatione cil.* ad uertere (*corr. in ad uerte*) *π*.
miserrima *M* (*fide Hoffmanni*).

[115*] 116. confieri possit: *Pomp. Comm.* (G. L. K. 5, 271); *Serv. Aen.* 3, 717. 116. confieri: *Gl. Ansil.* 134, 885; *q.v.* 116. paucis docebo: *Gl. Ansil.* 429, 874.

117–118. venatum . . . parant: *Prisc. Inst.* 8, 47 (G. L. K. 2, 411) — miserrima *K*, miserima *Med.*, miseri madido *H* —; *Macro. Exc. Bobiensia* (G. L. K. 5, 648) — nenatum *B* —. 117. venatum . . . Dido: *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 56 — unaque *m. d.*; *sed vid. adn. crit. Wessneri* —.

115. nunc, etc.: cf. 8, 49–50: nunc qua ratione quod instat / expedias victor, paucis (adverte) docebo; also 1, 676: qua facere id possis, nostram nunc accipe mentem.

115. quod instat: cf. *Cic. De Invent.* 2, 37: illud quod insiet agi oportere; *Ecl.* 9, 66: et quod nunc instat agamus; *Donat.*: quod instat, id est, quod urget.

116. confieri: *Serv.*: 'con' abundat, ut (3, 717) 'fata renarrabat'; *Schol. Dan.*: quamvis veteres indifferenter 'confieri' dicebant. The word occurs in *Plautus* (*Trin.* 408), *Terence* (*Andr.* 167; *Ad.* 946), *Pacuvius* (*Trag.* 180 *Ribbeck*), *Lucretius* (2, 1069; 4, 291; 4, 738; 4, 929; 5, 891), and later poets, as well as in prose; cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 4 (1906), 194, 61–82. The form is perhaps used here (= confici) for metrical reasons, as *Kappes-Wörner (ad loc.)* think.

116. paucis: *Schol. Dan.*: aut 'adverte paucis,' aut 'paucis docebo'; the latter explanation probably being correct; in addition to 8, 50 cf. 11, 314–315: nunc adeo quae sit dubiae sententia menti / expediam et paucis (animos adhibete) docebo; also 6, 672: responsum paucis ila reddidit; 10, 16: Iuppiter haec paucis; 12, 71: paucisque adfatur Amata. Similar phrases are: 4, 333 (and n.): pauca refert (so 8, 154; 10, 17); 4, 337: pro re pauca loquar; cf. 3, 313–314; 3, 377; *Milton, P. L.* 10, 157: "he thus to Eve in few."

116. adverte: *Schol. Dan.*: id est 'animadvertite'; parte pro toto usus est; for examples cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 862, 43–

62; so in Greek ποστέχω may be used, with ποῦν omitted. *Virgil* likes parentheses, and in this book may be noted lines 182 (*mirabile dictu*), 296 (*quis fallere possit amantem?*), 338 (*ne finge*), 357 (*testor utrumque caput*), 435 (*miserere sororis*), 454 (*horrendum dictu*), 478 (*gratare sorori*), with longer ones in lines 315, 324, and 633, and numerous instances in the other books. Such imperative parentheses in Greek and Latin are discussed by *Vahlen, Opusc. acad.* 1 (1907), 117–118.

116. docebo: Juno speaks like a schoolmistress; cf. *Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 307. With the clause cf. *Dracont. Romul.* 2, 52: paucis (adverte) docebo; *Anon. Carm. de Ponderibus*, 135 (*Poet. Lat. min.* 5, 79 *Baehrens*): paucis (adverte) docebo; *Gualterus, Alexandreis*, 1, 84: quoque modo id possis, aures adverte, docebo; *Wandalbertus Prumiensis, Horologium*, 2 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 616): paucis, adverte, docebo; *Anon. Vita Leudegarii*, 1, 465 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 18): paucis adverte, docebo.

117. venatum, etc.: lines 117–127 are resumed by 129–172 in an expanded form (cf. 4, 11, n. (*quam, etc.*), above), but with distinct reminiscences (as of 124–125 by 165–166), in the epic style, to make the precise fulfilment more obvious at the most significant points. *Venatum* may perhaps contain a slight suggestion that not all the hunting was to be directed against goats and stags; for the figurative use of *venari* cf. *Hor. Ep.* 1, 1, 78: crustis et pomis viduas venentur avaras; *Ov. Ars am.* 1, 253; *Med. Fac. fem.* 27–28:

118. in nemus ire parant, ubi primos crastinus ortus
extulerit Titan radiisque retexerit orbem.

primus *MR*, primum *M*¹. urtus (?) *f*.

[117] 118. in nemus: *Gl. Ansil.* 298, 557; *Gl. Aa*, 270, 505. primos ortus: *Gl. Ansil.* 461, 1277.

119. retexerit: *Gl. Aa*, 345, 443; *q.v.*

quo se cuique parent et quo venientur amores /
refert; Phaedr. 4, 5, 4: unam (sc. filiam)
formosam et oculis venientem viros; so ὁρπεῖω
in Greek; e.g., Aesch. *Prom.* 858-859: ὁρπεῖ-
ωντες ὁ ὁρπεῖων / γάμος.

117. *miserrima Dido*: Schol. Dan.: *aut ex*
persona miserantis dictum; dolet enim insidiis
circumventum; aut 'miserrima' quae perdi-
derit castitatem. But the adjective (or ad-
verb *misere*) is often used of lovers; cf. 1, 344;
1, 719; 4, 315; 4, 420; 4, 429; 4, 697; *Cir.*
325; also Plaut. *Mil. gl.* 1068; Ter. *Andr.*
520; *Ad.* 667; *Eun.* 71; *Heaut.* 190; *Lucr.*
4, 1076; 4, 1159; 4, 1179; Catull. 45, 21
(*misellus*); Hor. C. 1, 5, 12; 1, 27, 18; 3, 7,
10; 3, 12, 1; *Epod.* 14, 13; etc.

118. in, etc.: cf. Angilbertus, *Carm.* 6,
262 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 372): *in nemus ire*
parat.

118. *nemus*: Schol. Dan.: *pro silvis et*
montibus.

118. *ubi*, etc.: cf. G. 4, 544: *post ubi nona*
suos Aurora ostenderit ortus (cf. 4, 552); *Aen.*
5, 64-65: *si nona diem mortalibus alium /*
Aurora extulerit radiisque retexerit orbem; 9,
461: *iam rebus luce relectis;* 12, 76-77: *cum*
primum crastina caelo / puniceis invecia rotis
Aurora rubebit; Ov. *M.* 7, 804-805: *sole fere*
radiis feriente cacumina primis / venatum in
silvas iuvenaliter ire solebam; 8, 1-2: *iam*
nitidum relegente diem noctisque fugante /
tempora Lucifero; 9, 795: *postera lux radiis*
latum patefecerat orbem; Il. Lat. 117-118:
cum crastina primum / extulerit Titana dies
noctemque fugarit; 650: *ut nitidum Titan*
radiis patefecerat orbem; Claud. *De Rapt.*
Pros. 1, 222: *crastina puniceos cum lux de-*
texerit ortus; *De III Cons. Hon.* 178: *primos*
cum detegis ortus; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 33, 81:
ergo dies primos ubi crastina fulsit in ortus;
also, for the plural use of *ortus*, G. 3, 277; *Aen.*
6, 255; Spitta, *Quaest. Vergil.* (1867), 36;

Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in*
Vergil's Aeneis, 1 (1877), 13.

119. *Titan*: the sun, as the child of the
Titan Hyperion. Cicero had so used the
term in *Arat.* 60 (p. 368 Müller); Virgil in
6, 725 mentions the *Titania . . . astra*; cf.
Ov. *H.* 8, 105; *Ep.* 15, 135; *M.* 1, 10; 2,
118; 6, 438; 10, 79; 10, 174; 11, 257; *F.* 1,
617; 2, 73; 4, 180; 4, 919; Tib. 4, 1, 51; 4,
1, 114; 4, 1, 158; Colum. 10, 42; frequent
cases in Seneca (Canter, *Rhetorical Elements*
in the Tragedies of Seneca (1925), 132-133,
cites 33 cases in the tragedies); *Lucr.* 8, 202;
Sil. 1, 209; 5, 57; 6, 1; 12, 508; 12, 648; 12,
681; 15, 248; Stat. *Theb.* 1, 501; 5, 297;
12, 229; *Achill.* 1, 242; in Greek [Orph.]
Argon. 514; also Shakesp. 1 *Hen. IV*, Act 2,
Sc. 4, 135; Aldhelmus, *Aenigm.* 4, 9, 3 (*Patr.*
Lat. 89, 190); al.; Collins, *Plays and Poems*
of Robert Greene, 1 (1905), 315, for other
cases in English.

119. *radiisque*, etc.: in addition to pas-
sages cited in 4, 118, n. (*ubi*, etc.) cf. *Lucr.* 5,
267: *radiisque retexens aetherius sol* (= 5,
389), where, despite a lilt which may have
suggested Virgil's phrase, a different verb
(*retexere*) is used; cf. Bailey in *Proc. of the*
cl. Assoc. 28 (1931), 32. More like in thought
are Enn. *Ann.* 558: *inde patefecit radiis rota*
candida caelum; G. 4, 51-52: *sol . . . / . . .*
caelum . . . aestiva luce reclusit; *Aen.* 9, 461:
iam rebus luce relectis; Ov. *M.* 8, 1-2: *iam*
nitidum relegente diem noctisque fugante /
tempora Lucifero; 9, 795: *postera lux radiis*
latum patefecerat orbem; *Lucr.* 7, 787; 8, 202:
ostendit terras Titan, et sidera texit.

120. *ego*: Hera speaks as an atmos-
pheric deity; cf. 1, 50-80; 5, 606-607; 7,
287; 10, 634; 12, 791-792; 12, 796; 12, 810;
12, 842; also Plat. *Crat.* p. 404 C: ἵσως δὲ
μετεωρολογῶν ὁ νομοθέτης τὸν αἶρα "Ἡραν ὠνό-
μασεν ἐπικρυπτόμενος; Mayor on Cic. *N. D.*

120. his ego nigrantem commixta grandine nimbum
dum trepidant alae saltusque indagine cingunt,

is *f.* ergo *p.* commissarandire *f* (commixta grandine — *g ductu Visigotico*) *f*¹. nymbum
b, ymbum (*corr. in nymbum*) *c.*
ale γ.

120. his . . . nimbum: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 161. 120. nigrantem nimbum: *Gl. Ansil.* 391, 53.
120. commixta grandine: *Gl. Ansil.* 130, 492.

121. dum . . . cingunt: *Gloss. ap. Barth, Advers. crit.* 37, 5 (Hagen, *Append. Serv.* (1902),
527) — ablae — 121. dum trepidant: *Gl. Ansil.* 190, 138. 121. saltusque . . . cingunt:
Schol. Lucan. 6, 42. 121. indagine: *Gl. Ansil.* 296, 360; 296, 364; *q.v.*

2, 66; *Serv. Aen.* 1, 78: *motus aeris, id est,*
Iunonis, ventos creat; 4, 122: *quia aer est*
Iuno; bene ergo hic se facturam dicit quod
habet in polestate; Heinze, *Virgils epische*
Technik, 3 ed. (1915), 299.

120. *nigrantem*: Schol. Dan.: *et quaeritur*
quis prius 'nigrantem' dixerit? The verb first
appears in *Lucr.* 2, 733; cf. *Varr. R. R.* 2,
5, 7; in Virgil in 5, 97 (= 6, 243); 8, 353-
354: *cum saepe nigrantem / aegida concuteret*
dextra, nimboque ceteri; 9, 87; also in later
authors; e.g., *Sil.* 12, 620: *nigrante procella.*
For Virgil's use of *niger* (and derivatives) and
alter cf. 4, 384, n. (*atris ignibus*); 4, 454, n.
(*nigrescere*); Fowler, *Death of Turnus* (1927),
92-93; also Roiron, *Étude sur l'Imagination*
auditive de Virgile (1908), 540, with tables
on the frequency of allusions to different
colors in this book and in Virgil as a whole;
similar tables by Gauger in *Tübing. Beitr.* 2.
Altertumswiss. 16 (1932), 69.

120. *commixta*, etc.: cf. *Lucr.* 6, 159:
concreti montes nimborum et grandine mixti;
Aen. 4, 161: *insequitur commixta grandine*
nimbis; 5, 458-459: *quam multa grandine*
nimbi / culminibus crepitant; 9, 669-670:
quam multa grandine nimbi / in vada praeci-
pitant; 10, 803-804: *effusa si quando gran-*
dine nimbi / praecipitant; Ov. *H.* 7, 93-94:
illa dies nocuit, qua nos declive sub antrum /
caeruleus subitus conpulit imber aquis; *F.* 4,
626: *ventus ab occasu grandine mixtus erit;*
Anon. Laus Pison. 57: *cum grandine nim-*
bos; *Sil.* 3, 197: *imbriferam hiemem permixta*
grandine lorquet; 3, 489-490: *illa undique*
nubes / huc atras agit et mixtos cum grandine
nimbos; 13, 15: *imbres, o patria, et mixtos*
cum grandine nimbos; *Cypr. Hept. Iesu Nave,*
340: *conferta ex grandine nimbi;* Andrelinus,

Bucol. 12, 22: *mixta venturum grandine*
nimbum. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 292)
notes that *nimbus* is not equivalent to a mere
nubes but means a thunderstorm. The heavy
combination of consonants in the line (cf.
Austin in *Cl. Quart.* 23 (1929), 50) seems ap-
propriate for the reverberations of such a
storm. Donatus remarks: *his, inquit, inmit-*
tam pluviam, ac, ne aquae contemptui habe-
antur, misceam grandinem et haec desuper
infundam.

121. *dum trepidant*: = 9, 418; cf. 12,
737: *dum trepidat;* *Serv.*: *festinant, ut* (3,
616) *'hic me, dum trepidi crudelia limina*
lingunt'; Schol. Dan.: *'trepidant' vero hoc*
loco 'sensim' accipiunt, non, ut alibi, 'festi-
nant,' quia salus non cursu, sed sensim cingun-
tur. quidam 'trepidant' ab equis, qui hodieque
trepidare dicuntur, appellari putant. Cato
(*Orat. Rel.* p. 48, 13 Jordan) *'sedere non potest*
in equo trepidante.'

121. *alae*: *Serv.*: *equites; ob hoc 'alae'*
dicti, quia pedites tegunt alarum vice; Schol.
Dan.: *et quidam cum vestigatoribus alatorum*
mentionem inductam accipiunt; nam indagi-
nem vestigatores ipsos tradunt, alas vero ala-
tores, qui dextra et sinistra plagarum sublata
voce prohibent feras exire; *Sil.* 2, 84: *reginam*
cingunt, sed virgine densior ala est; 2, 416-419:
hinc et speluncam furtivaque foedera amantum /
Callaicae fecere manus; it clamor ad auras /
latratusque canum, subitoque exterrita nimbo /
occultant alae venantum corpora silvis; *Isid.*
Etyim. 10, 282: *quattuor autem sunt venatorum*
officia: vestigatores, indagatores, alatores,
pressores. This use of *ala* is extended from
the very common one of a unit of soldiers,
particularly of cavalry. Henry (*Aeneidea*,
2 (1878), 625-626) cites similar uses of *ala* in

122. desuper infundam, et tonitru caelum omne ciebo.
diffugient comites et nocte tegentur opaca;
speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem

122-143: MR. tonitrum γ¹. mouebo γ.
diffu. gi. ent b. teguntur Mc¹ (tegentur M¹).
dux (d add. m. 2) γ.

122. desuper . . . et: *Anth. Lat. no. 18, 58* (1, p. 81 Riese). 122. desuper: *Gl. Ansil. 172, 1174*; q.v. 122. infundam: *Gl. Ansil. 302, 824*; q.v. 122. et . . . ciebo: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 339*. 122. ciebo: *Gl. Aa, 195, 296*; q.v.

123. diffugient . . . opaca: *Cento Probae, 638* — diffugiunt; teguntur —. 123. diffugient comites: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 425* (1, p. 78 Riese) — diffugiunt —. 123. diffugient: *Gl. Ansil. 177, 297*; q.v.

Manzoni, *I promessi Sposi*, chapters 4 and 10. *Alae* have been here less probably explained as the red feathers used for scaring game; cf. *G. 3, 372*; *Aen. 12, 750-751*; *Sen. De Clem. 1, 12, 5*.

121. saltus, etc.: cf. *Sil. 10, 80*: *lustrat inaccessos venatum indagine saltus*; *Claud. In Rufin. 2, 376-377*: *sic ligat immensa virides indagine saltus / venator*; *Gesta Cnutonis Regis, 3, 4, p. 522* (cf. *Manitius, Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters, 2* (1923), 331): *aut saltus canibus ad venandum cinxit*.

121. indagine: of a cordon; cf. *Ecl. 6, 56*: *memorum iam claudite saltus*; *G. 3, 411-413*; *Tib. 4, 3, 7-8*: *densos indagine colles / claudentem*; *Ov. M. 7, 766*: *latos indagine cinximus agros*; *Luc. 6, 41-42*: *amplexus fines saltus nemorosaeque tesqua / et silvas vastaque feras indagine claudit*; *Tac. Agr. 37*; etc.; and, for the technique of such hunting, *Xen. Cyneg. 10, 7*.

122. infundam: cf. *Ov. M. 1, 269*: *funduntur ab aethere nimbi*; *Prud. Cont. Symm. 1, 67-68*: *desuper auri / infundens pluuiam*; also *4, 120, n. (ego)*, above.

122. tonitru, etc.: cf. *4, 160-161*; *4, 167*.

122. omne: *Serv.*: *pro 'totum'*; 'omne' enim numeri est, 'totum' quantitatit.

122. ciebo: cf. *8, 354*: *nimbosque cietet*; also *2, 419*: *ciet aequora*.

123. diffugient: this word is initial in eight of the nine Virgilian lines in which it occurs.

123. nocte tegentur: cf. *4, 47, n. (surgere regna)*. The hunters are not to be sheltered from the storm but cut off from the sight of

Aeneas and Dido. *Nox* is here used of the darkness of the storm; cf. *Lucr. 4, 172*: *tactra nimborum nocte coorta*; *G. 1, 328*: *nimborum in nocte*; *Aen. 1, 89*; *3, 194-195*: *imber / noctem hiememque ferens*; *Steiner, Das Bedeutungslehnmwort in Vergils Aeneis* (1921), 50-51.

123. opaca: an epithet of *nox* in *8, 658*; *10, 161-162*; cf. *Anderson, A Study of Virgil's Descriptions of Nature* (1916), 154-155; 162.

124. speluncam: cf. *4, 165*, which repeats this line; *Od. 5, 194*: *ἔξον δὲ σπέος ἐς γλαφυρὸν θεὸς ἦδ' ἐκ ἀνδρῶν*; *Vida, Poel. 2, 520-522*, quoted at *4, 166, n. (pronuba Iuno)*, below. For the separation of the noun and its adjective at the beginning and end of the line cf. *Bell, The Latin Dual* (1923), 364, who cites from this book also lines 462 and 513. The heavily spondaic line contrasts with the preceding, and indicates that Dido and Aeneas are to pause after reaching their goal; cf. *Maxa in Wiener Stud. 19* (1897), 89-90.

124. et: for its position cf. *4, 33, n. (Veneris nec)*.

125. devenient: cf. *4, 166*. The verb is also used in *1, 365*; *6, 638*; *Cul. 208*; *Val. Fl. 1, 844*; etc.; generally in the sense of 'arrive at' or 'take refuge at.'

125. adero: cf. *Ov. M. 6, 428-429*: *non pronuba Iuno, / non Hymenaeus adest*; *10, 295*; *coniugio, quod fecit, adest dea*.

125. tua, etc.: cf. *7, 548*: *tua si mihi certa voluntas*; *6, 675*: *si fert ita corde voluntas*; *Cul. 230*: *modo sit dum grata voluntas*; *Serv.*: *hoc est, si etiam tuum subsequatur officium*; and the *Schol. Dan. add: quia Iuno*

125. devenient. adero et, tua si mihi certa voluntas
conubio iungam stabili propriamque dicabo.

125-126. adero . . . stabili: *Mythogr. Vol. III, 9, 13* — conubio —. 125. adero . . . voluntas: *Serv. Aen. 4, 114*; *9, 651* — adero om. AS; si tua R, tunc si H, tua sit F —. 125. tua . . . voluntas: *Anth. Lat. no. 8, 1* (1, p. 34 Riese); *no. 15, 20* (1, p. 51 Riese) — uoluntas A —; *Cento Probae, 195* — sit P, si tua A¹ (corr. m. 2) —.

[125] 126. conubio . . . dicabo: *Anth. Lat. no. 10, 31* (1, p. 40 Riese); *no. 18, 45* (1, p. 81 Riese) — conubio A; probiamq. A —; *Hrab. Maur. Exc. de Art. Prisc. (Patr. Lat. 111, 623)* — connubio —; *Thomas Cisterc. Comm. in Cant. Canticorum, praef. (Patr. Lat. 206, 18)*; *Ioann. Saresb. Metalogicon, 3, 3*. 126. conubio . . . stabili: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 213*.

coniugii, Venus causa coniunctionis sit. igitur Iuno nil se posse adnuntiat, nisi voluntas Veneris adfuerit. 'certa' autem 'firma,' quia promiserat; cf. *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik, 3 ed. (1915), 483-484*.

126. conubio, etc.: this line = 1, 73, of which *Servius* remarks: 'conubio' nu brevem posuit, cum naturaliter longa sit. 'nubo' enim, unde habet originem, longa est. sed est tropus systole, qui fit quotienscumque longa corripitur syllaba propter metri necessitatem. ipse alio loco longam posuit (citing 3, 319; 4, 213; 4, 316; 4, 535). sciendum tamen est, quia plerumque in compositione vel derivatione principalitatis natura corrumpitur; cf. the repetition of part of this statement in his note on our line, and the *Schol. Dan. on 4, 213*. In the *Aeneid*, in short, we have certain clear cases of a long second syllable of *conubium*, including six instances of *conubia* and three of *conubis* (two of these with variants), while the three cases of *conubio* and two (or doubtfully four) of *conubiis* must either shorten the *u* or consonantize the *i* preceding the ending, as in some forms of *Paeonius* (7, 769; 12, 401), *omnis* (6, 33), *abies* (2, 16; 5, 663; 8, 599; 11, 667), *aries* (2, 492; 7, 175; 12, 706), *fluvius* (*G. 1, 482*), etc.; cf. *Pascal on Aen. 3, 136*. The testimony of *Servius* as well as the fact that some derivatives of *nubo* shorten the *u* (e.g., *pronuba*, *innubus*) favors the supposition that *conubio* is here quadrisyllabic. On the whole subject cf. *Munro on Lucr. 3, 776*; *Wackernagel in Festschrift für . . . Kretschmer* (1926), 289-306. With *conubio iungam* cf. *Ov. M. 6, 428*: *conubio Prognos iunxit*. I cannot agree with those editors (*Peerlkamp*, *Ribbeck*, and *Mackail*; cf. also *Sparrow, Half-lines and Repetitions in*

Virgil (1931), 142-143) who consider this line an interpolation from 1, 73, nor with their belief in its irrelevance in the present place.

Juno seems interested in a firm and legitimate founding of the marital relation between Aeneas and Dido (cf. *Kunz, Realien in Vergils Aeneis, 1* (1894), 17; *Pichon, Hist. de la Litt. lat. 5 ed. (1912), 354*), though ulterior motives lie behind this, as shown in 1, 8-33; cf. also *Conway, Anc. Italy and modern Religion* (1933), 114. Of the identical line (1, 73) *Servius* says: *conubium est ius legitimi matrimonii. et bene 'conubio iungam' dixit, ut hanc ab aliis segregaret quae a regibus sine lege habentur. solent enim reges inter plures uni praecipuum dare nomen uxoris . . . dicendo enim 'conubio' ostendit legitimam; dicendo 'stabile' longam promittit concordiam, id est, quae divortio careat; dicendo 'proprium' adulterii removel suspicionem. quod autem adiecit 'dicabo' obsequentem eam fore demonstrat*. With the general situation *Sabbadini* compares *Il. 14, 168*: *δώσω ὀπυόμεναι καὶ σὴν κεκλησθαι ἀκοῦτιν*. To delete this verse, with *Peerlkamp* (who feels that a formal marriage, such as would be denoted by the term *conubium*, would not be thus informally contracted in a cave), *Ribbeck* (who is not followed by *Janell*), *Haupt*, et al. (cf. *Belling, Stud. u. d. Compositions-kunst Vergils in d. Aeneide* (1899), 199-200), seems unnecessary, as is the attempt of *Güthling (Adnotat. ad Vergilii Aeneidem* (1877), 16-17) to omit the words *stabili . . . Hymenaeus erit*; cf. *Henry, Aeneidea, 2* (1878), 627.

126. propriam: cf. *Schol. Dan. Aen. 1, 73*: 'proprium' autem possumus vel firmam vel perpetuam accipere, ut 'si proprium hoc fuerit' (*Ecl. 7, 31*). *Terentius (Andr. 716)*:

127. hic hymenaeus erit.' non adversata petenti
adnuat atque dolis risit Cytherea repertis.

hymenaeus *M*, hymoenaeus *p*, hymeneus *γ*, hemeneus (hoemenaeus ?) *b*¹. auersata *R*; cf. Serv. in explicatione citatum.

annuit (n *pr.* in *ras.*) *b*, annuit *c*. adque *R*. rysit *γ*.

127. hic hymenaeus: *Gl. Ansil.* 279, 58 — imenaeus —. 127. non adversata: *Gl. Ansil.* 394, 121.

128. atque . . . repertis: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 254.

'nihilne esse cuiquam proprium' et 'quod voluptates eorum propriae sunt' (*Andr.* 960), et 'da propriam, Thymbrace, domum' (*Aen.* 3, 85); cf. *Aen.* 3, 167; 6, 871.

127. hymenaeus: cf. 4, 99, n. (hymenaeos); Manil. 5, 546: hic Hymenaeus erat (Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 626, would de-capitalise the noun); *Schol. Dan.*: id est, hae erunt nuptiae. sane de Hymenaeo licet superius (on 4, 99) iam dictum sit, tamen sunt etiam aliae opiniones: nam alii hunc Veneris et Liberi filium dicunt primum nuptiis prospere usum, ob quod in nuptiis vocatur; unde nuptiale carmen Hymenaeus. alii nuptiarum inventorem tradunt . . . Cornelius Balbus Hymenaeum ait, Magnelis filium, musicae artis peritum . . . dum nuptias Liberi patris et Althaeae religiosus cantibus celebrat, exspirasse; propter quod ei talis honor in nuptiis adtributus est ut celebratio nominis eius nuptiarum iungendarum perpetuum omen esset. This is the only case in Virgil of the singular of hymenaeus, and its interpretation is disputed. Is it a person, and does Juno mean that he will be present at the rites with her and Venus, as in *Ov. M.* 6, 429; 9, 762; 9, 796? Then, even if hic = 'here,' the whole clause seems very flat. If, however, the singular can mean 'nuptials,' we secure a forceful and appropriate meaning, and for the singular in this sense cf. Catull. 66, 11: novo auctus hymenaeo; Sen. *Phoen.* 262-263: proloqui hymenaeum pudet / taedasque nostras; also the use of hymen in Sen. *Tr.* 861-863: quicumque hymen funestus, intractabilis, / lamenta, caedes, sanguinem, gemitus habet, / est auspice Helena dignus; Stat. *Achill.* 1, 938: hicne est liber hymen. The singular in the sense of 'wedding-hymn' is also found in Catull. 62, 4; Sen. *Tr.* 202; *Med.* 116. In

the present passage it is probably figuratively used of the whole rite, rather than with reference to a single day of the nuptials (as Ladewig-Jahn suggest).

127. non adversata: cf. 4, 30, n. (sic effata); Serv.: legitur et 'aversata'; Donat.: cum haec Iuno dixisset noluit Venus adversari petitioni ac voluntati eius perindeque consensit ridens adversariae dolos evidentissime patuisse, quae sic insistebat, ut fieret aliquid quod esset Aeneae Troianisque contrarium, scilicet ut regnum Italiae Libycas adverteret oras (cf. 4, 106). The best MS tradition here supports adversata, which well fits the sense. Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 208) detects an amphibole, for adversata may be grammatically the object of adnuat or in apposition with its subject. The latter is undoubtedly the meaning.

127. petenti: depending upon adversata, adnuat, or, perhaps, both.

128. adnuat: cf. 4, 107-108: quis . . . / abnuat.

128. dolis . . . repertis: *Schol. Dan.*: vel compertis vel deprehensis. cur autem dolis repertis risit? qui alius intelligunt sic tradunt: hoc est quos iam pridem compererat, cum Ilium oppugnaretur. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 627-634) thinks (1) that Venus had already (4, 105-106) recognized the roguery of Juno, so that it would now be inappropriate for her to smile at its discovery; and (2) that doli reperti are wiles devised by Juno (cf. Tac. *Ann.* 13, 16, 2: talis dolus repertus est), not discovered by but communicated to Venus (*op. cit.*, 1 (1873), 403; 3 (1889), 356; so also Kvěčala, *Neue Beitr.* 2. *Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 83-84, who observes that atque should connect agreeing rather than contrasted ideas — yet note the many instances of atque with an adversative force

129. Oceanum interea surgens Aurora reliquit.

relinquit *M* (reliquit *M*²).

129. Oceanum . . . reliquit: *Diomed. Art. gram.* 3 (G. L. K. 1, 496) — relinquit *A* —; *Mar. Vict. Art. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 6, 73); *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 100* (1, p. 44 Riese) — oceanum *A*; relinquit (t in *ras.* ex ns ut vid.) *A* —; *Anon. Perioch. Il. et Od.* 19, p. 389 Peiper (in *Auson. edit.*); *Cento Probae*, 600 — reliquit *P* —; *Medicina Plinii*, 3, 272 (= Heim, *Incantamenta magica* (1892), 502, no. 121).

listed in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1906), 1074, 16-1075, 2). It should, however, be noted (a) that lines 105-106 are not used of a time long past but at the beginning of this short speech of Venus; and (b) that even if Venus had known long in advance of the general attitude and intention of Juno she had, in the previous speech, just learned of the particular ruse by which Juno hoped to execute her plans. Further, while reperio may be used of devising an artifice or an invention, it is equally apposite for the detection of something devised by another (e.g., *Plaut. Most.* 1111: omnia male facta vestra repperi radicibus; *Ov. F.* 3, 846: furta reperta; *Claud. In Eutrop.* 1, 88-89: fraude reperta / cautior). The view of Gercke (*Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 45-46) that this phrase and lines 105-106 belong to a late stratum of the composition of the *Aeneid*, if correct, is hardly essential to an understanding of the poem as it stands. The construction of dolis . . . repertis is probably ablative absolute, though ridens with the ablative may perhaps be justified by such cases as *Hor. S.* 2, 8, 83: ridetur fictis rerum; *C.* 4, 1, 17-18: quandoque potentior / largi muneribus riserit aemuli. Venus knew (1, 257-295) that the plans of Juno were not destined to be fulfilled, and hence could afford to laugh.

128. risit: cf. *Hor. C.* 3, 16, 5-7: si non Acrisium, virginis abditae / custodem pavidum, Iuppiter et Venus / risissent. Laughter is represented as a frequent attribute of the goddess of love; e.g., the φιλομμειδής 'Αφροδίτη of *Il.* 3, 424; *Od.* 8, 362; *Append. Planud.* 177, 1; cf. *Hom. Hymn. in Aphrod.* 49: ἡδὺ γελοῖσθαι φιλομμειδής 'Αφροδίτη; *Hes. Theog.* 205; *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 51; *Hor. C.* 1, 2, 33-34: sive tu mavis, Erycina ridens, / quam Iocus circum volat et Cupido; *Ov. H.*

15, 83: dulce Venus risit; *F.* 4, 5; *Sil.* 7, 466-467: nitenti / affulsit vultu ridens Venus. Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) remarks that Venus here shows the perfidy and insensibility to human misfortune (for she knows that the result will cause Dido's death) which is characteristic of the Hellenistic Aphrodite. Further, it is a conflict between the destiny of her son and that of his lover.

128. Cytherea: in the *Aeneid* six times of Venus; cf. Moseley, *Characters and Epithets* (1926), xxv. The term is as old as Homer (*Od.* 8, 288; 18, 193) and appears often in later writers; cf. Bruchmann, *Epitheta Deorum quae apud Poet. Gr. leguntur* (1893), 59-61; Carter, *Epitheta Deorum quae apud Poet. Rom. leguntur* (1902), 100-101; Prehn in *P.-W.* 12 (1924), 217-218.

129. Oceanum, etc.: this line = 11, 1, and was probably suggested by *Il.* 19, 1-2: 'Ὡς μὲν κροκόπεπλος ἄπ' Ἰκεανόιο βοῶων / ὤρνυθ'; cf. *Od.* 23, 243; also *Aen.* 4, 584-585 (with n. on et iam, etc.); 7, 25-26; *Anth. Lat.* nos. 579-590 (2, pp. 79-82 Riese) for several variations of the phrase; and, for the ethos of descriptions of daybreak, Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 366-368; cf. Keith in *Stud. in Philol.* 22 (1925), 518-521 (on the dawn in Virgil); also Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 345; Bowra, *Tradition and Design in the Iliad* (1930), 88-89. This is probably the fourth day of the Carthaginian episode (cf. 4, 6, n. (postera, etc.), above), which extends through 4, 168. An unnecessary change of the order of lines, proposed by Klouček, *Krit. u. exeget. zu Verg.* (1879), 16-17, would produce the sequence 129, 133-150, 130-132, 151 ff. La Cerda (*ad loc.*) observes that the hunt appropriately begins at daybreak, and compares *Od.* 19, 428-429; *Opp. Cynege.* 1, 111;

130. it portis iubare exorto delecta iuventus;

it R (et R²), id γ¹. it///portis b. iuuare R. dilecta b¹c, delectare (corr. in delecta) π.

130. it . . . iuventus: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 133 — ut F —; Anon. Quaest. gram. (Anecd. Helvet. 182) — exto corr. in exorto —. 130. it . . . exorto: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 404 — id NH; iuuare exhorto F —. 130. it . . . iubare: Schol. Dan. Aen. 11, 142 — ait G —. 130. it portis: Gl. Ansil. 288, 75 — id —. 130. iubare exorto: [Prisc.] De Acc. 23 (G. L. K. 3, 523); Prob. Cathol. 1 (G. L. K. 4, 11); Phocas, Ars, 2 (G. L. K. 5, 415) — iuuare exortu P —.

etc.; see also 4, 130, n. (iubare exorto), below.

129. interea: Juno and Venus conversed during the night; cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 2 (1926), 809.

129. surgens Aurora: cf. Stat. Theb. 12, 563: *septima iam surgens . . . Aurora*.

129. reliquit: against reading *relinquit* (with M¹) cf. Ley, *Vergil. Quaest.* 1 (1877), 14–15; Unterharnscheidt, *De Veterum in Aen. Coniecturis* (1911), 31.

130. it: this little word tends to appear as initial in its line; e.g., Enn. Ann. 439; 474; 14 times in the *Aeneid* (including 4, 404); *Moretum*, 103. Where not initial in the line it often begins a sentence or clause; e.g., G. 3, 507; 3, 517; seven times in the *Aeneid* (including 4, 443; 4, 665); Luc. 1, 388. Other forms of *eo* show the same tendency; in Book IV we may note *i* (lines 381 and 424) and *ire* (413 and 468). The monosyllable *fit* is similarly treated; e.g., three times in the *Georgics* and eight in the *Aeneid*; cf. Caes. B. G. 7, 70, 5; 7, 88, 3; 7, 88, 5; and for *stat* and *stant* cf. 4, 135, n. (*stat*); 4, 509, n. (*stant*, etc.). On this subject cf. Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 2 (1933), 36; 51; who mentions Wackernagel's finding in Homer a tendency to put unaugmented monosyllabic verbs at the beginning of the sentence or the line. The sentence also closes with a conspicuous monosyllable; cf. 4, 132, n. (*canum vis*). With the phraseology cf. Anon. in *Mon. Germ. hist.*, Epist., 6, 200: *it portis iubare exorto*.

The contrast of the dawn with the subsequent storm well befits that between the gaiety of the setting forth of this hunting party and the grim catastrophe to follow, as in 8, 585–596 the starting out of Pallas contrasts with his later fate. Several common

elements appear in the two descriptions: the going out of the gates; the presence of Aeneas and attendants; the similarity of 4, 137 and 8, 588; and the comparison of the hero's appearance to that of a deity (4, 143 and 8, 589); cf. Henry, *Aeneidea*, 3 (1889), 754–755, who sums up: "Each picture may be regarded as the last glimpse of a blue sky immediately to be enveloped in clouds and storm — as the ballet before the curtain rises for the last act of the tragedy." Conway (*New Studies of a great Inheritance* (1921), 148, n. 1) thinks this scene taken from the romance of Arganthon and Rhesus (Parthen. 36); Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 308) supposes it an elaborated reproduction of one of the great hunts popular among the high society folk of Rome; while Prescott (*The Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 278) believes that "the Roman reader could hardly have failed to associate it in his thought with the splendor of a bridal procession, with the festal preparations for marriage in his everyday experience." *Quot homines tot sententiae*. Possibly the idea of the hunt may have been suggested to Virgil by the hunting parties of Antony and Cleopatra; cf. Plut. Ant. 29. For an African mosaic of a boar-hunt found at Carthage in 1923 cf. *Art and Arch.* 17 (1924), 71; Kelsey, *Excavations at Carthage, 1925* (1926), 27.

The site of the hunt (since not more than one day seems to be thought of) would naturally lie within a few miles of Carthage, and Ancey (in *Rev. arch.* 19 (1912), 155–156) supposes it to have been in the peninsula of Cape Bon to the east of the city, identifying the mountain whose flanks are carved with grottos as *Bon-kour-nein*, directly in sight of Carthage (but cf. also Boissier, *Roman*

131. retia rara, plagae, lato venabula ferro;

plage γ. latoe M (lato M²).

131–132. retia . . . equites: Non. p. 378 M. (p. 602 L.) — massyli querunt A²B^a —. 131. retia . . . ferro: Charis. Inst. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 1, 61) — lata (corr. in lato) N —. 131. retia . . . plagae: Non. p. 369 M. (p. 587 L.); [Acro] in *Hor. Epod.* 2, 32 — plage Ac, pl V —. 131. retia rara: Gl. Ansil. 496, 1706.

Africa (1899), 60). Little, however, depends on an exact localization of the events, and Virgil's account is general in character.

130. iubare exorto: cf. Pacuv. Tr. 347 Ribbeck: *exorto iubare, noctis decurso itinere*; Ov. M. 7, 663; F. 2, 149–150: *quintus ab aequoreis nitidum iubar extulit undis / Lucifer*; Colum. 10, 294: *iubare exorto*; Sen. Oed. 2: *exoritur iubar*; Serv.: *nato lucifero, nam proprie 'iubar' luciferi dicitur . . . sane modo hysteropteron in sensu est; iubar enim praecedat auroram*; Schol. Dan.: *alii iubar solem; alii splendorem siderum dicunt*. In this passage Henry seems right in taking *iubar* of the sun itself (cf. Gundel, *De Stellarum Appellatione et Relig. Romana* (1907), 106–110), though it properly means 'the sun's mane' (cf. Whatmough, *The Prae-Italic Dialects of Italy*, 2 (1933), 453), and so may refer to shafts of light radiating from the not yet visible sun. The importance of an early start in hunting is emphasized by Grat. Cynege. 223; cf. Hor. Ep. 1, 6, 58–59: *Gargilius, qui mane plagas, venabula, servos, / differtum transire forum populumque iubebat*, etc.

130. delecta iuventus: as in 8, 499; 8, 606; 9, 226; cf. Angilbertus, *Carm.* 6, 156 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 370); Poeta Saxo, *De Gest. Carol. Magni*, 1, 200 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 4, 12); 3, 231 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 4, 36). Xen. Cynege. 2, 3 recommends that the hunter be an agile person about twenty years of age; cf. *Anab.* 1, 9, 6.

131. retia rara: the awkward zeugma, in which a verb must be supplied from *ruunt*, has attracted the notice of commentators, beginning with the Schol. Dan.: *sane 'retia rara, plagae' et reliqua subaudiuntur 'portantur'; aut zeugma est 'ruunt'*; cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 311; McCartney in *Philol. Quart.* 8 (1929), 83; 86, n. 26. Cima (in *Riv. di Filol.* 16 (1888), 297–298; id., *Analecta*

Latina (1901), 13–14) thinks the line one which Virgil had intended to weave into the poem and which Varius and Tucca too scrupulously preserved in the place where they found it, where it fits neither with what goes before nor with what follows. Lejay, however (*ad loc.*), thinks this *une phrase purement nominale, à laquelle il est vain de chercher un verbe . . . on le trouve souvent dans les descriptions*, and cites 1, 639–642; 3, 618–619; Cic. Brut. 173; Hor. S. 1, 4, 12–13.

Servius remarks: *multi dividunt, ut sit 'rara' maiora, 'plagas' minora intellegamus. alii plagas per definitionem accipiunt, ut intellegamus 'quae sunt retia rara, plagae.' sciendum tamen proprie plagas dici funes illos quibus retia tenduntur circa imam et summam partem*; cf. Cic. Off. 3, 68: *tendere plagas*; Hor. Epod. 2, 33: *aut amite levi rara tendit retia*; also Sen. Phaedr. 44–45: *alius raras / cervice gravi portare plagas*. Rara seems to mean 'wide-meshed.' For the types of net used in hunting cf. Orth in *P.-W.* 9 (1916), 568–569. Note also the inventory of a hunter, including *retibus* and *plagis*, in C. I. L. XIII, 5708 (= Dessau 8379). In *Ecl.* 5, 60; G. 1, 307; 3, 413 *retia* are mentioned as used for hunting deer; in *Ecl.* 3, 75 and *Aen.* 10, 710 as employed against boars. The phrase *retia rara* is imitated by Vida, *Christias*, 2, 803; Cayado, *Ecl.* 4, 97.

131. plagae: in Virgil only here.

131. lato . . . ferro: cf. 1, 313 (= 12, 165): *bina manu lato crispans hastilia ferro*; Ov. H. 4, 83: *sive tenes lato venabula cornea ferro*; M. 8, 342: *tela tenent dextra lato vibrantia ferro*; Mart. Epig. Lib. 11, 3: *splendida iam tecto cessant venabula ferro*; 14, 31, 1: *si delecta gemes longo venabula rostro*; Sen. Phaedr. 50: *robur lato dirige ferro*; Opp. Cynege. 1, 152 (in a list of hunting equipment): *σπύλην εὐρυκάμηνον*; Poll. 5, 20: *ai*

132. Massylique ruunt equites et odora canum vis.

massyliis (corr. in massylii et massyli mm. post., fide Hoffmanni) *M*, massi. li γ, massili β¹cp; cf. Serv. in explicatione citatum. aequites β¹. dora *R*, odera *M* (odora *M*²). canum uis (m u m. rec. in ras.) π, canubis (corr. in canubiis) ρ.

[131*] 132. Massylique . . . equites: Schol. Dan. 4, 133 — masxylique f *F* —; Schol. Lucan. 4, 682 — massilia que C —; Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 2, 676 — aequales (pro equites) *L* —. 132. Massyli: Gl. Ansil. 359, 855 — massillii —. 132. et . . . vis: [Acro] in Hor. C. 1, 1, 27. 132. odora . . . vis: [Acro] in Hor. C. 4, 11, 4; in Epod. 6, 6; Gl. Ansil. 408, 37.

δὲ λόγχοι αὐτῶν ἐπὶ πλατεῖς καὶ ξυρῆες; Wandalbertus Prumiensis, *De Mens XII Nomin.* 321 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 614): lato metuunt venabula ferro; Gualterus, *Alexandreis*, 3, 458: stringens venabula ferro.

131. venabula: 'hunting-spears' (from venari); also mentioned in 9, 553; cf. Varr. Menipp. 361 Bücheler: sues silvaticos in montibus sectaris venabulo, aut cervos . . . verulis; Plin. Ep. 1, 6, 1.

132. Massyli: Serv.: Massylorum gens est non longe a Mauretania et 'Massyli' legendum per unum 'i', ne non stet versum; 'sy' enim longa est, ut (4, 483) 'hinc mihi Massylae gentis monstrata sacerdos.' In 6, 60 Virgil thinks of this Libyan race as inhabiting a region visited by Aeneas, and hence probably near Carthage. Historically they are to be placed in the general region of Cirta (Constantine), east of the Masaesyli, with whom they are often confused; cf. Schwabe in *P.-W.* 14 (1930), 2166, to which add Luc. 4, 682; Sil. (many passages noted in Bauer's index, 2, 228); Avien. 3, 281; Prisc. Carm. 2, 177 (Poet. Lat. min. 5, 281); Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 8, 124.

132. odora: the first case of the word in Latin (Ladewig, *De Vergilio Verborum Novatore*, 1 (1870), 5), save for Varr. *L. L.* 6, 83, where the text is somewhat uncertain. Elsewhere it is applied to objects emitting rather than pursuing a scent (e.g., Ambros. *Hexaem.* 3, 8, 36: species amplius florum an vis odora delectant), though Ioann. Saresb. *Polier.* 7, 19, p. 682 c follows Virgil in the expression odora vis aut sagacitas canum (cf. Andrelinus, *Ecl.* 12, 34: canes . . . odoros), Vida, *Christias*, 3, 696, has forte canis leporem vi longe sensu odora, and Gell. 6 (7), 6, 1 uses

inodorus of animals lacking the sense of smell. Serv. remarks: 'odora' autem inproprie dixit; nam 'odorum' est quod ex se odorem emittit, non quod odorem sequitur . . . odoratum est quod aliunde odorem accipit, ut 'odoratum templum.' tria ergo sunt: 'odorum' quod per se olet, 'odoratum' quod aliunde odorem accipit, 'odorisecum' quod odorem sequitur; sicut modo de canibus debuit dicere.

On the keen scent of dogs cf. Soph. *Ichn.* 86; Xen. *Cyneg.* 5, 1–2; Liv. Andr. *Trag.* 29 Ribbeck: odorisequos . . . canes; Plaut. *Mil. gl.* 268: odorans quasi canis venaticus; Lucr. 4, 680–681; Cic. *N. D.* 2, 151; 2, 158; Virg. *Aen.* 7, 480; Ov. *M.* 7, 806–807; Philo Jud. *De Abrahamo*, 266; Dio Cass. ap. Zonar. 8, 18; Sen. *Phaedr.* 40; *Thyest.* 497–498; *De Benef.* 2, 29, 1; Plin. *N. H.* 8, 147; 9, 92; Plut. *Terrest. Anim.* 13; Sil. 10, 78–82; Apul. *Apol.* 57: vincit idem sagacitate odorandi canes et vulturios; Opp. *Cyneg.* 1, 463–480; 4, 357; *Halieut.* 4, 275; Poll. 2, 74; 2, 80; Diog. *L.* 9, 80; Clem. *Paed.* 2, 8; Sext. *Emp.* 1, 64; Veget. *Epit.* 4, 26; Sidon. *Carm.* 7, 189; Symm. *Ep.* 3, 23; Venant. Fort. *Vit. S. Mart.* 3, 329; Pschor, *Beitr. z. antiken Jagdkunde* (1910), 9–16; Orth in *P.-W.* 8 (1913), 2561–2565 (on hunting dogs).

132. canum vis: Serv.: plus est quam si diceret 'multitudo'; unde Sallustius (*Hist. fr.* 3, 53 Kr.): qua tempestate ex ponto vis piscium erupit; Schol. Dan.: ergo vim aut ad multitudinem aut ad naturam relulit. In the former sense vis (cf. our 'force of men') is so well known as to require no illustration, but is mostly limited to prose rather than poetic diction (Plaut. *Epid.* 249 hardly invalidates this generalization). Much more probably Virgil here imitates Greek periphrases with

133. reginam thalamo cunctantem ad limina primi

thalamo (corr. in thalamo) b.

133–134. reginam . . . expectant: Porphyr. in Hor. C. 4, 5, 9. 133. reginam . . . cunctantem: Anth. Lat. no. 17, 23 (1, p. 62 Riese) — thalami cunctantes *A* (cf. no. 10, 32: reginam thalamis) —; Non. p. 252 *M.* (p. 382 *L.*); [Acro] in Hor. C. 4, 5, 11 — regina *A* —.

βῆ (e.g., *Il.* 11, 690: βῆ Ἡρακλῆϊ; Aesch. *Sept.* 448), ἴς (e.g., *Il.* 23, 720: ἴς Ὀδυσῆος; cf. 21, 356), μένος (e.g., *Il.* 14, 418: Ἐκτοπος . . . μένος; Od. 7, 2: μένος ἡμιόνου), and σθένος (e.g., *Il.* 13, 248; 18, 486; Pind. *Ol.* 6, 22: σθένος ἡμιόνων; *Pylh.* 2, 12: σθένος ἱππείων), as had been done by Ennius (e.g., *Ann.* 276: Vestina virum vis; cf. the ancient comments on this phrase in Vahlen's note; *Sc.* 275 (by emendation): vim laurorum), Cicero (*Arat.* 57 (291): equi vis), Lucretius (2, 264; 3, 8 (= 3, 764): fortis equi vis; 3, 296; 4, 681: promissa canum vis; 5, 1286; 6, 1222: fida canum vis), and Horace (*Epod.* 6, 6: amica vis pastoribus), and as was later done by others, e.g., Sil. 4, 599: vis elephantorum; Stat. *Theb.* 1, 625: rabidamque canum vim; Sedulius, *Carm.* 2, 41, 51 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 3, 205): vis rabiosa canum; Politian, *Nutricia*, 312: nocturna canum vis; Vida, *Christias*, 1, 479: opis vim; 2, 292: virum vi; 5, 259: opum vi; Sannazaro, *Salices*, 78: et amica canum vis; Gray, *De Princip. Cogitandi*, 1, 130: odora hominum vis; Carducci, *Odi barbare*, 1, *All'Aurora*, 11: la forza de i cani; *Alle Fonti del Clitumno*, 15–16: la forza / de' bei giovenchi.

For the use in hexameter of a final monosyllable following a polysyllable, which is found as early as Homer (e.g., *Il.* 1, 426: χαλκοβατὲς δῶ), cf. Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 108; 2, 115; and the works there cited, to which add Harkness in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 31 (1910), 154–174; Norden's 2 ed. of *Aen.*, Book VI (1916), 440–441; 448–449; Rouse in *Cl. Rev.* 33 (1919), 138–140 (who finds here "a genial and half-comic effect"); Merrill on *Lucr.* 3, 3; Marouzeau in *Rev. de Philol.* 48 (1924), 39–42. On the effect produced cf. Quintil. 8, 3, 20; Serv. *Aen.* 5, 481: pessimus versus in monosyllabum desinens; 8, 83: sciendum tamen hoc esse vitiosum, monosyllabo finire versus, nisi forte ipso monosyllabo

minora explicentur animalia, ut 'parturient montes, nascetur ridiculus mus' (Hor. *Ars poet.* 139); gratiores enim versus isti sunt, secundum Lucilium. Such endings, according to Manilius (*Rh. Mus.* 46 (1891), 622–628) occur in Ennius about once in 17 lines, in Lucretius once in 45, in Catullus once in 122, in Virgil once in 293, in Horace once in 26, in Ovid once in 1748, and in Juvenal once in 32. In the present line the last three words decrease in length by one syllable each, as in 4, 314 if dextramque be considered as a unit; cf. 4, 81, n. (cadentia sidera somnos); 5, 481: procumbit humi bos.

133. thalamo: in 4, 18 and 4, 550 figuratively used (= 'wedlock'), but here and in 4, 392; 4, 495 literally of Dido's chamber or apartment.

133. cunctantem: Schol. Dan.: morantem; atqui amatrix ad eum quem amabat debuit festinare; sed pathos natura superavit, ut mulierem et reginam ostendat, ut Terentius (*Heaut.* 240, quoted below) . . . deinde haec morabatur iam studio placendi. hic enim inducitur veste, armis, auro, vel purpura compertior, cum supra (1, 496) naturalis pulchritudinis gloria contenta sit; Donat.: aut Didonis meritum fuit aut dedecus Tyriorum ut expectarent reginam constituti ante fores eius, hoc est, mulierem femineis ornatibus occupatam. For passages showing the proverbial slowness of ladies in making their toilet cf. Plaut. *Poen.* 210–225; *Stich.* 701–702: sed amica mea et tua dum cessat dumque se exornat, nos volo / ludere inter nos; Ter. *Heaut.* 239–240: non cogitas hinc longue esse? et nosti mores mulierum: / dum moliantur, dum conantur (al. comantur), annus est; Cic. *Pro Mil.* 28: paulisper, dum se uxor (ut fil) comparat, commoratus est; Tib. 1, 8, 16: nec nitidum tarda compserit arte caput (and Smith ad loc.); Prop. 1, 15, 5–6: et poles hesternis manibus componere crines / et longa faciem quaerere

134. Poenorum expectant, ostroque insignis et auro

expectant *Mp.* austro *b*.

[133]

desidia; and add, for the psychological effects of such delay, *Ov. Ars am.* 3, 752: *grata mora venies; maxima lena morast*. Cf. also Angilbertus, *Carm.* 6, 182-183 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 370): *hinc thalamo cunctata diu regina superbo / procedit multa circum comitante caterua*. Yet it was, of course, proper etiquette for the queen to appear last; cf. Kvičala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 84.

133. *ad limina*: *Serv.*: *ante, vel apud*.

133. *primi*: *Schol. Dan.*: *principes, ut* (8, 105) *'una omnes iuvenum primi' et bene reginae officio primi adsunt, quia de plebe dixerat 'it portis iubare exorto delecta iuventus' et 'Massylique ruunt equites'*; cf. also *Aen.* 9, 453; *Reid on Cic. Fin.* 1, 9.

134. *expectant*: cf. Angilbertus, *Carm.* 6, 158 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 370): *nobilium manus expectans in limine primo*.

134. *ostro*: used by Virgil, along with *murex* (*Ecl.* 4, 44; *Aen.* 4, 262; 9, 614) as the noun corresponding to the adjective *purpureus*; cf. *G.* 2, 506: *Sarrano . . . ostro* (cf. *Serv.* and *Probus ad loc.*); 3, 17: *Tyrio conspectus in ostro*; *Aen.* 1, 639; 1, 700; *Cir.* 387: *Sidonio . . . ostro*; 440: *nec Libys Assyrio sternetur lectulus ostro* (cf. *G.* 2, 465).

The dye was produced from *Murex trunculus* L., *M. brandaris* L., and *Purpura haemastoma* Lam.; cf. Pietschmann, *Gesch. d. Phönizier* (1889), 239-242; Dedekind, *Beitrag zur Purpurkunde* (1898-1911) — a diffuse work in four volumes with exhaustive bibliographies and reprints of earlier dissertations —, especially 1, 48-50; and 2, plates II and IV; Besnier in Daremb. & Saglio, *Dict. des Antiq.* 4 (1907), 770 and fig. 5887; also the works mentioned in Lübker's *Reallex. d. kl. Altertums*, 8 ed. (1914), 874.

The best known seat of manufacture was at Tyre (e.g., the passages above cited, also *Cic. Verr.* 2, 5, 146; *G.* 3, 307; *Aen.* 9, 127; *Hor. Epod.* 12, 21; *Strab.* 16, 2, 23 (cf.

Eustath. ad Dion. Perieg. 911); *Sen. N. Q.* 1, 5, 12; *Med.* 99; *Thyest.* 3; 45; 955; *H. O.* 644; *Paus.* 3, 21, 6; *Quintil.* 12, 10, 75; *Plin. N. H.* 5, 76; 9, 127; 9, 135; 9, 137; 21, 45; 35, 45; et al.; *Suet. Ner.* 32; *Poll.* 1, 45; *Hier. Comm. in Ezech.* 8, p. 306 Vall.; *Amm. Marc.* 14, 9, 7; *Boeth. Cons.* 3, poet. 4, 1; *Isid. Etym.* 15, 1, 27), but the dye was also produced at other places in the vicinity, such as Sarepta, Caesarea, Neapolis, Dorus (*Steph. Byz. s.v.*), and Lydda (*Junior, Tot. Orb. Descript.* 31 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* 2, 519)), in Cyprus (*Isid. Etym.* 19, 28, 3), at Smyrna (*Junior, op. cit.*, 47), in Laconia (*Hor. C.* 2, 18, 7-8; *Plin. N. H.* 9, 127; 21, 45; 35, 45), at Puteoli (*Plin. N. H.* 35, 45), in Egypt (*Besnier, op. cit.*, 774, nn. 29-30), and (*Plin. N. H.* 9, 127) in *Meninge Africae et Gaetulo litore oceani*; cf. *id.*, 5, 12; 6, 201; 30, 45; 35, 45; *Solin.* 26, 1. From this African manufacture the adjective *punicus* (cf. *Punicus*) is derived (cf. *Hor. C.* 2, 16, 35-37; and other allusions), and it is, doubtless, in part this which leads Virgil to mention the color here, though it was in itself one to which he often alludes; cf. *Bellesort, Virgile* (1924), 262.

Probably from their cost purple garments were associated with the wealthy (e.g., *Od.* 4, 115; 4, 154; 4, 298; 7, 337; 10, 353; 13, 108; 14, 500; 20, 150-151; et al.; *Xen. Anab.* 1, 5, 8; *Demetr. De Eloc.* 108; *Cato ap. Gell.* 11, 18, 18; *Cic. Phil.* 2, 27 (*Quintil.* 8, 4, 25); *Hor. S.* 2, 6, 106; *C.* 3, 1, 42-43; *Quintil.* 1, 2, 6; *Sen. Ep.* 16, 8; 62, 13; 62, 31; 69, 4; 76, 31; 90, 41; *Dial.* 7, 25; 11, 11; *Plin. N. H.* 9, 124; *Plut. Quaest. conv.* 3, 1, 2; *De Esu Carn.* 2, 2; *Brut. Anim.* 6; *Dio Chrys.* 47, 25; *Luke*, 16, 19; *Athen.* 4, 49; 7, 33; 12, 16; 12, 20; 12, 29; et al.; *Gaudent. Serm.* 13 (*Patr. Lat.* 20, 942 B); *Aug. C. D.* 1, 12) and thus are appropriately assigned to Carthaginian wearers; cf. 4, 75, n. (*opes*), above. Further, purple is through all antiquity a symbol of royalty (*G.* 2, 495:

purpura regum; *Aen.* 7, 814-815: *ut regius ostro / velet honos levis umeros*); e.g., *Il.* 3, 126; 8, 221; 9, 200; 10, 133; 22, 441; 24, 644-645; 24, 796; *Od.* 8, 84; 19, 225; 19, 242; *Aesch. Agam.* 910; 922; 946; 957; *Hdt.* 1, 50; *Eur. Hipp.* 126; *Theopomp. ap. [Longin.] De Sublim.* 43, 2; *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 722; *Polyb.* 10, 26, 1; 11, 18, 1; 16, 6, 7; *Cic. Pro Sest.* 57; *De Div.* 1, 119 (and my note); *De Sen.* 59; *Strab.* 14, 1, 3; *Hor. C.* 1, 35, 12: *purpurei . . . tyranni*; *Liv.* 33, 8, 8; 34, 7, 2-10; et al.; *Diod.* 20, 93; *Dion. Hal.* 3, 62-63; 4, 74; 10, 24; *Sen. Ep.* 94, 60; *Thyest.* 909; *Juv.* 14, 188; *Plin. N. H.* 9, 136; *Stat. De Bell. Germ.* 3 (*F. P. R.* p. 370 Baehrens); *Paus.* 2, 17, 6; 10, 25, 5; *App. B. C.* 1, 42; 2, 84; 4, 94; 8, 32; 8, 109; 12, 5; *Arr. Anab.* 6, 29, 8-9; *Plut. De Tranq. Anim.* 12; *Reg. et Imp. Apoph.*, Alexander; *De Alex. Mag. Fort.* 1, 10; 2, 3; 2, 8; *De Lib. educ.* 14; *An Seni.* 11; and often in the *Vitae*; *Lucian, Vit. Auct.* 12; *Vulc. Gall. Avid. Cass.* 3, 3; *Lamprid. Comm.* 15, 3; *Jul. Cap. Pert.* 8, 2; *Clod. Alb.* 2, 5; *Spart. Gel.* 3, 2 (cf. *Lamprid. Sev.* 13, 1); *Lamprid. Diadum.* 3, 3; 4, 1; *Sev.* 14, 1; 51, 4; *Jul. Cap. Maxim.* 11, 3; 14, 2; 29, 6; 30, 1; *Gord.* 8, 3; *Max. et Balb.* 9, 4; *Treb. Poll. Gall.* 16, 4; *Tyr. trig.* 18, 3; 27, 1; 30, 14; 31, 12; *Vop. Aur.* 4, 5-7; 5, 3; 24, 1; 29, 1-3; *Tac.* 17, 1-3; *Prob.* 10, 5; *Firm.* 2, 1; 2, 3; 9, 3; 10, 1; *Carin.* 20, 4-5; *Ambr. Hexaem.* 5, 6; *Athen.* 12, 8; 12, 31; 12, 38; 12, 54-55; *Sulp. Sev. Dial.* 2, 6, 4; *Lact. Inst.* 4, 7, 6; *De Mort. Persec.* 19, 2; 19, 5; 25, 3; et al.; *Optat. De Schism. Donat.* 5, 7; *Mamert. Grat. Act.* 23; *Eunap. Vit. Philos.* p. 456 Boiss.; *Hier. Vit. Paul.* 18; *Chron. ann. Abr.* 2076; *Sidon. Ep.* 1, 9, 2; *Eutrop.* 9, 8, 1; 9, 9, 2; 9, 21, 1; 9, 26, 1; *Amm. Marc.* 14, 11, 10; 15, 5, 18; 15, 5, 27; et al.; *Boeth. Cons.* 4, poet. 2, 2; *Theodoret. Hist. eccl.* 5, 18; *Evagr. Hist. eccl.* 5, 1; *Procop.* 1, 24, 36; et al.; *Isid. Etym.* 7, 2, 2. Cf. also 1 *Macc.* 8, 14; 10, 62; 2 *Macc.* 4, 38; the purple robe of Jesus before the Crucifixion (*Mark*, 15, 17), and the later use of the color by the college of cardinals; *Steger, De Purpura sacrae Dignitatis Insigni* (1741), reprinted in Dedekind, *op. cit.*, 1, 261-328 (on its use by priests and rulers); *Blümmner in Berl. Stud. f. cl. Philol. u. Arch.* 13, 3 (1892), 192-193; *Besnier, op. cit.*, 777-778; *Arm-*

strong, *Significance of certain Colors in Roman Ritual* (1917), 41.

Often purple, as a sign of wealth or power, is combined, as here, with gold; cf. *G.* 2, 506-507; *Aen.* 1, 639-640; 1, 697-700; 4, 139; 4, 262-264; 5, 111-112; 5, 132-133; 7, 277-279; 9, 163; 11, 72; 12, 126. Sometimes the combination is that of gold armor, crowns, ornaments, or equipment, with purple robes, as in 4, 139; also *Sappho*, 66, 8-9 Edmonds; *Hdt.* 1, 50; 3, 20; 9, 22; *Ar. Eq.* 967-969; *Xen. Cyrop.* 2, 4, 6; *Agas.* 2, 7; *Demetr. De Eloc.* 289; *Auct. ad Herenn.* 4, 60; *Cic. De Div.* 1, 119; *Varius, De Morte*, 2 (*F. P. R.* p. 337 Baehrens); *Dion. Hal.* 8, 62; *Liv.* 30, 17, 13; *Val. Max.* 5, 2, 1; *Plin. N. H.* 9, 127; 11, 186; *Plut. Coniug. Praec.* 26; *Timol.* 15, 6; et al.; *Stat. Theb.* 2, 406: *ostro dives et auro*; *App. B. C.* 8, 66; *Xen. Eph.* 1, 8; *Diog. L.* 8, 73; *Athen.* 5, 47; 11, 101; 12, 5; 12, 16; 12, 20; 12, 22; 12, 62; et al.; *Jul. Val.* 2, 36; et al.; *Aug. C. D.* 10, 18; *Isid. Etym.* 19, 24, 9; *Theodulfus, Carm.* 25, 101 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 486); 41, 2, 3 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 539); also *Dan.* 5, 29; 1 *Macc.* 10, 20; et al. Or the two colors may be combined in other ways or merely by indefinite mention; e.g., *Isocr. Panath.* 39; *Xen. Cyrop.* 6, 4, 2; 8, 3, 12-13; *Plaut. Aul.* 500; *Menaech.* 120 a; *Most.* 286; *Stich.* 376-377; *Truc.* 538-539; 946; *Polyb.* 31, 3; *Acc. Trag.* 517-518 Ribbeck; *Lucr.* 5, 1428; *Liv.* 9, 17, 16; 34, 3, 9; 45, 40, 6; et al.; *Ov. M.* 14, 393-395; *Diod.* 17, 70; *Val. Max.* 2, 1, 5; *Philo, De Vit. contempl.* 6; *Curt.* 3, 2, 12; 3, 3, 17; 3, 3, 12; et al.; *Sen. Phaedr.* 387-388; *Dial.* 3, 21; *Ep.* 94, 70; *Ael. V. H.* 9, 11; 12, 32; *Plut. De sera Num. Vind.* 9; *De Socr. Daem.* 14; *Quomodo Adulator*, 15; [*Clem.*] *Homil.* 8, 12; *Justin.* 12, 3, 9; 16, 5, 9; 18, 7, 10; *Luc. Menipp.* 12; *Syr. Dea*, 42; *Adv. Indoct.* 9; *Artemid.* 1, 77; 2, 30; *Suet. Iul.* 49; 84; *Ner.* 25; 32; *Domit.* 4; et al.; *Poll.* 4, 18, 116-119; *Dio Cass. ap. Zonar.* 7, 8; 73, 17; *Clem. Paed.* 2, 3; 2, 9; 2, 11; 3, 2; *Strom.* 5, 14; *Tert. De Idol.* 18; *Firm. Mat. De Err.* 18, 6; *Heliod. Aeth.* 3, 3-4; 7, 3; 7, 19; *Amm. Marc.* 16, 10, 7; 26, 6, 15; *Auson.* 27, 65 (p. 279 Peiper); *Macrobi. Sat.* 3, 7, 2; *Oros.* 7, 7, 3; *Claud. Carm. min.* 46 (72), 8; *Hier. Ep.* 107, 4, 6; *Comm. in Is.* 5, p. 229 Vall.; *Comm. in Zach.* 1, p. 811 Vall.;

135. stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit.

mordet *cod. Hamb. alt.*

135. stat . . . mandit: *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 112* (1, p. 45 Riese) — hac A —; *Prisc. Inst. 6, 57* (G. L. K. 2, 241); *Hrab. Maur. Exc. de Art. Prisc. (Patr. Lat. 111, 639)*. 135. ac . . . mandit: *Non. p. 304 M.* (p. 473 L.) — at (*ex ad Gen.*), a E¹; *frenat L'A^a* —; p. 425 M. (p. 688 L.) — et (*at cod. 304*); *mandet corr. A^a* —. 135. spumantia frena: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 11, 195*.

2, p. 841 Vall.; *Sidon. Ep. 2, 13, 6*; *Paul. Nol. Carm. 25, 43*; 25, 75; *Venant. Fort. Misc. 8, 13, 1*; *Vit. S. Mart. 2, 89*; *C. I. L. XIV, 2215* (= *Dessau 4423*); also *Ecclesiasticus*, 6, 30; *Bede, Hist. eccl. 3, 11*; *Byron, Destruction of Sennacherib*, 1-2.

In view of the comparisons often made between Dido and Cleopatra it may be noted that purple and gold appear in accounts of the luxury of the latter and her admirers; e.g., *Intr.*, p. 25; *Flor. 2, 21, 11, 3*; *Socrat. Rhod. ap. Athen. 4, 29*; *Pacat. Paneg. Theodos. 33, 2*. For purple or gold or both on the trappings of horses or asses cf. 5, 817; 7, 277-279; *Dion. Hal. 8, 67*; *Sil. 7, 641-642: ostro ipse ac sonipes ostro totumque per agmen / purpura . . . micabat*; *Ael. V. H. 9, 3*; *Plut. Pomp. 19, 3*; *Apul. M. 10, 18*; *De Deo Socr. 23*; *Dionys. Perieg. 1060*. *Pollux*, 5, 17, warns against bright garments in hunting, lest they disclose the hunters to the game, but Virgil's fondness for color (cf. *Bellessort's* introduction to his edition of *Aen. I-VI* (n. d.), xxii) dwells gladly upon such spectacles, and, after all, the costumes of English fox-hunters furnish a parallel. On the whole subject cf. *Kroll, Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit. (1924), 178-180*; *Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 169-170; *Walker in Cl. Journ. 24 (1929), 672-673*.

134. insignis: with the ablative, as in *G. 3, 7*; 3, 56: *maculis insignis et albo*; *Aen. 5, 310: equum phaleris insignem*; 6, 808; 11, 291; *Sedulius, Carm. 3, 6, 3* (*Poet. Aevi Carol. 3, 236*): *insignis et auro*.

134. auro: typical of early wealth (*Graf, Ad aureae Aetatis Fabulam Symbola* (1884), 16-17; cf. *Kroll, Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit. (1924), 179*; *Saunders in Cl. Weekly*, 20 (1926), 29) and of rulers; note its presentation by the magi to the infant Jesus (*Is. 60,*

6; *Matt. 2, 11*) and patristic interpretations (e.g., *Iren. Cont. Haer. 3, 9, 2*; *Orig. Cont. Cels. 1, 60*; *Ambr. De Fid. Christ. 1, 31*). For the repeated emphasis (*auro . . . auro* (138) . . . *in aurum* (138), and *aurea* (139)) cf. 7, 278-279; 8, 655-661; 11, 488-490; 11, 774-776 (in 1, 640-741 it occurs 8 times and in 10, 116-171 six times); also *Il. 8, 42-44*; *Xen. Anab. 1, 2, 27*; *Callim. Hymn. 2, 32-34*; 4, 260-264; *Ov. Ars am. 2, 277-278*; *M. 2, 107*; *Prop. 3, 13, 48-50*; *Sil. 4, 155-156*; *Sulp. Sev. Vit. Mart. 24, 4*; *Avien. 3, 1259-1260*; *Dionys. Perieg. 1059-1061* (and *Eustathius ad loc.*); *Hier. Ep. 128, 5, 1*; *Ep. Alex. ad Arist. p. 193* Kuebler; also 2 *Chron. 9, 13-20*; *DeWitt, The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 46. In 1, 448-449 mention of bronze is similarly repeated, and the *Schol. Dan. on Aen. 4, 138* remark: *et amat poeta iterare voces, vel pretiosas vel necessarias vel optabiles*, citing as instances 1, 448 and 7, 278 as *pretiosas*, 7, 219 as *necessarias*, and 3, 522-523 as *optabiles*. Incidentally Virgil's fondness for yellow as a color should be mentioned; cf. *Price in Am. Journ. of Philol. 4 (1883), 18*.

135. stat: with the whole line cf. *Sil. 5, 147: stat sonipes vexatque ferox humentia frena*; *Orestis Trag. 267-268* (*Poet. Lat. min. 5, 231*): *concutit ora ferox spumantia dentis adunci / et perdit vacuos conlisis morsibus ictus*; *Prud. Psych. 190-191: nec minus instabili sonipes feritate superbit / impatiens madidis frenarier ora lupatis*; *Sedul. Pasch. Carm. 4, 294-296: terga frementis / ardua pressit equi, faleris qui pictus et ostro / ora cruentatum mandentia concutit aurum*; *Ekkehard, Waltharius*, 328: *stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mandit*; *Albertus Stadensis, Troilus*, 5, 187: *stat sonipes ac frena ferox spumantia mordet*; *Vida, Christias*, 3,

136. tandem progreditur magna stipante caterva,

136. tandem progreditur: *Auson. Cento nupt. 33, p. 211 Peiper*. 136. stipante caterva: *Anth. Lat. no. 18, 14* (1, p. 80 Riese) — *caterba A* —; *Gl. Ansil. 538, 201* — *katerua* —.

794: *stans sonipes teres exercebat dentibus aurum*; *Aonius Palearius, De Anim. Immort. 2, 373-374: stat bellator equus domini iam laetus habenis, / iam patiens, iam frena ferox spumantia mandens*; also *Aesch. Agam. 1066-1067; Sept. 393*.

Servius remarks: *stat sonipes: adest, praesens est; nam si 'stat' simpliciter acceperis, vituperatio est; nam legimus* (G. 3, 84) *'stare loco nescit' denique sequentia dictum hoc explanat, ut 'ac frena ferox spumantia mandit.'* It is true that in Latin, particularly in later authors, *stare* approaches *esse* in meaning (cf. *Rönsch, Itala und Vulgata* (1875), 388; also the Italian *stare* and some forms of the French *être*). Here, however, its position implies that it is more than a mere copula. The steed (probably Dido's, though possibly generic) stands in his place, perhaps restrained there, and manifests by champing the impatience proper to a spirited horse.

For the initial position of *stat* cf. 4, 130, n. (ii); 4, 509, n. (*stant, etc.*). Of 19 cases of *stat* in the three major works of Virgil 8 begin their respective lines and 4 others their clauses; of 23 cases of *stant* 12 begin a line and 7 others a clause.

Note the alliteration: *s s, fre fer, manti mandi*.

135. sonipes: cf. 11, 599-600: *fremat aequore toto / insultans sonipes et pressis pugnat habenis*; 11, 638: *quo sonipes ictu furit arduos*. The word appears first in *Acc. Trag. 602* Ribbeck: *quadripedantum sonipedum*; cf. *Lucil. 507* Marx: *Campanus sonipes*; *Catull. 63, 41*; *Cic. De Or. 3, 183*; *Grat. Cynege. 43*; *Luc. 6, 399*; *Val. Fl. 3, 334*; *Stat. Theb. 5, 3*; *Sil. 1, 222: Martius hinc campos sonipes hinnitibus implet*; *C. I. L. II, 2660* (= *Carm. Lat. epig. no. 1526 C, 4*): *vetulus feroci sonipede*; also *Bonnet in Mélanges Boissier* (1903), 71; and the use of *alipes* (e.g., 7, 277: *instratos ostro alipedes pictisque lapetis*; 12, 484), *cornipes* (6, 591; 7, 779), and *quadrupes* (*Ecl. 5, 26*; *Aen. 3, 542*; 7, 500; 10, 892; 11, 714; 11, 875).

With Dido's public appearance on horseback Guillemin (*L'Originalité de Virgile* (1931), 92) compares that of Cleopatra.

135. ferox: 'high-spirited' rather than 'fierce'; cf. *Henry, Aeneidea*, 1 (1873), 587-588.

135. spumantia: *Serv.: spumas moventia, ut 'naufragum mare,' quod naufragos facit*; cf. 5, 817-818: *iungit equos auro genitor spumantiaque addit / frena*; 12, 372-373: *spumantia frenis / ora ciliatorum dextra detorsit equorum*; also, for the participle applied to horses themselves, 6, 881; 11, 770; 12, 651 (in 1, 324 and 4, 158 of boars); cf. *G. 3, 203*; *Ov. M. 6, 226: spumantiaque ora coercent*; 8, 34: *spumantiaque ora regebat*; *Luc. 6, 397-399: Thessalicus sonipes . . . / exiluit, primus chalybem frenosque momordit / spumavitque novis . . . habenis*; *Sulp. Sev. Dial. 1, 21, 4: spumantibus equis superbus invehitur*; *Sil. 12, 254-255: spumantia saevo / frena cruentantem morsu*; 16, 358: *spumeus admorsu gauderet mandere ferrum*; *Claud. Paneg. Prob. et Olyb. 5: frenis spumantibus*; *Quint. Smyrn. 4, 548-549: οἱ δὲ χαλινὰ γενεάσιν ἀφρίζοντες / δάπτου*; *Pierleoni in Boll. di Filol. cl. 36* (1930), 301-306, for similar expressions; *Angilbertus, Carm. 6, 238* (*Poet. Aevi Carol. 1, 372*): *frena superbus equus spumantia dente volutat*; *Naylor* (in *Johns Hopkins Stud. in Rom. Lit. and Lang.* 18 (1930), 124) compares *Chateaubriand, Les Natchez*, 5, 230: *les coursiers qui blanchissaient le frein d'écume*. The *Scholia Danielis* on *Aen. 11, 195* refer to the present phrase in the words *spumantia frena*.

135. mandit: cf. 7, 279: *fulvom mandunt sub dentibus aurum*; *Sedul. Pasch. Carm. 4, 295-296: equi, faleris qui pictus et ostro / ora cruentatum mandentia concutit aurum*; also, as a possible source, *Apoll. Rh. 4, 1606-1608: ὁ δ' ἐπ' αὐχένι γαυρὸς ἀερθεῖς / ἔσπεται, ἀργινόντα δ' ἐνὶ στομάτεσσι χαλινὰ / ἀμφὶς ὀδοκτάζοντι παραβλήδην κροτούνται*. *Ariosto* imitates the phrase: *Orl. fur. 27, 70, 1-2: il destriero / facea, mordendo, il ricco fren spumoso*.

136. tandem, etc.: *Schol. Dan.: hoc ad*

137. Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo;

clamydem *MR* (chlamydem *R*²), clamidem *cp.* lymbo *M.*

137. Sidoniam . . . limbo: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 2, 616; *Non. p.* 539 *M.* (p. 864 *L.*); *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 6, 345; *Gl. Ansil.* 341, 295 — clamidem; circumdata —; *Isid. Etym.* 19, 33, 8 — sidonia *K*; pincto *T*; clamide (ex clamite) *K*; nimbo *BK* — 137. Sidoniam chlamydem: *Gl. Abba*, 123, 47 — clamidem — 137. limbo: *Gl. Ansil.* 341, 290; *q.v.*

illum redditum 'reginam thalamo cunctantem.' With the rest of the line cf. 1, 497: *magna iuvenum stipante caterva* (= *Anth. Lat.* no. 18, 14 (1, p. 80 *Riese*)); 2, 40: *magna comitante caterva* (= 2, 370); 5, 76: *magna medius comitante caterva*; 11, 478: *magna matrum regina caterva*; 11, 564: *magna propius iam urgente caterva*; *Symphos. Aenig.* 13, 2: *innumeris pariter comitum stipata catervis*; *Ambros. Hexaem.* 6, 8, 52: *servitiorum sequentium stipantur catervis*; *Sedul. Pasch. Carm.* 4, 236: *magna stipante caterva*; *Angilbertus, Carm.* 6, 168 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 370): *egreditur tandem circum stipante caterva*; *Walahfridus Strabo, Vita S. Galli*, 1534 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 467): *tanta stipante caterva*; *Flodoardus Remensis, De Christi Triumphis apud Italiam*, 2, 5: *stipante caterva*; *Vida, Christias*, 3, 780: *magna stipante caterva*; *Aonius Palearius, De Anim. Immort.* 3, 590: *stipante caterva*. It is proper that the monarch should be the last to appear, and Rütten, *De Vergilii Studiis Apollonianis* (1912), 68, compares *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 268: *Αἰήτης δὲ πάντοτατος ὤπτο θύραζε*.

137. *Sidoniam*: for the prosody and the use of the adjective cf. 4, 75, n. (*Sidonias*). With the description of Dido here given Eichhoff, *Études gr. sur Virgile*, 2 (1825), 247, compares descriptions in Tasso and Fénelon. The Scholia Danielis in a long note on this line attempt (as on 4, 103, and not very satisfactorily) to explain the garb of Dido as poetically typifying that of the Roman *flaminica*. The adjective may here imply color, for Poll. 7, 55 says that clothes were named from their color, some being called 'Phoenician' (i.e., purple); cf. *Hor. S.* 2, 4, 84: *Tyrias . . . vestis*; *Ov. M.* 5, 51: *chlamydem Tyriam*; 14, 345: *Poeniceam . . . chlamydem*; *Tib.* 4, 1, 122: *fulgentem Tyrio sublegmine vestem*; *Prop.* 2, 16, 55: *Sidonia vestis*;

4, 9, 47: *Sen. H. F.* 467: *fulsit . . . pictum veste Sidonia latus*; *Thy.* 345: *vestis Tyriae color*; *Sidon. Carm.* 2, 6: *Sarrana chlamys*; *Philostr. Imag.* 1, 18, 4 (of a *chlamys*): *τὸ μὲν χρῶμα ἐκ φοινίκης ἀλουργίας, ἣν ἐπαινοῦσι Φοινίκες, κτλ.*

137. *picto*: cf. *G.* 2, 464: *inlusasque auro vestes*; *Aen.* 1, 711; 3, 483-484; 4, 264 (of a *laena* embroidered by Dido with gold); 5, 250; 7, 251-252; 8, 167; 8, 588: *chlamyde et pictis conspectus in armis*; 9, 26: *dives picta vestis et auri*; 9, 582: *pictus acu chlamydem*; 9, 614; 11, 775-777; *Ov. M.* 2, 733-734: *chlamydemque, ut pendeat apte, collocat, ut limbus totumque appareat aurum*; 5, 51-52: *indutus chlamydem Tyriam, quam limbus obibat aureus*; *Sil.* 16, 163-166: *hinc iuveni dona insignem velamine picto / dat chlamydem stratumque ostro . . . / . . . / cornipedem*; *Suet. Calig.* 19: *aurea . . . chlamyde*; *Ariosto, Orf. fur.* 31, 38, 4: *fregiata intorno avea d'aurata lista*. Virgil may here attribute to Carthage arts of embroidery familiar at Rome, but in many respects the Carthaginians seem to have been a very inartistic people; cf. Carpenter, *The Greeks in Spain* (1925), 59-61. Kroll, however, *Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 179-180, considers the whole thing an anachronism, since gold embroidery came into the knowledge of the Romans only after the Hellenistic period.

137. *chlamydem*: usually represented by Virgil as decorated with embroidery, an art which *Serv. Aen.* 3, 484 says was invented in Phrygia. For the nature, use, and development of the *chlamys* cf. Kunz, *Realien in Vergils Aeneis*, 1 (1894), 23, and, especially, Amelung in *P.-W.* 3 (1899), 2342-2346. For the accusative used with the passives of *induo*, *cingo*, *circumdo*, etc., employed in a middle sense, cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 288-289,

138. cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum, aurea purpuream subnectit fibula vestem.

purpuream *γρ.*

138-139. cui . . . vestem: *Prob. in Ecl.* 4, 58 — purpureum — 138. cui . . . auro: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 11, 10; *Isid. Etym.* 1, 34, 10; *Iulian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris*, 3, 7. 138. crines . . . aurum: *Anth. Lat.* no. 18, 38 (1, p. 81 *Riese*). 138. nodantur: *Gl. Ansil.* 393, 65; *q.v.*

[138*] 139. aurea fibula: *Gl. Ansil.* 74, 308.

Virgilian examples including 2, 275: *exuvias indutus*; 2, 510-511: *ferrum / cingitur*; 4, 493: *magicas . . . accingier artis*; 7, 640: *loricam induitur*; 7, 666-668: *tegimen . . . / . . . / indutus*; cf. also Lohmann, *De Graecismorum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 17, n. 1.

137. *circumdata*: cf. *Ov. M.* 6, 127: *tenui circumdata limbo*; *Auson. Urbes*, 7, 9: *moeniaque in valli formam circumdata limbo*.

137. *limbo*: *Serv.*: *limbus est, sicut supra* (2, 616, where the best MSS read *nimbo*) *diximus, fascia quae ambil extremitatem vestium secundum antiquum ritum, ut* (5, 250-251) *'victori chlamydem auratam, quam plurima circum / purpura'*; and at 2, 616 he calls it *pars vestis extrema quae instila dicitur*; cf. *Non. p.* 541 *M.*: *limbus, ut adnotatum invenimus, muliebri vestimentum, quod purpuram in imo habet*; *Lact. Plac. ad Stat. Theb.* 6, 345: *limbus enim proprie fascia picta dicitur, quae imis assuitur vestibus*. Cf. also *Ov. M.* 2, 734 (quoted above); 5, 51: *indutus chlamydem Tyriam, quam limbus obibat aureus*; 6, 127 (quoted above); *Stat. Achill.* 1, 330. Donatus here remarks: *limbus regibus deputatur et diis, qui eorum caput candido orbe circumdat*. Poll. 4, 116 mentions a *χλαμὸς διάχρυσος, χρυσόπαστος, φοινίκης*.

138. *cui, etc.*: *Isid. Etym.* 1, 34, 10, notes the *eclipsis, or defectus dictionis, in quo necessaria verba desunt . . . deest enim 'erat.'*

138. *pharetra*: especially associated either with men or with such masculine types of femininity as Diana (1, 500; 11, 859; cf. 1, 323; 1, 336) and the Amazons (5, 311; 7, 816; 11, 648-649; *Nonn.* 37, 117; *Roscher in Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1884), 271-272). Already (1, 498-504) Dido has been compared to Diana, and Virgil perhaps here, by this symbol, again suggests that likeness to match

the comparison just below (143-150) between Aeneas and Apollo (cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 309). Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 402) considers it a bad omen for the bride to set out for her nuptials arrayed like such a celibate goddess. In the same way *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 307-310 and 3, 1283 compares Jason to Apollo and Medea to Artemis (3, 876-885).

138. *ex auro*: cf. *Cic.* 2 *Verr.* 4, 62: *pocula ex auro*.

138. *crines, etc.*: *Schol. Dan.*: *veluti reticulum dicit, quod colligit comas; quae Graece κροβίλη dicitur*; cf. also 11, 576: *pro crinali auro* (and *Schol. Dan.*: *quo crines inligantur*); *Ov. Ep.* 20 (21), 89: *ipsa dedit gemmas digitis et crinibus aurum*; *Claud. In Rufin.* 1, 119: *nodavitque adamante comas*. Ovid in the *Ars am.* 3, 139-168 discusses feminine headdress, and lines 139-144 seem here in point: *exiguum summa nodum sibi fronte relinqui, / ut pateant aures, ora rotunda volunt; / alterius crines umero iacentur utroque; / talis es adsumpta, Phoebe canore, lyra; / altera succinctae religetur more Dianae, / ut solet, attonitas cum petit illa feras*; cf. Steinger in *P.-W.* 7 (1912), 2136.

138. *in aurum*: 'into (or 'on to') a gold fastening' — whether a hairpin or a fibula (cf. 7, 815-816: *ut fibula crinem / auro internectat*) is not clear; cf. 4, 148; Kunz, *Realien in Vergils Aeneis*, 1 (1894), 24.

139. *aurea, etc.*: cf. *Cir.* 127: *aurea . . . fibula*; *Claud. De Rapt. Pros.* 2, 17: *fibula purpureae gemma suspendit amictus*; *Blümner, Röm. Privataltertümer* (1911), 261 and nn. 6-7.

139. *subnectit*: cf. 1, 492: *aurea subnectens exsertae cingula mammae*; 5, 313: *tereti subnectit fibula gemma*; 7, 815-816: *ut*

140. nec non et Phrygii comites et laetus Iulus
incedunt. ipse ante alios pulcherrimus omnis

prigii (*corr. in phrigii*) b, phrii (*corr. in phrigii*) γ, tyrii R (*cf. 4, 162; Sparrow, Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil (1931), 120*).

pulcherrimus (*h in ras. vel eras.*) R. omnes b¹.

141-144. ipse . . . deserit: *Sacerd. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 6, 465) — inter (pro infert) B —*.
141. ipse . . . omnis: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 3, 321; 5, 17*.

fibula crinem / auro internectat; 10, 138: *mollis subnectit circulus auro*; Kunz, *Realien in Vergils Aeneis*, 1 (1894), 24; Angilbertus, *Carm. 6, 218 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 1, 371): subnectit fibula amictum*; Poet. Saxo, *De Gest. Caroli Mag. 5, 35, 1-2 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 4, 63): auro textam nectebat fibula vestem / aurea*. The brooch fastens at the shoulder a tunic or perhaps a *chlamys* (though the injection of line 138 makes this awkward and less probable), or else, as others less plausibly suppose, is located on the girdle (*cf. 1, 492*). Through all this account Roman forms of dress are ascribed to Dido.

139. *fibula vestem*: *cf. Ov. M. 2, 412-413: fibula vestem, / villa coeuerat neglectos alba capillos*; 14, 345: *Poeniceam fulvo chlamydem contractus ab auro*.

140. *nec non et*: *cf. G. 1, 212; 2, 53; 2, 451; 2, 452; 3, 72; Aen. 1, 707: nec non et Tyrii* (which may have suggested the reading of R in our line, unless it was derived from 4, 162); 1, 748; 3, 352: *nec non et Teucri*; 5, 100; 6, 595; 7, 521; 8, 345; 8, 461.

140. *Phrygii comites*: *cf. the Tyrii comites* of 4, 162; also, for the use of *Phrygii*, 4, 103, n. (*Phrygio servire marito*).

140. *Iulus*: *cf. 1, 267-268: at puer Ascanius, cui nunc cognomen Iulo / additur — Iulus erat, dum res stetit Ilia regno*; where the *Schol. Dan. comment: et occiso Mezentio Ascanium, sicut I. Caesar scribit, Iulum coeplum vocari, vel quasi ἰοβόλον, id est, sagittandi peritum, vel a prima barbae lanugine, quam ἰούλον Graeci dicunt, quae ei tempore victoriae nascebatur. sciendum est autem hunc primo Ascanium dictum a Phrygiae flumine Ascanio . . . deinde Iulum dictum a rege Ilo, unde et Ilium, postea Iulum, occiso Mezentio . . . cognomen Iulo si proprie loqueretur agnomen diceret non cognomen, sed*

magis ad familiam respexit, quia omnis gens Iulia inde originem ducit; *cf. Aen. 1, 288: Iulius, a magno demissum nomen Iulo*.

141. *incedunt*: this verb and the noun *incessus* commonly denote dignified or formal advance (*cf. στείχω, and 4, 68, n. (vagatur), above*), as in a procession. The Trojans doubtless marched up from the ships and the Carthaginians came forth from the gates (4, 130; 4, 136). The whole passage should be compared with 1, 496-504, which Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 309, is inclined to think was written at about the same time as this. The likeness of the two similes has been noted by critics, beginning with Donat. ad *Aen. 4, 150*.

141. *ante alios*: *cf. 4, 59, n. (ante omnis)*; also 1, 347: *ante alios immanior omnis*; 3, 321 (and *Schol. Dan.*); 7, 55-56: *ante alios pulcherrimus omnis / Turnus*; 11, 821. Servius says: *quia amatur ideo ei dat pulchritudinem, licet Ascanio magis congruat*.

141. *pulcherrimus*: *cf. 4, 11, n. (ore ferens)*; *Apoll. Rh. 3, 442-444: οἱ δ' ἦσαν ἐκ μεγάρου, / θεσπέσιον δ' ἐν πᾶσι μετέπρεπεν Αἰσωνος υἱὸς / κάλλει καὶ χαρίτεσσιν*. The *Schol. Danielis* remark: *pulcherrimus ex animo Didonis; hoc enim ei videbatur*. The matching of the beauty of Dido by that of Aeneas is intentional; *cf. Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 346.

142. *infert se*: *cf. 1, 439; 5, 622; 9, 53 (= G. 2, 145); 10, 66; 10, 575; 10, 768; 11, 36; 11, 742*.

142. *agmina iungit*: *cf. 2, 267: agmina conscia iungunt*; 11, 145-146: *iungunt / agmina*; *Val. Fl. 1, 520: agmina iungere*; 3, 505: *agmina iungat*. Aeneas joins his line of retainers with that of Dido; *cf. Page in Cl. Rev. 7 (1893), 416*.

143. *qualis ubi*: *cf. 4, 69, n. (qualis)*; and,

142. infert se socium Aeneas atque agmina iungit.
qualis ubi hibernam Lyciam Xanthique fluenta

adque R. iunget M.

ubi *suprascr. c.* hibernam b. litiam b. xanti γbc.

[141*]

[141] 143-144. *qualis . . . Apollo: Quintil. Inst. 8, 3, 73 — aut pro ac —; Donat. Aen. 12, 515 — inuasit V —. 143-144. Xanthique . . . Apollo: [Acro] in Hor. C. 4, 6, 26 — delon —; Iul. Vict. Ars rhet. 22, p. 437 Halm — ut (pro ubi) C; et pro ac —. 143. qualis . . . fluenta: Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 8, 199 — Xanthique fluenta om. LMPa —. 143. qualis . . . Lyciam: Schol. Iuv. 7, 221 (ed. Heinrich) — ob pro ubi —. 143. hibernam: Gl. Ansil. 286, 8; q.v. 143. Xanthi fluenta: Gl. Ansil. 599, 2 — Xancti —.*

for *qualis ubi*, 2, 471; 8, 589; 9, 563; 11, 492; 11, 624; 12, 451; Val. Fl. 7, 111. For the simile *cf. Hornbostel, Die Gleichnisse bei Vergil (1870), 8; 14-15; Houben, De Comparationibus Vergilianis (1876), 10; Kopetsch, De Comparationibus Vergilianis (1879), 14; Schuhardt, Die Gleichnisse in Vergils Aeneis (1904), 12*.

The comparison of a mortal to a god, especially in beauty, is a frequent conceit; e.g., *Od. 2, 5; 4, 310; 8, 14*; and the use of such adjectives as *θεοειδής* and *θεοεικελός*; *cf. Donat.: ut Aeneae pulchritudo praeferrī ceteris posset, deficientibus humanis exemplis Apollo inter deos solus inventus est qui Aeneae meruisset aequari*. The beauty of Apollo was generally recognized and even proverbial; *cf. Apoll. Rh. 2, 674-677; Mart. 6, 29, 6; Priap. 38, 2; Dracont. Carm. prof. 2, 106; etc.* The present passage seems especially suggested by *Apoll. Rh. 1, 307-310: οἷος δ' ἐκ νηοῦ θυώδεος εἶσιν Ἀπόλλων / Δῆλον ἂν ἡγαθέην, ἢ ἐκ Κλάρον, ἢ ὅγε Πυθῶ, / ἢ Λυκίην εὐρείαν, ἐπὶ Ἐάνθοιο ῥοῆσιν, / τοῖος ἂν ἀπὸ πλῆθιν δῆμον κλέν*; *cf. id., 3, 1283*. Serv. on 4, 144 says: *Apollini Aeneam vel propter sagittas, quibus in venatu utebatur, comparat; vel certe propter futurum infelix matrimonium; ut enim et supra (4, 58) diximus, nuptiis est hoc numen infensum*; *Schol. Dan.: vel Apollini Aeneam, ut in primo (1, 498) Didonem Dianae; quomodo germanorum nuptiae esse non possunt*.

143. *hibernam*: *Serv.: non asperam sed aptam hiemare cupientibus; sic enim se habet natura regionis. et bene aliud agens aliud ostendit; nam constat Apollinem sex mensibus hiemalibus apud Pataram, Lyciae civitatem,*

dare responsa (unde Patareus Apollo dicitur) et sex aestivis apud Delum; while the *Schol. Danielis* add: *ergo 'hibernam' utrum quod ibi hiemare soleat, an frigidam, an hieme temperatam, an quam hiberno tempore deserere soleat?* Probably the first of these four views is to be accepted, the adjective meaning, not 'wintry,' but 'in use in the winter' (*cf. Ecl. 10, 20: hiberna . . . glande; Aen. 4, 303: nocturnus . . . Cithaeron*). Were Delos the winter residence of Apollo the rites described in lines 145-149 could hardly have enjoyed the attendance of Cretans, Dryopes, and especially the distant Agathyrsi, unless (as is unlikely) we are to imagine these foreigners not as members of religious embassies (*θεωρία*) but as resident aliens permanently attached to the shrine.

143. *Xanthique fluenta*: *cf. Apoll. Rh. 1, 309: Ἐάνθοιο ῥοῆσιν*. Xanthus is the name of several rivers, perhaps bestowed because of the color of their muddy waters (*ξανθός*), but here used of the Eschén-Tschai, near the mouth of which lay the town of Patara, closely associated with the cult of Apollo; *cf. Hdt. 1, 182; Lycophr. 920 (the scholiast on which says ἐν Πατάροις γὰρ ὁ Ἀπόλλων ἐπιμάτο)*; *Hor. C. 3, 4, 62-64: qui Lyciae lenel / dumeta natalemque silvam / Delius et Patareus Apollo (cf. [Acro] ad loc.)*; *Diod. 5, 56: Ἀπόλλωνος Λυκίου ἱερὸν ἰδρύσασθαι παρὰ τὸν Ἐάνθον ποταμὸν*; *Ov. M. 1, 515-516: mihī (spoken by Apollo) Delphica tellus / et Claros et Tenedos Patareaque regia servit*; *Stat. Theb. 1, 696-697: Phoebe parens, seu te Lyciae Patarea nivosis / exercent dumeta iugis*; *Paus. 9, 41, 1; Clem. Alex. Protr. 4,*

144. deserit ac Delum maternam inuisit Apollo
instauratque choros, mixtique altaria circum

144-161: MRV. delon π (on corr. m. rec. ex um), Donat.
instaurat b. mixto c¹.

[141, 143*] 144. maternam: Gl. Ansil. 360, 881; q.v.

145. altaria circum: Gl. Ansil. 46, 297.

p. 41 P.; Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 4, 377; in *huius autem Lyciae regione Patara sacer olim lucus Apollini fuit, ubi Apollo responsa dedit; unde etiam Patareus appellatus est*; Wernicke in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 63. Wilamowitz (in *Hermes*, 38 (1903), 578, n. 2) supposes, but with inadequate proof, that Virgil borrowed details of the present incident—Apollo, Agathyrsi, etc.—from some learned Hellenistic writer.

The word *fluentum* had been already used by Lucr. 5, 277; 5, 949; cf. G. 4, 369; *Aen.* 6, 327; 12, 35.

144. *deserit*: on Apollo's seasonal migrations cf. Wilamowitz in *Hermes*, 38 (1903), 578; also Hdt. 1, 182; and a fragment of Alcaeus embedded in Himer. *Or.* 14, 10-11.

144. *Delum*: the connection of Apollo with his birthplace Virgil recognizes also in 3, 162; 6, 12.

144. *maternam*: cf. G. 3, 6: *Latonia Delos*; Schol. Dan. on our line: *quae Latoniam fugientem, dracone Pythone insequente, suscepit. et hoc ideo, quia, sicut dictum est, sex mensibus aestivis apud Delum responsa dat*; also, for *maternam*, 5, 72 (= G. 1, 428): *materna . . . myrto*; 6, 193: *maternas . . . aves*; Sen. *Agam.* 384: *maternam sistere Delon*; the phrase seems to mean 'sacred to' or 'associated with his mother.'

144. *inuisit*: Schol. Dan.: *repetit; per quod ostendit relicta Delo ad Lyciam transire*.

145. *instauratque*: cf. 4, 63, n. (*instauratque*). The repetition of the rite is not, as in some instances of this word, because of any defect in its previous performance, but occurs at the return of the god for a new season at his shrine.

145. *mixti*: cf. 5, 293: *conveniunt Teucri mixtique Sicani*; 11, 134: *Teucri mixtique impune Latini*.

145. *altaria circum*: = *Ecl.* 8, 74; *Aen.* 2, 515; 8, 285; cf. 4, 517: *altaria iuxta*;

also *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 538-539: *φόρμιγγος ὑπαὶ περὶ βωμὸν ὁμαρτῇ / ἐμμελῶς κραίπνοισι πέδον ῥήσσωσι πόδεσσιν*. For the position of *circum* cf. von Boltenstern, *Bemerk. u. d. Wortstellung . . . in Vergils Aeneis* (1880), 13; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 586. Virgil is particularly fond of placing this preposition at the end of the verse following a dactylic neuter plural (*atria, compita, flumina, limina, litora, maria, omnia, Pergama, tempora, ubera*).

146. *Cretes*: Schol. Veron.: *Scaurus: 'Cretes,' quia responso accepto ex insula Creta profecti esse et ducem secuti Delphum Phocidam tenuisse dicuntur atque ab eo se Delphos nominasse, ut Philarcus ait*. But cf. 4, 143, n. (*hibernam*), above. For the coming of Cretans to worship Apollo cf. *Hom. Hymn. Apoll.* 393-395; *Tib.* 4, 1, 8-9: *Phoebo gratissima dona / Cres tulit*.

146. *-que*: for the lengthening of such short syllables cf. 4, 64, n. (*pectoribus*). More specifically in the case of *-que* it has been studied by Vollmer (*Sitz.-Ber. d. bayr. Akad.*, Philos.-philol. Kl. (1917), 3, Abhandl. 15; cf. Kroll, *Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 18; Miller in *Cl. Journ.* 25 (1930), 323). Housman (*Cl. Quart.* 21 (1927), 12, and n. 1) finds 17 cases in Virgil, 12 in Ovid's *Metamorphoses*, and 5 in other poets, all in the second or fifth foot, 22 of these being followed, as here, by a double consonant or a mute + a liquid, and 12 not so followed. He further notes: "All are surrounded by severe restrictions: the preceding word must fill a whole foot, the following word must be a spondee or an anapaest, and a second *que* must be subjoined; and furthermore the lengthening is confined to a few authors." The feature is commonest in catalogues of proper names, and is doubtless based on such Greek instances as Hes. *Theog.* 218: *Κλωθὴ τε Λάχεσιν τε*; 227; 229; 248; 286; 707; 714; 854; cf. Christ, *Metrik d. Gr. u. Römer*

146. Cretesque Dryopesque fremunt pictique Agathyrsi;

c . . . tes (curetes ?) c¹, curetes *cod. Hamb. prior.* driopes γbc, druopes p. pictis M (picti M¹). agathyrsi c, a. gathyrsi b.

146. pictique Agathyrsi: *Serv. G.* 2, 115; *Brev. Expos. in G.* 2, 115 — agathyrsi —; *Schol. Veron. G.* 2, 115. 146. picti: *Gl. Ansil.* 442, 43; q.v.

(1879), 196. Housman does not cite the evidence for his figures, but among later poets may be mentioned *Grat. Cynege.* 130; *Germ. Arat.* 262; *Sil.* 7, 618; cf. also Milton, *Sylvae, Epitaph. Dam.* 6.

146. *Dryopes*: a rude and predatory Greek tribe, sometimes localized in a part of Epirus later called *Dryopis*, but especially associated with the region of Mts. Oeta and Parnassus, from which they made settlements in Euboea, Cythnus, Argolis, Cyprus, and elsewhere; cf. Miller in *P.-W.* 5 (1905), 1747-1749. Their eponymous ancestor, King Dryops, Tzetzes (ad *Lycophr.* 480) calls a son of Apollo and Dia, daughter of Lycaon: ἡ δὲ τεκοῦσα τὸ βρέφος ἐκρυπτε δρυὸς στελέχει, θένει καὶ Δρύοψ ἐκλήθη, καὶ ἐξ αὐτοῦ Δρύοπες οἱ περὶ Παρνασσόν, κτλ. Other traditions, however, are found, and according to one (*Ant. Lib.* 32) a temple of Apollo near Mt. Oeta was founded by Amphissus, because his mother, Dryope, daughter of Dryops, had been beloved by Apollo; cf. Frazer on *Paus.* 4, 34, 11; Escher in *P.-W.* 5 (1905), 1746-1747; 1749-1750.

146. *fremunt*: a word used 41 times by Virgil, a fairly close parallel to the present case being 7, 389: *'euhoe Bacche' fremens*.

146. *pictique Agathyrsi*: a non-indo-European tribe (cf. Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, 2 (1931), 27), possibly Thracian, connected by Herodotus, 4, 49 and 4, 100 (cf. 4, 104), with the region of the Maris River in Transylvania. Their eponymous ancestor Agathyrus, son of Heracles, was a brother of Gelonus (cf. Hdt. 4, 10; Hippol. *Philos.* 5, 20; Steph. Byz. and Suid. s.v. Ἀγαθύρσοι; Eustath. ad *Dionys. Perieg.* 310), from whom the neighboring tribe of Geloni (cf. G. 2, 115: *pictosque Gelonos*; 3, 461; *Aen.* 8, 725) traced their descent; cf. Tomaschek in *P.-W.* 1 (1894), 764-765; Patsch, *Die Völkerschaft d. Agathyrsern* (*Wien. Akad. d. Wiss.* 62 Jahrg. (1925), xii a, 69-77). They are several times coupled with the Geloni; e.g., Amm. Marc.

22, 8, 31; 31, 2, 14: *Gelonis Agathyrsi conlimant*; Solin. 15, 3; *Dionys. Perieg.* 310; *Anon. Orb. Descr.* 863-864 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* 1, p. 232 Müller). They were ἀβρότατοι ἄνδρες, according to Hdt. 4, 104, but *inmanes*, according to Juv. 15, 125. Their connection with Dionysus is suggested by Steph. Byz. l. c.: κέκληνται δὲ Ἀγαθύρσου τοῦ Ἡρακλέους, ἧ, ὡς Πείσανδρος, ἀπὸ τῶν θυρῶν τοῦ Διονύσου (perhaps cf. Val. Fl. 6, 135: *Thysagelen*), but why Virgil should introduce them into the worship of Apollo is not clear, unless to indicate the distances from which worshippers came to Delos. Servius says: *populi sunt Scythiae* (cf. Vib. Seq. in *Geogr. Lat. min.* p. 157 Riese), *colentes Apollinem hyperboreum, cuius logia feruntur*; Schol. Dan.: *hos Melissus ab Homero Ἀχάβας ἀπὸ αἰτῆς, qui propter scientiam sagittarum Apollini sunt gregales, sicut Cretes*. Callim. *Hymn.* 4, 278-282 describes the diversified nature of the visitors to Delos: ἀλλὰ τοὶ ἀμφιετὲς δεκατηφόροι αἰὲν ἀπαρχαὶ / πέμπονται, πᾶσαι δὲ χοροὶς ἀνάγουσι πόλιν, / αἱ τε πρὸς ἡοίην αἱ θ' ἔσπερον αἱ τ' ἀνὰ μέσσην / κλήρους ἐστήσαντο, καὶ οἱ καθύπερθε βορέης / οἰκία θινὸς ἔχουσι, κτλ.

According to some, *picti* here refers to the coloring of the hair (Plin. *N. H.* 4, 88: *caeruleo capillo Agathyrsi*; Solin. 15, 3 (see below); *Serv.*: *'picti' autem non stigmata habentes* (the Schol. Dan. add: *sicut gens in Britannia sed pulchri, hoc est cyanea coma placentes*), or of the body (thus Plin. *N. H.* 33, 111-112 describes coloring the face of a statue of Jupiter, the persons of triumphing generals, and the bodies of certain Ethiopian leaders, with *minium*); others would understand it of colored garments (Schol. Veron. G. 2, 115: *(nonnulli autem) de versicoloribus eorum vestibus 'pictos' putant dictos*; Avien. 3, 446-447: *celerisque Geloni, / praecinctique sagis semper pictis Agathyrsi*); but more probably it refers to tattooing, a practice found among various Thracian tribes; cf.

147. ipse iugis Cynthi graditur mollique fluentem

cynthi (n ex corr.) b, cinthi c. mollibus R. flu. entem c.

147-148. fluentem crinem: *Gl. Ansil.* 249, 263 — crimen —.

Hdt. 5, 6 (of the Thracians): τὸ μὲν ἐστὶ χθαεῖ ἐγγενὲς κέκριται, τὸ δ' ἄστικτον ἀγεννές; Cic. *De Off.* 2, 25: *barbarum et . . . compunctum notis Thraeciis*; G. 2, 115: *pictos . . . Gelonos*; Strab. 7, 5, 4 (of the Iapodes): κατὰ στικτοὶ δ' ὁμοίως τοῖς ἄλλοις Ἰλλυρικοῖς καὶ Θραξί; Plin. *N. H.* 22, 2: *inlinunt certe aliis aliae faciem in populis barbarorum feminae maresque etiam apud Dacos et Sarmatas corpora sua inscribunt*; Plut. *De sera Num. Vind.* 12: οὐδὲ γὰρ Θρᾷκας ἐπαυοῦμεν ὅτι στίζουσιν ἄχρυν, τιμωροῦντες Ὁρφεῖ, τὰς αὐτῶν γυναῖκας; Mela, 2, 1, 10: *Agathyrsi ora artusque pingunt, ut quique maioribus praestant ita magis aut minus; ceterum isdem omnes notis et sic ut abluvi nequeant*; Val. Fl. 2, 150 (of a Thracian woman): *picta manus*; Solin. 15, 3: *Gelonis Agathyrsi conlimumantur, caeruleo picti, fucatis in caeruleum crinibus, nec hoc sine differentia: nam quanto quis anteit, tanto propensiore nota tinguitur, ut sit indicium humilitatis minus pingi*; Athen. 12, 27: αἱ δὲ γυναῖκες αὐτῶν τὰς Θρακῶν τῶν πρὸς ἐσπέραν καὶ ἄρκτον τῶν περιόικων γυναῖκας ἐποικίλλον τὰ σώματα, περόναις γραφὴν ἐνεῖσαι; Sext. *Emp. Pyrrh.* 3, 202: ἀλλὰ καὶ τὸ ἐστὶ χθαεῖ παρ' ἡμῖν μὲν ἀσchrὸν καὶ ἄτιμον εἶναι δοκεῖ, πολλοὶ δὲ Αἰγυπτίων καὶ Σαρματῶν στίζουσι τὰ γεννώμενα; Claud. *In Rufin.* 1, 313: *membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse Gelonus*; Vib. Seq. l. c.: *Geloni Thraciae picti corporis parte*; Amm. Marc. 31, 2, 14: *Gelonis Agathyrsi conlimumant, interstincti colore caeruleo corpora simul et crines, et humiles quidem minutis atque raris, nobiles vero latius fucatis et densioribus notis*; Serv. G. 2, 115: *Gelonos stigmata habentes: populi Scythiae, ut 'pictique Agathyrsi'*; Schol. Veron. G. 2, 115: *Thracas corporibus interlitis; in lu(to enim lingu)l membra; sic et alibi, 'pictique Agathyrsi'*; Aen. 4, 146: *Asper: 'pictos' stigmosos, ut 'pictosque Gelonos'*; Ridgeway, *op. cit.*, 1 (1901), 346; 2 (1931), 146-147.

Tattooing was also known among the Britons; cf. Caes. *B. G.* 5, 14, 2: *omnes vero se Britanni vitro insciunt, quod caeruleum*

efficit colorem, atque hoc horridiores sunt in pugna aspectu; Opp. *Cyneg.* 1, 470: Βρετανῶν αἰολονώτων; Herodian, 3, 14, 7 (of Britons): τὰ δὲ σώματα στίζονται γραφαῖς ποικίλαις καὶ ζῶων παντοδαπῶν εἰκόσιν· ὅθεν οὐδ' ἀμφιέννυνται, ἵνα μὴ σκέπωσι τοῦ σώματος τὰς γραφάς; Tert. *De Virginibus velandis*, 10: *stigmata Britonum*; Claud. *De Bell. Goth.* 417-418: (legio) quae Scotto dat frena truci ferroque notatas / perlegit exanimes Picto moriente figuras; Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 4, 146: . . . *stigmata habentes sicut gens in Britannia*; Isid. *Etyim.* 9, 2, 103: *Scotti propria lingua nomen habent a picto corpore, eo quod aculeis ferreis cum atramento variarum figurarum stigmata adnotentur*; 19, 23, 7: *gens Pictorum, nomen a corpore, quod minutis opifex acus punctis et expressus nativi graminis succus inludit, ut has ad sui specimen cicatrices ferat, pictis artibus maculosa nobilitas* (the name of the Picts is by some scholars associated with those of the *Pictones* and *Pictavi*, yet cf. Ridgeway, *op. cit.*, 2, 39); Holmes, *Anc. Britain and the Invasion of Julius Caesar* (1907), 418-420; Hambly, *Hist. of Tattooing* (1925), 285-286; Ridgeway, *op. cit.*, 2, 39-42. Sext. *Emp.* 1, 148 ascribes the custom to the Aethiopians (cf. Lassally in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 29 (1931), 130-138; Ridgeway, *op. cit.*, 2, 488, for Egypt); possibly Mela, 1, 106, to the Mossyni; Ridgeway, *op. cit.*, 2, 487-496 discusses its occurrence among other Mediterranean peoples, including Mycenaean and pre-Mycenaean Greece; and among savage races there is much evidence for it. For its possibly magic origin cf. Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses*, 1 (1925), 39, and works there cited.

147. ipse: cf. *ipse* at the beginning of the description of Aeneas (4, 141). For the change in this simile, from a relative to an independent clause, cf. Weissenborn, *Untersuch. u. d. Satz- u. Periodenbau in Vergils Aeneide* (1879), 14-15.

147. iugis Cynthi: cf. 1, 498: *per iuga Cynthi*. For this principal hill in the island

148. fronde premit crinem fingens atque implicat auro, tela sonant umeris; haud illo segnior ibat

fronte *M*, *Donat.* f. ingens c. adque *R*, at *V*. inpicat *Mbp.* aura p. telam *M* (tela *M²*). aut *M* (haut *M²*) *Rp*, haut *V*, *Donat.*, haud *bc*, *Serv.* illos *R*.

[147*] 148. crinem fingens: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 3, 4, 62 — fū fingens *A* —.

149-150. haud . . . ore: *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 465) — haud (aut *B*) —. 149-150. haud . . . Aeneas: *Non. p.* 387 *M.* (p. 618 *L.*) — haut —; *Schol. Lucan.* 7, 1.

of Delos (118 m. high) cf. *Ov. M.* 2, 221 (who mentions it with the loftier Aetna, Parnassus, Rhodope, etc.); 6, 204; *Stat. Theb.* 2, 239; *Plin. N. H.* 4, 66; *Claud. De IV Cons. Hon.* 137; *De Cons. Stil.* 3, 259; *De Rapt. Pros.* 2, 245; *Carm. min.* 53, 120. On it Apollo and Diana were born, and *Ecl.* 6, 3; *G.* 3, 36; *Catal.* 9, 60; *Hor. C.* 1, 21, 2 refer to Apollo as *Cynthius*. For Virgil's interest in mountains cf. Fairclough, *Love of Nature among the Greeks and Romans* (1930), 220-226; also, below, 4, 246-251; 4, 393.

147. graditur: in 1, 501 the same verb is used of his sister Diana in her rites on Cynthus.

147. molli, etc.: cf. 5, 134: *populea velatur fronde iuventus*; 7, 751; 8, 274: *cingite fronde comas*.

147. fluentem: cf. *Prop.* 2, 3, 12: *comae per levia colla fluentes*; *Prud. Cath.* 7, 150: *crinem fluentem*; *Schol. Dan.*: *unguentatum et odoribus abundantem; aut prolixum et effusum, ut tōn ἀκερσικόμην* (cf. *Il.* 20, 39; etc.) *significet* (the second must here be the correct view); also *Aen.* 9, 638: *crinitus Apollo* (cf. *Enn. Sc.* 31 Vahlen); *Hor. C.* 3, 4, 62: *crines solutus* (of Apollo); *Prop.* 4, 6, 31: *crines in colla solutos*; *Apoll. Rh.* 2, 676-677 describes Apollo: *χρύσει δὲ παρειῶν ἐκάτερθεν / πλοχμοὶ βοτρυόεντες ἐπερρώοντο κίοντι*. For artistic representations compare, for example, Reinach, *Recueil de Têtes antiques* (1903), plates 80 (Apollo from the Tiber, now in the Museo delle Terme at Rome), 241 (Apollo of the Belvedere), and 253 (in the Barracco collection at Rome).

148. premit: cf. 5, 556: *tonsa coma pressa corona est*; 9, 612: *caniliem galea premimus*; *Ov. F.* 4, 517-518: *mitraque capillos / presserat*; the opposite is *solvere* (3, 65; 11, 35; 12, 870) or *effundere* (4, 509).

With the combination of locks in general flowing yet gathered at one point (perhaps by a *diadema*) cf. 1, 320: *nodoque sinus collecta fluentis*.

148. crinem: Aeneas's hair is described by this indirect comparison with that of Apollo, which corresponds, however, with the reference in 4, 138 to Dido's locks: *crines nodantur in aurum*.

148. fingens: cf. 6, 80: *fingitque premendo*; *Ov. Ars am.* 1, 306: *positas . . . fingis comas*; *Rem. Am.* 341; *Phaedr.* 2, 2, 8; *Claud. Epith. de Nupt. Hon.* 99-100: *caesariem . . . / fingeat*; *Serv.*: *conponens, ut* (8, 634) *'corpora fingere.'*

148. implicat auro: cf. 2, 552: *implicuitque comam laeva*; 7, 135-136; *Ov. F.* 5, 219-220: *nectuntque coronas / sertaque caelestes implicitura comas*; *Schol. Dan.*: *non frontem sed crinem, qui est illi retrorsum in nodum collectus*. On the golden dress and decorations of Apollo La Cerda compares *Pind. Ol.* 14, 9-10: *χρυσότοξον . . . / Ἀπόλλωνα*; *Pyth.* 2, 16: *χρυσοχαῖτα . . . Ἀπόλλων*; 5, 97: *χρυσάορα Φοῖβον*; *Nem.* 5, 43: *Ἀπόλλων . . . χρυσέφ πλακτρῷ*; *Callim. Hymn.* 2, 32-34: *χρύσεια τῶπόλλωνι τό τ' ἐνδυτὸν ἢ τ' ἐπιπορπίς / ἢ τε λύρη τό τ' ἄεμμα τό Λύκτιον ἢ τε φαρέτρη, / χρύσεια καὶ τὰ πέδιλα πολύχρυσος γὰρ Ἀπόλλων*; *Nonn.* 4, 106: *ὅτι Φοῖβος ἔχει χρυσανγέα μίτρην*. This richness of dress is perhaps considered as in keeping with the richness of his Delphic shrine; cf. *Pind. Pyth.* 6, 8-9; *Soph. O. T.* 151-152 (and other parallels in Jebb's note). It is noteworthy that Aeneas himself was the son of a goddess often described as golden or decorated with gold; e.g., *Sapph.* 9, 1 Bergk: *χρυσοστήφαν'* *Ἀφρόδιτα*; *Diod.* 4, 26, 2.

149. tela, etc.: *Serv.*: *ut in nono* (660) *'pharetramque fuga sensere sonantem'*; cf. 7,

150. Aeneas, tantum egregio decus enitet ore.
postquam altos ventum in montis atque invia lustra,

aegregio *M* (egregio *M*¹). tecus (*corr. in decus*) *p.* hore *b*¹.
altus *γ*¹. montis (?) *V*, montes *Mγ*^{2b}. adque *R*, atq. *sup.* et (*et in ras.*) *b.* lotra *V* (lustra *V*¹).

[149] 150. tantum . . . ore: *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 44* (1, *p.* 42 Riese); *no. 18, 36* (1, *p.* 81 Riese) — quantum; initet (*corr. in enitet*) *A* — 150. decus . . . ore: *Anth. Lat. no. 10, 25* (1, *p.* 40 Riese).

151. postquam . . . montis: *Cento Probae, 463* — montes —.

686; 7, 722; 9, 660; 9, 732; 11, 652: aureus ex umero sonat arcus et arma Dianae; Ov. *Rem. Am.* 705: Phoebus adest; sonuere lyrae, sonuere pharetrae; Val. Fl. 2, 511: pulsantque graves ut terga pharetrae. Our passage is perhaps based on *Il.* 1, 46–47: ἐκλαγγαν δ' ἄρ' οἱστοὶ ἐν ὤμων χωρομένοιο / αὐτοῦ κινηθέντος.

149. umeris: Schol. Dan.: aut 'in umeris' aut 'ex umeris.' Both ideas are found in the *Aeneid*; cf. 1, 318; 1, 501; 5, 558; 10, 701; and, for *ex umeris*, 4, 263; 5, 421; 6, 301; 11, 575; 11, 652; 11, 774; 11, 874; also Roiron, *Étude sur l'Imagination auditive de Virgile* (1908), 350.

149. haud illo segnior: Serv.: *id est, non illo deformior; nam plerumque virtus et pulchritudo pro se invicem ponuntur*, etc.; cf. *G.* 2, 275; *Aen.* 7, 383; 8, 414; 10, 657. Priscian, *Inst.* 18 (*G. L. K.* 3, 339), ascribes to the fourth book the phrase *non segnior*.

149. ibat: the shift of tense to *enitet* in the next line is a little awkward; *enitebat*, however, would be metrically impossible; and cf. 3, 1–3; 4, 200, n. (*posuit . . . sacra verat*).

150. tantum: the comparison with Apollo is on grounds both of carriage and of beauty.

150. egregio: cf. 6, 861 (= 12, 275): *egregium forma iuvenem*; 7, 473: *decus egregium formae*; 10, 435: *egregii forma*; Stat. *Silv.* 1, 2, 107–108: *formae / egregium mirala decus* (cf. *Achill.* 1, 290). Weege (in *Conf. Virgiliane tenule alla Univ. catt.* (Milan, 1931), 98) detects here a likeness to the ivory face of a statue, and thinks Virgil may have been influenced by a work of plastic art.

150. decus: cf. Ov. *M.* 3, 422–423:

decusque / oris; Stat. *Silv.* 3, 3, 113; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 25, 210: *splendet in ore decus*.

150. enitet: cf. Hor. *C.* 2, 8, 6–7: *enitescis / pulchrior multo*; also *C.* 2, 5, 18: *albo sic umero nitens*; and the noun *nilor*, as in *C.* 1, 19, 5; 3, 12, 2.

151. postquam, etc.: for the omission of the copula in a subordinate clause cf. 4, 53, n. (*dum, etc.*); 8, 362. With the hunting scene which follows Eichhoff, *Études grecques sur Virgile*, 2 (1825), 249, compares Od. 19, 433–458; Fénelon, *Télémaque*, Book VII; Voltaire, *Henriade*, 9, 130. For a late mosaic found at Halicarnassus (a companion-piece to one showing Meleager and Atalanta at the Calydonian Hunt), depicting Aeneas and Dido, definitely labelled, the former hunting a tiger and the latter, on horseback, another wild animal, cf. Newton, *Hist. of Discoveries at Halicarnassus, Cnidus, and Branchidae* (1862), 283–284; Heydemann in *Arch. Zeitung*, 29 (1872), 123; Cauer in *Jahrb. f. cl. Philol.* 15 Supplbd. (1886), 181 (who thinks this perhaps one of the works noted by Macrobius *Sat.* 5, 17, 5: *quod ita elegantius auctore digessit ut fabula lascivientis Didonis, quam falsam novit universitas, per tot tamen saecula speciem veritatis obtineat, et ita pro vero per ora omnium volitet ut pictores ficioresque et qui figmentis liciorum contextas imitantur effigies hac materia vel maxime in effigiandis simulacris tamquam unico argumento decoris utantur*); Rossbach in *P.-W.* 5 (1905), 431. Heydemann (*op. cit.*, 122) will not admit that this scene is also shown in the *Diplychon Quirinianum* at Brescia, as Michaelis (in *Arch. Zeitung*, 26 (1868), 101–102) had thought.

152. ecce ferae saxi deiectae vertice caprae
decurrere iugis; alia de parte patentis

fere *M* (ferae *M*¹).

decurre *V*, decurre (*corr. in decurrere*) *γ.* d *V* (de *V*¹). patentis (?) *V*, patentes *MRb*¹*cp.*

152. saxi de [*sic*] vertice: *Gl. Ansil.* 510, 608.

153–154. decurrere . . . campos: *Prisc. Inst.* 10, 43 (*G. L. K.* 2, 533) — decurrere (*corr. in decurrere*) *Rr*, decurre *K Ver.*; patentes (*corr. in patentis*) *Dd*, patentis *Rom.* (*Ver.* ?) — 153–154. alia . . . campos: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 3, 12, 10 — patentes —.

151. altos . . . montis: commonly coupled; e.g., *Ecl.* 1, 83; 7, 66; *G.* 1, 357–358; 3, 535; 4, 112; *Aen.* 1, 61; 2, 635–636; 3, 644; 3, 675; 7, 563; 8, 321; 8, 692; 10, 707; 11, 810; 11, 849; 12, 523; *Dirae*, 76; Hor. *C.* 1, 2, 7–8; *Epod.* 10, 7; 16, 47; etc. It is likely that the epithet is here a stock one rather than an attempt to describe Carthaginian topography, for which cf. 1, 130, n. (*it*), above.

151. ventum: used impersonally in *G.* 3, 98; *Aen.* 6, 45; 8, 362; 10, 710: *postquam inter retia ventum est*; 12, 739: *postquam arma dei ad Volcania ventum est*; 12, 803.

151. invia: cf. 1, 537: *perque invia saxa*; etc.; Walafridus Strabo, *De Carn. Pet.* 5, 5 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 360): *lustra per avia*.

151. lustra: cf. *G.* 2, 471: *saltus ac lustra ferarum*; *Aen.* 3, 646–647: *inter deserta ferarum / lustra*; 11, 570: *interque horrentia lustra*; Val. Fl. 3, 593; 4, 370: *monstris horrida lustra*; Schol. Dan.: *latibula ferarum vel luporum; unde et lupanaria meretricum lustra dicuntur*.

152. ecce: Schol. Dan.: *adverbium demonstrationis est, ut ostenderet velociter factum. et bene hac particula utitur; facit enim nos ita intentos ut quae dicuntur putemus videre. ita enim caprae suspensionis super saxa currunt ut putes cadere illas cum exiliunt*; also the lengthy discussion of *ecce* by Donat. *Aen.* 11, 225; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 374.

152. ferae, etc.: cf. 12, 414: *feris . . . capris*. Aristotle (*H. A.* 8, 28, p. 606a 6–7) says: ἐν δὲ λιβύρ πάσῃ οὕτῃ σὺς ἄγριος ἔστιν οὗτ' ἐλαφος οὗτ' αἰεὶ ἄγριος. Pliny (*N. H.* 8, 203) speaks of *caprae* near the Syrtis, though stating (8, 228) that *caprae* are not found in Africa. Servius here identifies the two

words: *ferae caprae, hoc est, caprae. et bene aptat descriptionem ad species, ut cervis campos capreis saxa permittat*; Schol. Dan. *caprae quas Graeci αἰγάριον vocant*; Donat.: *ferae, inquit, caprae, hoc est, agrestes quas capreas dicimus. mansuetae sunt enim quae sunt in gregibus nostris et quae non metuunt hominum conspectum, agrestes vero timidae, leves ad cursum, quo fiebat ut saxi de vertice et iugis praecipitarentur*; Ermoldus, *In Hon. Hludowici*, 2, 592 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 41): *ferisque capris*. For goat-hunting and the weapons used cf. Orth in *P.-W.* 9 (1916), 591–592.

152. saxi: Schol. Dan.: *pro 'montis,' ut* (2, 308) *'accipiens sonitum saxi de vertice pastor'*; Varr. *R. R.* 2, 3, 3: *caprile* (sc. *semen*) *mobilius esse, de quarum velocitate in Originum libro Cato scribit haec: 'in Sauracti et Fiscello caprae ferae sunt quae salient et saxo pedes plus sexagenos.'*

152. deiectae: driven down by hunters; on the analogy of military expressions for dislodging a hostile force; cf. 10, 707–708: *canum morsu de montibus altis / actus aper*. The attempt of Wagner, Forbiger, and others to explain this in a middle sense (*'quae se deiecerant, quae desiluerant'*) gives a repetitious and less satisfactory meaning; cf. Rasi, *Bibliogr. Virgil.* 1910–1911 (1913), 33.

153. decurrere: Serv.: *bene praeterito usus est tempore ad exprimendam nimiam celeritatem*; and the Schol. Dan. add: *ostendit enim iam factum. sane 'decurrere' iuxta analogiam dixit, non, ut imperiti putant decurrerunt. Decurrerunt is, of course, metrically troublesome, and decurrere appears also in* 11, 189.

153. patentis . . . campos: cf. *G.* 4, 77: *camposque patentis*; *Aen.* 5, 552: *campos iubet esse patentis*; Sall. *Iug.* 101, 11: *in*

154. transmittunt cursu campos atque agmina cervi
pulverulenta fuga glomerant montisque relinquant.

transmittunt V (transmittunt V¹). adque R.

fugae R. montes MRV, montis γbc. relinquant Mb, relinquant RVp, relinq. unt c, relinquant γ.

[153] 154-155. transmittunt . . . glomerant: *Macrob. Sat. 6, 4, 9.* 154-155. agmina pulverulenta: *Gl. Ansil. 41, 131.* 154. transmittunt: *Gl. Ansil. 569, 151; q.v.*

[154]

campis patentibus; 105, 3; Luc. 4, 19: *campos effusa patentis*; Hier. Vit. Paul. 7: *patentes campos volucris transmittens fuga*.

154. transmittunt: Schol. Dan.: *celeriter transeunt*; praecipue 'transmittere' est de loco ad locum transitio; cf. Lucr. 2, 330: *transmittunt valido quatientes impete campos* (sc. equites), a line which influenced *Aen. 8, 596* (cf. Pease in *Cl. Journ. 21* (1926), 625-628; also Norden 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 420-421); Sil. 8, 552-553: *transmittere saltu / muralis fossas*; 10, 471: *transigeret cursu sonipes certamina campi*; Boeth. Cons. 5, poet. 5, 7: *virides campos transmittere*; Fracastoro, Alcon, 10: *sed te pulvereum cursu transmittere campum*. In *Aen. 6, 313* we have a different construction: *orantes primi transmittere cursum*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 642-643) explains the word as meaning, literally, to send an object past one's self rather than one's self past the object.

154. cervi: cf. 1, 184-185: *tris litore cervos / prospicit errantis* (sc. Aeneas), on which Servius remarks: *sed cervi non sunt in provincia proconsulari ad quam venit Aeneas. aut fictum ergo est secundum poeticum morem aut ob hoc dictum quia heroicis temporibus ubique omnia nascebantur, ut ipse (Ecl. 4, 39) 'omnis feret omnia tellus'*; Schol. Dan.: *aut possunt tunc fuisse, sed ut multis aliis locis variae mutationes factae; licet quidam cervos pro quacumque fera dictos accipiant*. The tradition seems to begin with Hdt. 4, 192: ταῦτά τε δὴ αὐτῶν ἐστὶ θηρία, καὶ ἄπερ τῇ ἄλλῃ, πλὴν ἐλάφου τε καὶ ὕδ' ἀγρίου. ἔλαφος δὲ καὶ ὕς ἀγρίου ἐν Λιβύῃ πάνπαν οὐκ ἐστὶ (repeated, in large part, by Eustath. in Dionys. Perieg. 175 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* 2, 248)); cf. Arist. *H. A.* 8, 28, p. 606 a 6-7 (quoted

on 4, 152, n. (*ferae, etc.*), above); Ael. *N. A.* 17, 10: ἐν δὲ Λιβύῃ συνὼν ἀγρίων ἀπορία ἐστὶ καὶ ἐλάφων; Plin. *N. H.* 8, 120: *cervos Africa propemodum sola non gignit*; 8, 228: *in Africa aulem nec apros nec cervos nec capreas nec ursos* (sc. esse). Later writers attacked or defended Virgil for ascribing deer to Africa; cf. Zabughin, *Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital.* 2 (1923), 105; 107; 109; 111; Webbe, *A Discourse of English Poetrie* (1586), ap. Smith, *Elizabethan crit. Essays*, 1 (1904), 296. But Oppian, *Cyneg.* 2, 253-290, describes African stags in conflict with snakes, and Keller has noted (*Tiere d. cl. Alt. in culturgesch. Beziehung* (1887), 82) a mosaic from Utica showing a form of deer (*Cervus barbarus* Benn.) which still occurs in North Africa; cf. Reinach, *Répert. de Peintures Gr. et Rom.* (1922), 302, no. 1; 303, no. 4; 305, no. 5; also Orth in *P.-W.* 8 (1913), 1938; and, for the methods of hunting deer (ἐλαφθηβολία), *id.* in *P.-W.* 9 (1916), 586-588. See further 4, 249, n. (*piniferum*), below.

155. pulverulenta: Schol. Dan.: *num 'cervorum pulverulenta agmina,' quae pulverem faciunt, ut (G. 1, 66) 'pulverulenta coquat maturis solibus aestas'?* Cf. *Aen. 12, 463: pulverulenta fuga*; also 7, 624-625: *pars arduis altis / pulverulentus equis furit*. Donatus considers that the adjective logically belongs with *fuga* rather than with *agmina*; yet the dust is not only in the air (as caused by the deer in their course) but also over their bodies. The onomatopoeic effect of the line should be noted, the initial five-syllable word contributing not a little to this; cf. Maxa in *Wiener Stud.* 19 (1897), 84; Pease in *Cl. Journ.* 21 (1926), 625-628.

155. glomerant: Schol. Dan.: *pro 'involvunt' alias pro 'in unum contrahunt,' ut*

156. at puer Ascanius mediis in vallibus acri
gaudet equo, iamque hos cursu, iam praeterit illos,

ascanius γ.

gaudet (*corr. in gaudet*) c. equon R. cursum c¹. iamque praeterit illos.

156-157. at . . . equo: *Non. p. 240 M. (p. 360 L.)*. 156-157. acri equo: *Gl. Ansil. 23, 274.*

[156] 157. iamque hos . . . illos: *Serv. Aen. 10, 162.*

(9, 440) 'quem circum glomerati hostes'; vel glomerant *eunt*. In 9, 538-539 we read: *frustra-que malorum / velle fugam. dum se glomerant retroque residunt*; see 1, 500: *hinc atque hinc glomerantur Oreades* (cf. 2, 727; 6, 311; 9, 689); 2, 315-316: *sed glomerare manum bello et concurrere in arcem / cum sociis ardent animi* (cf. 9, 792). The word is also used of the gathering of clouds in the sky (*G. 1, 323; 2, 311; Aen. 8, 254; 9, 33*), as here *agmina . . . pulverulenta . . . glomerant* suggests that of a cloud of dust.

155. montisque: for the repetition of *mons* (lines 151, 155, and 159) cf. 4, 134, n. (*auro*). The explanatory use of *-que* is compared by Page (*ad loc.*) with that in 6, 361, and in *Cl. Rev.* 8 (1894), 203-204 he well points out that many such cases of apparent *hysteron proteron* are more correctly interpreted as explanatory clauses added to main clauses. La Cerda thinks the fact that the deer are in the mountains (coupled with the thunderstorm which follows) is an indication that this is not winter, for Dio Chrys. *Orat.* 6, 33 says: τὰς δὲ ἐλάφους καὶ τοὺς λαγῶς τοῦ μὲν ψύχους εἰς τὰ πεδία καὶ τὰ κοῖλα καταβαίνειν ἐκ τῶν ὄρων, κἀνταῦθα ὑποστέλλειν τοῖς ἀπηνέμοις καὶ προσηνέσι, τοῦ δὲ καύματος εἰς τὴν ὕλην ἀποχωρεῖν καὶ τὰ βορειότατα τῶν χωρίων. But his view is hardly consistent with the indications of winter in 4, 52-53 and 4, 309-310.

156. at puer Ascanius: = 1, 267; 10, 236; cf. 2, 598; 3, 339; 4, 354; 5, 74; 10, 605; and, on the age of Ascanius, 4, 84, n. (*gremio*). For *at* cf. 4, 1, n. (*at*).

The boyish interest of Ascanius in hunting (illustrated also in 7, 477-478; 7, 493-499; 9, 590-592; cf. Stat. *Silv.* 5, 2, 118-120: *Gaehulo sic pulcher equo Troianaque quassans / tela novercales ibat venator in agros / Ascanius*

miseramque patri flagrabat Elissam; Moseley, *Characters and Epithets* (1926), 51-52) forms a bright and happy contrast to the gathering tragedy of the story; cf. Conway, *The Vergilian Age* (1928), 106-107. Donatus remarks: *Ascanius quoque pro aetate laudatur. nam etiam ea quae levia maioribus natu videntur laudantur in pueris; in his enim futuri temporis spes praesentium factorum coniectura colligitur*. For an excellent biography of Ascanius cf. Fowler, *Death of Turnus* (1927), 87-92.

156. acri . . . equo: cf. 1, 444: *caput acris equi*; 8, 3: *acris . . . equos*; Varr. *R. R.* 2, 7, 15; Lucr. 4, 420: *ecus acer*; Ov. *M.* 3, 704; 7, 542; 14, 344; *Tr.* 5, 9, 29-30; *Ex Pont.* 2, 11, 21-22; Stat. *Theb.* 5, 3; Angilbertus, *Carm.* 6, 261 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 372): *acri fertur equo*; Vida, *Bombycum*, 2, 12-13: *iam fervidus acri / gaudet equo*. Donatus says: *praetermisit poeta datos equos Troianis ad venandum, quoniam proprios non habebant, utpote qui a navibus venerant; an ideo, quia in tertio libro (470) dixit inter cetera munera Helenum et equos dedisse: 'addit equos additque duces'?* The horse of Ascanius was perhaps that described in 5, 570-572: *extremus formaque ante omnis pulcher Iulus / Sidonio est invecus equo, quem candida Dido / esse sui dederat monumentum et pignus amoris*; 5, 667-668: *Ascanius . . . / . . . acer equo, etc.*

157. gaudet equo: cf. Hor. *S.* 2, 1, 26: *Castor gaudet equis*; *A. P.* 161-162: *imberbis juvenis tandem custode remoto, / gaudet equis canibusque et aprici gramine campi*; Angilbertus, *Carm.* 6, 194 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 371): *gaudet equo*.

157. iam: = *modo*, as noted by Servius, who compares 6, 647, while Forbiger cites Hor. *S.* 2, 7, 20; Liv. 30, 30, 10; Flor. 1, 33,

158. spumantemque dari pecora inter inertia votis
optat aprum aut fulvom descendere monte leonem.

fuluum MRγbc^p. descendere (e pr. ex corr.) γ, descendere c^l. mone V (monte V^l).

158-159. spumantemque . . . leonem: Sen. Ep. 64, 4 — spumantem quo p; pecora corr. in pateram L²; obtat p; fuluum —. 158-159. spumantem . . . aprum: Schol. Dan. G. 4, 25. 158-159. pecora . . . aprum: Serv. Aen. 2, 364 — om. C; inter . . . aprum om. M; peccora L; o. p. (pro optat aprum) L, optata pruina H —.

[158*] 159. optat . . . leonem: Anth. Lat. no. 15, 17 (1, p. 51 Riese) — fulbum A —. 159. fulvom leonem: cf. Gell. 2, 26, 11 (in explic. citatum); Gl. Ansil. 258, 125 — fulvum leonis —.

8; Vell. 2, 114, 2; cf. also Il. Lat. 812: et nunc hos cursu nunc illos praeterit ardens.

157. cursu: cursu and praeterit, applying to both clauses, are distributed between the two.

157. iam praeterit: = G. 2, 322.

158. spumantem: a stock epithet of wild boars; cf. 1, 324: spumantis apri cursum (= Auson. Ep. 14, 30); Eur. Phoen. 1380-1381: κάπροι δ' ὅπως θήγοντες ἀγρίαν γένυν / ξυνήψαν, ἀφρῶ διάβροχοι γενειάδας; Apoll. Rh. 3, 1351-1353: μαίμωναν σὺτ' εἰκέλος, ὅς ῥά τ' ὀδόντας / θήγει θηρευτήσιν ἐπ' ἀνδράσιν, ἀμφὶ δὲ πολλὸς / ἀφρός ἀπὸ στόματος χαμάδις ῥεῖ χλωμένοιο; Lucr. 5, 985: spumigeri suis adventu validique leonis; Ov. M. 8, 287-288: per armos / spuma fluit; Sen. Phaedr. 346-347: vulnificos acui dentes / aper et toto est spumeus ore; De Ira, 1, 1, 6: spumant apris ora; Juv. 5, 116: spumat aper; Mart. 11, 69, 9: spumantis apri; 14, 221, 2: spumeus in longa cuspidē fumet aper; M. Aurel. 3, 2: ὁ τῶν συνὲκ τοῦ στόματος ῥέων ἀφρός; Apul. M. 8, 4: aper immanis . . . dentibus altilu sonaci spumeus; Opp. Cyneg. 3, 370: ἀφρὸν ἀποσταλαίει δὲ κατὰ χθονός; Claud. De Rapt. Pros. 2, 243: spumet aper; Carm. min. Append. 2, 115; Dracont. De Laud. Dei, 1, 283: aut aper alter eat spumantia bella movere; Licetius, Ad Augustin. 20 (F. P. R. p. 414 Baehrens): spumat aper; Boeth. Cons. 4, poet. 7, 28: saetiger spumis umeros notavit; Anth. Lat. no. 15, 9 (1, p. 50 Riese) and no. 304, 17 (1, p. 256 Riese): spumantis apri; no. 384, 3 (1, p. 294 Riese): spumantis (sc. apri) adhuc morsum; Ermoldus, Ad Pipinum, 1, 102 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 82): spumosos aper; Ekkehard, Waltharius, 899:

spumantis apri; Andrelinus, Bucol. 4, 108: spumantesque apros; Cayado, Ecl. 4, 97: spumantibus apris. On boar-hunting, often described, from Od. 19, 428-458 on, cf. Orth in P.-W. 9 (1916), 588-591.

158. dari: perhaps by Diana, to whom votive offerings for success in hunting were commonly given; e.g., Ecl. 7, 29: saetosi caput hoc apri tibi, Delia, etc.; C. I. L. II, 2660 (= Dessau 3259).

158. pecora inter inertia: cf. 9, 730: veluti pecora inter inertia tigrim; Schol. Dan.: bene per contemptum 'pecora,' cum ea sint pecora quae non silvestri sed humano usui aluntur. 'inertia' autem pro ignavis et in-nocuis posuit, et hoc ad capreas et cervos retulit, ut in georgicis (3, 265) 'inbelles' (of cervi); nam 'iners' proprie quid sit Lucilius declarat 'ut perhibetur iners, ars in quo non erit ulla.'

158. votis: probably to be construed with optat rather than with dari, votis optare being, as noted by Klouček (Vergiliana (1883), 4-5), a formulaic expression; cf. 10, 279: quod votis optastis; 12, 259: 'hoc erat, hoc votis,' inquit, quod saepe petivi; Tib. 1, 8, 78: quam cupies votis; 2, 5, 102; Sil. 2, 167: poscebat votis; 9, 638: per vota petendum; Aug. De Unit. Eccl. 4: votis . . . exoptant. The lemma in the Verona scholia (votis optat aprum) implies this construction; cf. Kern, Zum Gebrauch des Abl. bei Vergil (1881), 42-43, who observes that an indirect object sibi is easily supplied, as in Sil. 3, 150: dent modo se superi (sc. tibi). For the opposite view cf. Kvěčala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis (1881), 84-85, who compares, among other passages, 2, 145: his lacrimis vitam damus.

159. aprum: Hdt. 4, 192 (quoted at 4,

160. Interea magno misceri murmure caelum

(intere)a V. turbari (pro misceri) π. murmure (corr. in murmure) γ. celum γ.

160-161. interea . . . incipit: Cento Probae, 625-626 — murmure P —.

154, n. (cervi), supra) denies this animal to Africa; cf. Arist. H. A. 8, 28, p. 606 a 6-7 (quoted at 4, 152, n. (ferae, etc.)); Ael. N. A. 17, 10, and Plin. N. H. 8, 228 (both quoted at 4, 154, n. (cervi)). Sus scrofa L., however, the European Wild Boar, at present includes in its range North Africa; cf. Lydekker in Encycl. Brit. 11 ed., 16 (1916), 236; also the North African mosaics showing boars noted in Reinach, Répert. de Peintures Gr. et Rom. (1922), 301, no. 3; 304, no. 5. For Virgil's possible familiarity with wild boars in the country of his boyhood cf. Zwicker, De Vocabulis et Rebus Gallicis sive Transpadanis apud Vergilium (1905), 85-86. Did the Semitic taboo upon the flesh of swine arise from veneration for the animal, as suggested by Robinson (Mind in the Making, 16 ed. (1925), 91), and if so did Semitic races hunt the boar? In any event, however, this boar is one desired by Ascanius rather than sought by Dido and her party.

159. fulvom: a stock epithet of the lion; cf. G. 4, 408: fulva cervice leaena; Aen. 2, 722: fulvi . . . leonis; 8, 552-553: fulva leonis / pellis; also Lucr. 5, 901: corpora fulva leonum; Hor. C. 4, 4, 14-15: fulvae matris ab ubere / iam lacte depulsum leonem; Ov. H. 10, 85; cf. M. 1, 304: fulvos . . . leones; Sen. Oed. 919-920: qualis per arva Libycus insanit leo, / fulvam minaci fronte concutiens iubam; Gell. 2, 26, 11 (of our passage); sic poeta verborum diligentissimus . . . fulvum leonem . . . dixit; Sedulius, Carm. 1, 4, 3 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 3, 155): fulvum superat virtute leonem; Paul. Diac. Carm. 17, 4: fulvos . . . leones; Fracastoro, Alcon, 17-18: quorum ope veloces poteris praevertere cervos, / aut aprum ingentem, aut fulvum superare leonem; Cayado, Ecl. 4, 54: fulvi . . . leonis. The adjective seems to represent the Greek αἰθων, δαφονός, and ξανθός (all used of lions); cf. Storch, Das Epitheton ornans (1858), 15.

159. descendere monte: wild boars were very often associated with mountains, as in

the case of the Erymanthian boar; cf. 10, 707-708: ac velut ille canum morsu de montibus altis / actus aper; Il. 12, 146; 13, 471; 16, 823-824; 17, 281-283; Od. 6, 102-104; 19, 393-394; 19, 428-458; Plin. N. H. 11, 280; Paus. 9, 23, 7; Opp. Halieut. 1, 12; Anth. Pal. 6, 240, 6: κάπρον ὀρεινόμον. Similarly lions; e.g., Il. 12, 299: λέων ὀρεσί-τροφος (cf. Od. 6, 130); Xen. Cyneg. 11, 1; Apoll. Rh. 2, 26-27: ὥστε λέων ὑπ' ἄκοντι τετυμμένος, δυντ' ἐν δρεσσιν / ἀνέρες ἀμφιπέπονται; Cornut. 6: τὰ γενναϊότατα τῶν ἐν τοῖς δρεσι γινομένων ζώων, τοὺς λέοντας; Poll. 5, 14: τῶν δὲ θηρίων τὰ μὲν εἰσιν ὄρεα ἐπιπλεῖστον, ὡς οἱ λέοντες, τὰ δὲ ἐλεα, ὡς οἱ σῖες.

For the infinitive with opto cf. 7, 272-273; Krause, De Vergilii Usurpatione Infinitivi (1878), 47.

159. leonem: on African lions cf. Ecl. 5, 27: Poenos . . . leones (cf. Cir. 135); Aen. 5, 351: Gaetuli . . . leonis; Polyb. 12, 3, 5; Sen. Oed. 919 (quoted in note on fulvom, above); Plin. N. H. 8, 45; 8, 47-48; Solin. 27, 12. Servius discusses the wish of Ascanius per transitum tangit historiam; nam Ascanius praeter Iulum et Iulum, quae habuit nomina, etiam Dardanum et Leontodamas dictus est, ad extincorum fratrum solacium; ideo nunc eum dicit optare adventum leonis, paulo post (163) 'Dardaniusque nepos Veneris.' Henry (Aeneidea, 2 (1878), 643) well remarks: "The son of a hero cannot begin too soon to show his heroic proclivities," and compares the killing of wild boars and lions by the six year old Achilles (Pind. Nem. 3, 75-85) and of serpents by the infant Heracles. It may be noted that Aeneas at times wears a lion's skin (2, 722; 8, 552-553).

160. interea: cf. 1, 124: interea magno misceri murmure pontum; Lejay (on Hor. S. 2, 8, 54) observes that the word often introduces a peripeteia. A parody of this passage seems to be furnished by Stat. Silv. 3, 1, 73-76 (describing a sudden storm): qualem Libyae Saturnia nimbum / attulit, Iliaco dum

161. incipit, insequitur commixta grandine nimbus,
et Tyrii comites passim et Troiana iuventus

(inc)ipit V. nimbium M (nimbus M²), nimbium (corr. in nimbus) π.

162-196: MPRV. et (t m. rec.) c. passim (s pr. ex corr.) γ. iuventus (corr. in iuuentus m. rec.) R.

[160] 161. insequitur . . . nimbus: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 339.

162. Tyrii comites: Gl. Ansil. 563, 182.

dives Elissa marito / donatur testesque ululant per devia nymphae. / diffugimus, etc.; cf. Kroll, *Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 171. Such weather would hardly have been chosen for a Roman wedding, and Phaedrus (*Append.* 14, 15-20) describes the confusion of a wedding party at a sudden thunderstorm. Miss Harrison (*Themis* (1912), 168, n. 2) compares Dido with other 'thunder brides,' such as Semele and Alcmena, and thinks (180, n. 2) that here the "elemental wedding of earth and sky is manifest," while Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 644) has apparently a similar idea: "There is a union taking place at the same time between Dido and Aeneas and between the air and the earth," comparing *G.* 2, 325-327; *Stat. Silv.* 1, 2, 185-186; *Pervig. Ven.* 59-62 (to which many other parallels might be added; cf. Dieterich-Fehrle, *Mutter Erde*, 3 ed. (1925), 40-41; 43, n. 1; 45; Crawley and Besterman, *Mystic Rose*, 2 ed., 2 (1927), 31; Fischer, *Het heilig Huwelik van Hemel en Aarde* (1929)). If, however, Virgil had such an idea it is very obscurely expressed, for Tellus and Juno are both feminine, and neither Jupiter nor Aether (the usual bridegrooms in such pictures) receives emphasis. I should explain the situation as a mortal marriage attended by elemental witnesses (cf. 4, 166, n. (Tellus), below), of whom aether (hardly personified in line 167) is one.

Boccaccio, *Decam.* 5, 7, represents Teodoro and Violante as driven by a storm of thunder and hail to a deserted hut, where they make love, as Dido and Aeneas here. Fairclough (*Love of Nature among the Greeks and Romans* (1930), 217-218) thinks that this passage inspired Milton in *P. L.* 9, 1000-1004; while Mustard (*Classical Echoes in Tennyson* (1904), 95) compares the situa-

tion at the end of *Merlin and Vivien* — storm, shelter, and seduction; and Naylor (in *Johns Hopkins Stud. in Rom. Lit. and Lang.* 18 (1930), 140) cites Chateaubriand, *Atala*, 46, for *Atala* and *Chactas* in the storm. The background of storm (with which cf. *Shakesp. King Lear*, Act 3, Sc. 2) furnishes a dramatic setting for the alleged nuptials of Aeneas and Dido; cf. Pease in *Cl. Journ.* 22 (1927), 650.

160. *magno*, etc.: the heaviness of the line is doubtless intentional onomatopoeia suggestive of the storm; cf. Anderson, *A Study of Virgil's Descriptions of Nature* (1916), 190; 191; Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 146, who thinks the triple alliteration may indicate imitation by Virgil of some early Latin poet; cf. also Maxa in *Wiener Stud.* 19 (1897), 113.

160. *misceri*: a favorite word with Virgil, with the idea of confusion; cf. 1, 124; 2, 298; 2, 486-487; 4, 210; 4, 411; 12, 445.

160. *murmure caelum*: cf. *Lucr.* 1, 68-69; 5, 1220-1221: *fulminis horribili cum plaga torrida tellus / contremat et magnum percurrunt murmura caelum* (in 5, 1193 he has a similar heavy effect: *murmura magna minarum*); 6, 287-288; *Juv.* 13, 224: *primo quoque murmure caeli*; *Andrelinus, Bucol.* 12, 30-31: *interea magno nigrum cum murmure caelum / intonet*. The Schol. Dan. remark: *murmur autem caeli ad infaustum omen pertinet, quia tonitru dirimuntur auspicia* — a statement which Henry rather unsuccessfully attempts to refute.

161. *insequitur*: cf. 1, 87; 7, 793: *insequitur nimbus peditum*.

161. *commixta*, etc.: cf. 4, 120: *commixta grandine nimbium*, and the notes on that phrase; 9, 669-670. For the repetitions due to the fulfilment of what had been predicted

163. Dardaniusque nepos Veneris diversa per agros
tectata metu petiere; ruunt de montibus amnes.
speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem

uenerds P (ueneris P¹).

(tec)ta V.

spelunca M (speluncam M²), speruncam P (speluncham P¹). euandem M (eandem M¹).

163-164. diversa tecta: Gl. Ansil. 185, 1231. 163. Dardaniusque . . . Veneris: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 159. 163. Dardanius nepos: Gl. Ansil. 160, 125 — nepus —.

[163] 164. ruunt amnes: Gl. Ansil. 503, 246.

cf. Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 67.

162. *Tyrii comites*: cf. 4, 140: *Phrygii comites* (where R reads *Tyrii*).

162. *passim*: literally, "in a scattered manner," as in 2, 364; 3, 510. Cf. Ioann. Saresb. *Politr.* 1, p. 391 a: *dum Maro Carthaginis allae iocaretur hospitium, amantium vota conciliare nescivit, nisi eis ab opportunitate venandi dilapsu comitum, silvarum latebras reseraret*, etc.

162. *Troiana iuventus*: = 1, 467; 1, 699; 2, 63; 8, 182; 8, 545; cf. Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 71; and for similar phrases Braumüller, *Über Tropen u. Figuren in Vergils Aeneis*, 2 (1882), 15; Gladow, *De Vergilio ipsius Imitatore* (1921), 16.

163. *Dardaniusque nepos*: cf. 10, 132-133: *ipse inter medios Veneris iustissima cura / Dardanius caput ecce puer detectus honestum*; *Auson. Ep.* 15, 13, p. 250 Peiper: *Dardaniusque nepos*. La Cerda suggests that the form of expression indicates that at this crisis Venus could not fail her grandson. The adjective is used also of Anchises (e.g., 1, 617; 9, 647), Aeneas (e.g., 1, 494; 6, 169; 11, 472; 12, 613; cf. 4, 224; 4, 640), Acestes (e.g., 5, 30; 5, 711), and in more general connections; cf. Braumüller, *op. cit.*, 2 (1882), 14-15.

163. *diversa*: *Donat.*: *ideo quod dispersae rusticae domus tantam multitudinem adunatam ferre non possent, vel quod unusquisque usus in tanta necessitate compendio non pulchrum suffugium tecti sed proximum quaesivisset*.

163. *per agros*: a frequent verse-tag; e.g., *G.* 1, 81; 2, 54; 2, 346; 4, 522; *Aen.* 7, 551;

12, 463; *Lucr.* 5, 973; 5, 1104; 5, 1366; 6, 642.

164. *petiere*: the perfect, interjected between presents, is thought by *Ley (Vergil. Quaest.* 1 (1877), 11) to be parenthetical, but more probably indicates rapidity of action, as *fulsere* in line 167; cf. 5, 140: *prosiluere* (where Page compares 1, 84; 1, 90; 5, 145; 5, 147; 5, 243). This line shows resemblances (-tu pe-, -tibus amnes) to *G.* 3, 554, being one of many indications that a lilt would unconsciously linger in the poet's mind long after he had once used it.

164. *tecta*: not 'houses' but 'cover,' or 'places of shelter'; cf. *Lucr.* 5, 984: *eiectique domo fugiebant saxea tecta*, etc.

164. *ruunt*: other instances of this verb used of rivers are collected in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 22-24; cf. *Ov. M.* 1, 285: *exspatiata ruunt per apertos flumina campos*.

164. *de montibus amnes*: *Serv.*: *ne vel investigare Tyrii possent reginam*; cf. *G.* 2, 187: *summis liquontur rupibus amnes*; *Hor. C.* 4, 2, 5-6: *monte decurrens velut amnis imbres / quem super notas aluere ripas*; *Stat. Theb.* 8, 460-461: *qualiter hiberni summis duo montibus amnes / franguntur*; *Boeth. Cons.* 1, poet. 7, 14-16: *quique vagatur / montibus altis / defluus amnis*; *Conington (ad loc.)* cites Thomson's *Autumn*: "Red, from the hills, innumerable streams / Tumultuous roar."

165. *speluncam*, etc.: this line = 4, 124. The contrast of Aeneas gallantly remaining with the queen when even her own attendants had scattered and left her, is noted by Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 310. Ancey (in *Rev. arch.* 19 (1912), 155-156) tries to identify the approximate

166. deveniunt. prima et Tellus et pronuba Iuno

prima et (et in ras.) c, prima (om. et) br, dell.

166. pronuba Iuno: *Gl. Ansil.* 468, 2494.

site of this cave; cf. 4, 130, n. (it), supra. Saintyves (pseudonym for Nourry), in an essay added to Trabucco's French translation (1918) of Porphyry. *De Antro Nympharum*, 35-262, discusses the traditions associated with sacred grottos as places of birth, marriage, initiation, etc. (cf. Hünnerkopf in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 4 (1932), 175-183), in various rites, pagan and Christian, but does not attempt to connect this incident with such. These caves are very important, however, in Palestine (including Phoenicia), and the union of Adonis and Astarte may have occurred in one (*op. cit.*, 171; 247-248).

165. *dux* . . . Troianus: cf. Steele, *Taller*, no. 6 (an idea which Addison had communicated to Steele, and (according to Holdsworth, *Remarks and Dissertations on Virgil* (1768), 250-251) the statement of which in this early number revealed who was the author of the *Taller*, enlisted Addison's co-operation, and thus occasioned the development of the *Spectator*); the thought being expressed also in the following lines by James Smith (*Memoirs, Letters, and comic Misc.* 2 (1840), 193): "Virgil, whose epic song enthrals, / (And who in song is greater?) / Throughout, his Trojan hero calls / Now 'pious' and now 'pater.' / But when, the worst intent to brave, / With sentiments that pain us, / Queen Dido meets him in the cave, / He dubs him 'Dux Trojanus.' / And well he alters there the word, / For, in this station, sure, / 'Pius' Aeneas were absurd, / And 'Pater' premature"; cf. *Camb. Hist. of Engl. Lit.* 9 (1913), 45, n. 1.

Chaucer (*Legend of good Women, Dido*, 300-303) remarks: "She fled hire selfe into a lytel cave, / And with hire wente this Eneas alsoo. / I not with hem yf there went any moo; / The auctour maketh of hit no mencion."

166. *deveniunt*: Serv.: *bene subprimit rem pudendam*; Donat.: *Dido et Aeneas in*

unam speluncam devenerunt, hoc est, male venerunt, quia personis regum non conveniebat speluncae depressio. dedit igitur occasionem coniunctioni perficiendae locus secretus, dedit tempus quo periculi vitandi causa nullus audebat exire de suffugio, dedit solitudo, quia soli fuerant duo, dedit persona, quia uterque in prima aetate, uterque formosi. factum autem intellegi voluit poeta, non dici; cf. Kroll in *Neue Jahrbücher f. d. kl. Alt.* 21 (1908), 522 (on Virgil's delicately allusive manner); Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 361; Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 310; Albini in *Conferenze Virgiliane tenute alla Univ. catt. del Sacro Cuore* (1931), 8. But it may well be that all these critics assume here more than did Virgil himself; cf. Introduction, nn. 327-331.

The source of this cave scene is commonly found in Apollonius Rhodius, who describes the private yet legitimate nuptials of Jason and Medea in a cave in Corcyra; cf. esp. 4, 1130-1132: αὐτονυχὶ κοῦρῃ θαλαμήμῳ ἐντυον εὐνήν / ἄντρῳ ἐν ἡγάθῳ, τόθι δὲ ποτὲ Μάρκῃς ἔβαιεν, / κοῦρῃ Ἀρισταίῳ μελίφρονος; 4, 1139-1145: ἡ δ' ἄρα Φαίηκων ἱερῷ ἐνὶ τηλόθεν ἄντρῳ / νύσσαντο, καὶ πόρεν δλβον ἀθέσφατον ἐν-ναέτησιν. / ἔνθα τότ' ἐσθόρεσαν λέκτρον μέγα· τοῖο δ' ὑπερθεῖν / χρύσειον ἀγλῆεν κῶας βάλλον, δφρα πέλοιτο / τιμήεις τε γάμος καὶ αἰδοίμους. ἄνθεα δὲ σφιν / νύμφαι ἀμεργόμεναι λευκοῖς ἐνὶ ποικίλῃ κόλπῳις / ἐσφόρεον· πάσας δὲ πυρὸς ὡς ἀμφεπερ αἶγλη; 4, 1149-1155: αἱ μὲν τ' Αἰγαίου ποταμοῦ καλέοντο θύγατρες· / αἱ δ' ὄρεος κορυφᾷς Μελιτηίου ἀμφεμένοντο· / αἱ δ' ἔσαν ἐκ πεδίων ἀλσιθίδες. ὥρσε γὰρ αὐτῇ / Ἥρη Ζηνὸς ἄκοιτις, Ἰήσωνα κυδαίνουσα. / κείνο καὶ εἰσέτι νῦν ἱερὸν κληίζεται ἄντρον / Μηδείης, ὅθι τοῖσγε σὺν ἀλλήλοισιν ἔμειαν / τεινόμεναι ἑανοῖς εὐώδεας. For comparisons of the treatment in Apollonius and in Virgil cf. De la Ville de Mirmont, *Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile* (1894), 47-48; DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 61-62 (who notes that in Apollonius

the situation is romantic, in Virgil terrible); Conway in *Proc. Camb. philol. Soc.* 88-90 (1911), 11-12; id., *New Studies of a great Inheritance* (1921), 146 (who compares a scene in Zola and also (p. 153) Shakespeare's *Tempest*); Prescott, *The Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 244-245.

To Virgil's description *Ov. H.* 7, 93-96 refers: *illa dies nocuit, qua nos declive sub antrum / caeruleus subitis compulsi imber aquis. / audieram vocem; nymphas ululasse putavi; / Eumenides fatis signa dedere meis*; cf. *Sil.* 2, 416-419: *hinc et speluncam furtim-que foedera amantum / Callaicae fecere manus; it clamor ad auras / latratusque canum, subitoque exterrita nimbo / occulant alae venantum corpora silvis*; *Hier. Vit. Malch.* 6: *duco (sc. mulierem) in speluncam semirulam, novam coniugem, et pronubante nobis maestitia*, etc.; *Politian, Manto*, 224-227: *venatu tandem in medio Saturnia nimb / pronuba diffundet, soloque Hymenaeus in antro / affuerit, nullasque faces moestum afferet omen, / fulgoresque dabit nymphis ululantibus aether*; *Andrelinus, Bucol.* 7, 5: *speluncam celeri cursu devenit eandem*; *Ariosto, Or. fur.* 19, 35, 5-8: *nel mezzo giorno un antro li copriva, / forse non men di quel comodo e grato, / ch' ebber, fuggendo l'acque, Enea e Dido, / de' lor secreti testimonio fido*; *Zabughin, Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital.* 2 (1923), 276 (for Guarini); *Shakesp. Tit. Andron.* Act 2, Sc. 3: "And after conflict such as was supposed / The wandering prince and Dido once enjoy'd, / When with a happy storm they were surprised, / And curtain'd with a counsel-keeping cave, / We may, each wreathed in the other's arms, / Our pastimes done, possess a golden slumber"; *Jonson, The Poetaster*, Act 5, Sc. 1 (cf. Nitchie, *Master Vergil* (1930), 9-10); also *Achill. Tat.* 8, 12, where Euthynicus and Rhodopis are brought by Aphrodite into a cave, *ἔνθα τὴν παρθενίαν ἔλυσε*. A possible representation of Aeneas and Dido in the cave is shown in a Pompeian wall-painting; cf. *Notiz. degli Scavi*, (1897), 32, fig. 4; *Pascal, ed. of Book IV* (n. d.), vi-vii.

166. *prima*: for the primacy of Earth Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 646-648, cites 7, 136-137: *primamque deorum / Tellurem nymphasque*; cf. *G.* 1, 12-13: *prima frementem /*

fudit equom . . . tellus; also Hesiod, *Theog.* 44-46; *Aesch. Eum.* 2: *τὴν πρωτόμαντιν Γαῖαν*; *Bouvier, Die Götter in der Aeneide des Vergil* (1890), 1; *Dieterich-Fehle, Mutter Erde*, 3 ed. (1925), 11; 38-44; 47 (for instances of the prolific character of earth compared with that of the human mother); *Rosbach, Untersuch. u. d. röm. Ehe* (1853), 305. Others, less probably, explain *prima* of the order of action: first Earth and Juno give the signal, then the nymphs, etc.

166. *Tellus*: the elements are all witnesses at this 'wedding'; Earth, Juno (representing the air, with which Hera is often etymologically associated; cf. *Plat. Cratyl.* p. 404 C; *Cic. N. D.* 2, 66, and Mayor's note for other passages), fire, aether (these may in line 167 be reduced by hendiadys to one), and the nymphs as representing water (*nympha: lympha*), unless the *amnes* are considered in that function; cf. 4, 160, n. (*interea*); 4, 607, n. (*Sol*); *Aesch. Prom.* 1080-1093. *Harrison (Themis)* (1912), 180, n. 2; cf. 4, 160, n. (*interea*), above) notes the "background of the elemental wedding of earth and sky," and compares (168, n. 2) *Alcmene*, as another 'thunder-bride' — though the parallel there seems unsatisfactory. In *Milton, P. L.* 8, 510, when Adam leads Eve to the nuptial bower, Earth and the powers of nature "gave signs of gratulation," and Addison (*Spectator*, no. 351) compares the action of the elements in *P. L.* 9, 780-784; 9, 997-1003, when Eve and then Adam take the forbidden fruit.

Servius remarks: *secundum Etruscam disciplinam nihil tam incongruum nubentibus quam terrae motus vel caeli*. It is perhaps not necessary to assume here an actual earthquake — and Henry (*op. cit.*, 2, 645-648) argues at length against the assumption —, but, rather, that the sound of the thunder so reechoes from the hills (and in the cavern) as to seem like a sign given by Earth herself, no actual theophany being thought of, though Henry seems to suppose one. Had there been a theophany there could have been no doubt of the legitimacy of the marriage; cf. *Cartault, op. cit.*, 1, 346. The *Scholia Danielis* add: *quidam sane etiam Tellurem praeesse nuptiis tradunt; nam et in auspiciis nuptiarum invocatur; cui etiam virgines, vel cum ire ad domum mariti coeperint*

167. dant signum; fulsere ignes et conscius aether

aeter (corr. in aether) γ.

167–168. dant . . . conubiis: *Anth. Lat. no. 18, 16–17* (1, p. 80 Riese) — aeter A; conubii A —. 167–168. et . . . conubiis: *Schol. Lucan. 2, 353* — conubii (conubiis W, conub; c) —.

vel iam ibi posilae, diversis nominibus vel ritu sacrificant.

166. pronuba Iuno: cf. 4, 45, n. (*Iunone secunda*); 4, 59, n. (*vincla, etc.*); *Ov. H. 6, 43–44*: pronuba Iuno / adfuit et sertis tempora vinculus Hymen; *M. 6, 428–429*: non pronuba Iuno, / non Hymenaeus adest, non illi Gratia lecto; 9, 762; *Anth. Lat. no. 4, 87* (1, p. 23 Riese): quid pronuba Iuno; no. 283, 2 (1, p. 220 Riese); *Schol. Dan.*: Varro pronubam dicit quae ante nupsit et quae uni tantum nupta est; ideoque auspices deliguntur ad nuptias; *Fest. p. 242 M.*: pronubae adhibentur nuptiis, quae semel nupsent, ut matrimonia paupertatem auspicantes; *Paul. p. 244 M.*: pronubae adhibentur nuptis quae semel nupsent, causa auspicii, ut singulare perseveret matrimonium; *Poll. 3, 31*: προμνηστριαί μὲν αἱ συνάγουσαι τὸν γάμον (cf. 3, 41); *Mart. Cap. 9, 888, 22*: Pronuba . . . Iuno (cf. 9, 903, 16: regina . . . pronuba); *Dracont. Carm. 7, 61*: pronuba Iuno (cf. 10, 268); *Claud. Carm. min. 31, 54*; *De Rapt. Pros. 1, 131*; *Carm. min. Append. 5, 67*; *Isid. Etym. 9, 7, 8*: pronuba dicta eo quod nubentibus praest, quaeque nubentem viro coniungit. ipsa est et paranympha. nam nympa sponsa in nuptiis, et nympa pro lavationis officio, quod et ad nomen nubentis adluditur. These pronubae are addressed in *Catull. 61, 186–188*: o bonae senibus viris / cognitae bene feminae, / conlocate puellulam. On sarcophagi representing Roman weddings Iuno Pronuba appears between the bride and groom as they clasp hands; cf. *Haug in P.-W. 10* (1917), 1118 and the works there cited. See also *De Marchi, Il Culto privato di Roma antica, 1* (1896), 154; *Carter, Epitheta Deorum* (1902), 49; *Heckenbach in P.-W. 8* (1913), 2132. In 7, 319 pronuba is an epithet of Bellona; in *Ov. H. 2, 117* of Tisiphone: pronuba Tisiphone thalamis ululavit in illis; in *Claud. Carm. min. 29, 38* of Natura; in *Claud. De Rapt. Pros. 2, 362–363* of Nox (cf. *De IV*

Cons. Hon. 644); in *Sidon. Carm. 2, 502* of Virtus; in *Sen. Oed. 644* and *Luc. 8, 90* of an Erinys; *Paul. Nol. Carm. 25, 152* uses the masculine pronubus of Jesus at Cana. Cf. also *Orestis Trag. 451*: pronuba flamma fuit. On the present passage see also *Vida, Poet. 2, 521–524*: speluncam Dido dux et Troianus eandem / deveniant; pudor ulterius nihil addeere curet. / nam sat erit, Tellus quod prima et conscius Aether / connubii dent signum, ululante in vertice Nymphae; *Molsa, Eleg. ad Hen. Brit. Reg. 163*: pronuba Iuno.

167. dant signum: *Schol. Dan.*: ut dei nuptiales; cf. *G. 3, 503*: dant signa (*Aen. 10, 265*); *Aen. 3, 239*: dat signum (cf. 3, 519; 11, 474; 12, 245); etc. The meaning of signum is here obscure; if it means 'signal' it is doubtless the order for the nuptial events to begin; if it is a 'sign' (cf. 8, 523: ni signum caelo Cytherea dedisset aperto; 12, 245: dat signum caelo, etc.; *Claud. In Prob. et Olyb. Cons. 206*) it would be a presage of the future of this marriage relation.

Some writers, including *Donatus* (tantum valuit Iuno ut etiam ipsa elementa favere viderentur), *Henry* (*Aeneidea, 2* (1878), 645–648; 650), *Conington* (ad loc.), and *Cartault* (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide, 1* (1926), 310), consider the omens on this occasion as good, because planned (4, 120–127) and given by Juno, who was so heartily interested in the match, and by other friendly powers, though these good omens were overruled by the decrees of fate. Storm, however, is ordinarily an unfavorable sign (*Artemid. 2, 8*: ὄμβρος δὲ καὶ λαίλαψ καὶ χειμῶν κινδύνους καὶ ζημίας ἐπάγουσι, i.e., when seen in dreams), and *Servius* (on 4, 166), the *Scholia Danielis* (on 4, 167), and many modern authors (note especially *Rosbach, Untersuch. ii. d. röm. Ehe* (1853), 300) hold these signs as definitely bad, while *Virgil* as early as lines 160–172 points to the outcome. *Milton's* imitation (*P. L. 9, 782–784*; 9, 1000–1004) treats the

168. conubiis, summoque ulularunt vertice nymphae.

conubiis Pp (cf. *Fairclough in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc. 63* (1932), 208), conubii P²RV, conubii. (s eras.) bc. ummo (corr. in summo) γ. nimphae γb.

[167*] 168. summoque . . . nymphae: *Non. p. 401 M.* (p. 645 L.); *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 9, 178*. 168. ulularunt: *Gl. Ansil. 593, 93*; q.v.

omens as unhappy; cf. also *Chateaubriand, Les Martyrs, 10, 151* (Naylor in *Johns Hopkins Stud. in Rom. Lit. and Lang. 18* (1930), 159). Conway well remarks (*Anc. Italy and modern Religion* (1933), 107): "The lovers are in the grasp of cosmic powers greater than themselves; in no other way, we feel, could the drama have been accomplished."

167. fulsere, etc.: on the tense cf. 4, 164, n. (petiere); on the meaning 1, 90: intonuere poli et crebris micat ignibus aether; 10, 177: praesagi fulminis ignes; *Henry, op. cit., 2, 653*. The lightning-flashes correspond to the nuptial torches of *Ecl. 8, 29*; cf. line 339 below; *Apoll. Rh. 4, 808* (where Hera held a torch at the nuptials of Peleus and Thetis); also *Serv.*: fulsere ignes: Varro dicit aqua et igni mariti uxores accipiebant; unde hodieque et faces praelucent et aqua petita de puro fonte interest nuptiis (cf. *Stat. Silv. 1, 2, 4–6*: deae qualiunt . . . novena / lampade solemnem thalamis coeuntibus ignem / et de Pieriis vocalem fontibus undam); *Schol. Dan.*: alii 'fulsere' pro malo omine positum volunt. cum enim ait fulsisse ignes, infaustum conubium videtur ostendere, quia actio perimitur cum de caelo servatum est (cf. *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 339*). et bene hoc totum ad Iunonem refertur, quia aer esse dicitur; unde aquas cum ignibus dedit (*Serv. on 4, 166*: Iunonem autem dedisse signa per tempestatem constat et pluvias quae de aere fiunt). The expression fulsere ignes et . . . aether may be taken, as *Wagner* suggests, by hendiadys = fulsit ignibus aether.

167. conscius aether: i.e., as witness; cf. 2, 141: conscia numina veri; 4, 519–520: conscia fati / sidera; 4, 608: conscia Iuno; 9, 429: caelum hoc et conscia sidera testor; *Ov. H. 12, 87*: conscia sit Iuno sacris praefecta mariis; *Smith on Tib. 1, 7, 48* (with cases of the dative with this adjective); *Anth. Lat. no. 83, 32–33* (1, p. 114 Riese): conscia lecti / sacramenta; *Pichon, De Ser-*

mone amatorio (1902), 111. In *Theocr. 27, 57* ἀλλήλας λαλέοντι τὸν γάμον αἱ κυπάρισσοι; cf. *Biese, Die Entwicklung d. Naturgefühls bei d. Römern* (1884), 78. C. I. L. VIII, Suppl. 18792 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr. 1788, 7* Bücheler), reflects this phrase in the words ei (or perhaps et) conscius (a)eter; *Buscaroli* (ad loc.) cites *Monti, Feron. 1, 400–401*: di baleni / arse il ciel consapevole. *Donatus* remarks on the situation: ad impedimentum autem Italici imperii tantum Iunonis dolosa fecit inventio ut Aeneas in illa coniunctione non voluntatem habuisse sed vim quandam passus esse videretur; fiunt velut nuptiae cum turpitudine omni et volente Iunone solus testis extitit mundus, nymphae quoque festis ululatibus omnis ille locus personavit.

168. conubiis: on the case cf. the note on conscius aether above, though *Rasi* (*Bibliogr. Virgil. 1910–1911* (1913), 33) would construe the dative with fulsere rather than conscius. The synzesis by which this is made a trisyllable *Conington* compares with taeni(i)s in 5, 269; cf. also 1, 73: conubio (trisyllabic); *Anth. Lat. no. 83, 27* (1, p. 114 Riese): conubium (trisyllabic).

168. ulularunt: this verb (*ul-ulā-yo; cf. *Lindsay, Latin Language* (1894), 474; also the etymological dictionaries) belongs in a group of onomatopoeic words including ἀλαλαί (ἀλαλάζειν), ἐλ(ελ)ελεῦ (ἐλελείζειν), ὀλολυγή (ὀλολύζειν), and derivatives (cf. *Theander in Eranos, 15* (1915), 99–160), as well as the Latin ulula. *Mart. Cap. 4, 346* divides animals into loquentia, gementia, latrantia, and ululantia. On our passage *Servius* remarks: bene medium elegit sermonem; nam ait Lucanus (6, 261) 'non tu laetis ululare triumphis.' in luctu autem ululari non dubium est; cf. *Schol. Dan.*: et ideo medium elegit sermonem quia post nuptias mors consecuta est. non nulli ita accipiunt, quod ululare veteres etiam in sacris dicebant ex

169. ille dies primus leti primusque malorum

laeti γ, loeti β. maiorum *M* (malorum *M*¹), laborum *Pp* (malorum *P*¹).

169–170. ille . . . fuit: *Lact. De Mort. Persec.* 12, 1 — loeti *C* —; *Prisc. Inst.* 7, 92 (G. L. K. 2, 365) — laeti *RBHK*, loeti *DG* —; *Schol. Dan. G.* 2, 168. 169. ille . . . malorum: *Brev. Expos. in G.* 2, 168 — dies *om.*; laborum —. 169. ille . . . primusque: *Anth. Lat. no.* 719, 63 (2, p. 187 Riese). 169. ille . . . leti: *Charis. Inst. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 110) — legi *N* —. 169. ille dies: *Anth. Lat. no.* 11, 22 (1, p. 42 Riese).

Graeca consuetudine. ergo 'ulularunt nymphae' quasi nuptiarum sacra celebrarunt. Graeci autem ὀλολυγῶν appellant; nam et primam congressionem proelii ὀλολυγὴν dicunt; quod Vergilius ostendit (11, 662, of Amazons in battle) 'magnoque ululante tumultu.' Virgil also uses *ululare* of the howling of dogs (6, 257) and wolves (G. 1, 486; *Aen.* 7, 18), of feminine wailing (2, 487–488), and of ritual cries in the cult of Hecate (4, 609), and the noun *ululatus* of lamentation (4, 667; 9, 477; 11, 190) and of cries in the worship of Bacchus (7, 395). In other writers *ululare* and *ululatus* are used for the howling of dogs (Enn. *Ann.* 342; Sen. *Oed.* 179; Plin. *N. H.* 8, 145; Solin. 15, 10; Oros. 5, 18, 9), wolves (Porcius ap. Varr. *L. L.* 7, 104; Petron. 62, 7; Stat. *Silv.* 1, 3, 85–86; Sil. 7, 129; Hier. *Vit. Hilar.* 7; *In Osee*, 2, p. 78 Vall.; *Anth. Lat. no.* 730, 4 (2, p. 216 Riese); 733, 16 (2, p. 218); 762, 52 (2, p. 249); Loewe, *Glossae Nominum* (1884), 248–249), or animals not specified (Luc. 6, 690), the screech of owls (Serv. *Ecl.* 8, 55: *ululae aves*, ἀπὸ τοῦ ὀλολύειν, *id est, a fletu nominatae*; *Anth. Lat. no.* 762, 41 (2, p. 248 Riese)), or the noise of frogs (Plin. *N. H.* 11, 173); for the cry of an infant (Stat. *Silv.* 5, 5, 71) or of a woman in childbirth (Stat. *Theb.* 3, 158–159; Claud. *De IV Cons. Hon.* 140–141; Hier. *Comm. in Is.* 5, p. 214 Vall.); for ritual cries of various cults, as in the worship of Bacchus (Ov. *M.* 3, 528; 11, 17; Liv. 39, 8, 8; 39, 10, 7; 39, 15, 6; Stat. *Theb.* 1, 328 (and *Lact. Plac. ad loc.*); 9, 434; *Silv.* 4, 2, 49; Juv. 6, 316–317; Avien. 3, 1004; Claud. *De Rapt. Pros.* 1, 207–208; Justin. 12, 7, 8), of Cybele (Mart. 5, 41, 3; Val. Fl. 3, 232; Claud. *De Rapt. Pros.* 2, 269), and of Hecate (Ov. *M.* 14, 405; Val. Fl. 3, 453); in connection with witches (Hor. *S.* 1, 8, 25; Tib. 1, 5, 55; Ov. *M.* 7,

190–191), demons (*Lact. Inst.* 2, 15, 4; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 23, 62; Hier. *Vit. Hilar.* 22), the devil (Vigilius, *Ep.* 2, 3 (*Patr. Lat.* 13, 553)), or the *manes* (Sen. *Thy.* 670); as well as in mourning of all kinds, especially of the wailing of women (Ov. *M.* 13, 571; *F.* 4, 453; Liv. 5, 39, 5; 43, 10, 5; Val. Fl. 1, 318; 8, 143; Luc. 1, 567; 2, 33; 5, 192; Stat. *Theb.* 10, 567; 11, 178; 12, 274; Sil. 8, 151; Plin. *Ep.* 6, 20, 14; Poll. 1, 29: ὀλολύξαι καὶ ὀλολυγῆ χρησασθαι ἐπὶ γυναικῶν (cf. *Schol. Il.* 6, 301); Zeno, *Tract.* 1, 16, 6 (*Patr. Lat.* 11, 378); Claud. *De Bell. Gild.* 1, 134; Hier. *Vit. Hilar.* 14; *Comm. in Is.* 5, p. 220 Vall.; Justin. 19, 2, 8; 19, 2, 11; 23, 2, 9; and the lamentation for Adonis, as in Amm. Marc. 22, 9, 15). Most of these cases suggest either the sad or the uncanny, and the latter idea seems to underlie the battle-cry, designed to terrify the enemy or to exult over his defeat; cf. *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 11, 662: *ululatum veleres etiam vocem quae redditur initio proelii dicebant, quam Graeci ὀλολυγὴν vocabant*; also Caes. *B. G.* 5, 37, 3; 7, 80, 4; Liv. 21, 28, 1; Luc. 6, 261; Plin. *N. H.* 26, 18; Stat. *Theb.* 9, 178; Amm. Marc. 14, 2, 5; 16, 11, 8; 19, 5, 5; 19, 11, 10; 20, 6, 7; 20, 7, 14; 24, 1, 7; Hier. *Comm. in Is.* 2, p. 88 Vall.; *In Amos*, 1, p. 238 Vall.; perhaps also the cries of an army during an eclipse (Liv. 44, 37, 9), to frighten the evil spirit considered responsible.

In short, then, while there are indications of marriage cries, like *O Hymen Hymenaeae*, and while Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 650–652, mentioning the ἐπιθαλάμιον ἀλαλάουσα of Eustath. *De Ism.* 11), followed by Seaton (in *Cl. Rev.* 10 (1896), 309), contends that *ulularunt* has here such a favorable meaning, yet most cases, both in Virgil and in other authors, belong to the ill-omened significa-

170. causa fuit; neque enim specie famave movetur

speciae *R.* famaue (*corr. in famaue*) *b*, famaue *dett.*

[169] 170. causa . . . famave: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* (G. L. K. 4, 230) — specie *f.* —. 170. neque . . . movetur: *Non. p.* 305 *M.* (p. 475 *L.*); *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 221.

tion which the outcome of Dido's love seems to justify our assuming here also.

On the shrieks of nymphs cf. Apoll. Rh. 3, 1218–1219 (in the company of Hecate): αἱ δ' ὀλολύξαν / νύμφαι ἐλειονόμοι ποταμηίδες (in 4, 1196–1197 νύμφαι δ' ἄμμιγα πᾶσαι, ὅτε μῆσταιτο γάμοι / ἱμερόενθ' ὑμέναιον ἀνέπνουν); Ov. *H.* 7, 95–96: *nymphas ululasse putavi*; / *Eumenides fatis signa dedere meis* (it is not clear that, as Conington and others suppose, Ovid here considered the *ululatus* as favorable; La Cerda classes it with the cry of Tisiphone quoted below); Stat. *Silv.* 3, 1, 75 (of the present situation): *testesque ululant per devia nymphae*; Sil. 1, 156: *perque antra et ripas nymphis ululatus Hiberis*; 4, 691–692: *nympharumque intima maestus / implevit chorus attonitis ululatus antra*; Bembo, *Benacus*, 108: *summo miseratae e vertice nymphae*; Carducci, *Alle Fonti del Clitumno*, 117–120: *fuggir le ninfe . . . / . . . / od ululando dileguaron come / nuvole a i monti*. Among ill-omened cases must be classed Ov. *H.* 2, 117: *pronuba Tisiphone thalamis ululavit in illis*.

168. vertice: cf. Lucr. 3, 1001; *Aen.* 11, 526: *summoque in vertice montis*; *Cir.* 307: *summo volitantem vertice montis*; Val. Fl. 2, 537: *summis ulularunt collibus amnes*. The phrase is probably suggested by Apoll. Rh. 4, 1150: αἱ δ' ὄρεος κορυφὰς Μελιτηίου ἀμφε νέμοντο (of Oreads; cf. 1, 1226).

168. nymphae: for nymphs as deities of marriage, fertility, and birth cf. Krause, *Die Museen, Grazien, Horen, u. Nymphen* (1871), 129; Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 651 (who cites Himer. *Or.* 1, 20; Claud. *Laus Serenae*, 79–82; to which add Aesch. *Prom. V.* 555–560); Ballentine in *Harv. Stud. in cl. Philol.* 15 (1904), 97–110. Stephenson (*ad loc.*) would explain their cries as "the sounds of woods and waters." Dalanthus in his tragedy *Dido* (1559) has in Act 2 a lament of nymphs based upon this; cf. Semrau, *Dido*

in der deutschen Dichtung (1930), 25. We may perhaps contrast the marriage song of the Parcae in Catull. 64, 320–383.

169. ille dies: cf. 4, 6, n. (*postera, etc.*); Ov. *H.* 5, 33: *illa dies fatum miserae mihi dixit*; 7, 93–94: *illa dies nocuit, qua nos declive sub antrum / caeruleus subilis conpulit imber aquis*; Sil. 12, 273: *ille dies primus*; Prud. *Cont. Symm.* 1, 72: *haec causa est et origo mali*. For the euphemism of expression cf. DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 71; and for the tragic contrasts of this day Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 131; Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil* (1933), 79. Henry expands and interprets: *ille dies primus fuit (dies) leti, ille dies primus fuit causa malorum*; while Donatus states: *duo proposuit quae ex una causa profluxisse videbantur, letum et mala; letum, quia se ob eam causam Dido interemit; mala, quia ex facto turpi et inhonesto contraxit delestabilem famam quae inter praecipuas mulieres castitalis merito potior dicebatur*. Chaucer, *Legend of good Women, Dido*, 305–306: "this was the firste morwe / Of hire gladnesse, and gynyng of hir sorwe." The adjective may perhaps indicate degree rather than chronology — "that day before all others."

169. primusque: logically, perhaps, for *primaque*; cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 321; also 7, 481–482: *quae prima malorum / causa fuit*; cf. Val. Fl. 7, 37–38: *tu prima malorum / causa mihi*; and the Greek adjective ἀρχέακος (as in *Il.* 5, 63); Thuc. 2, 12: ἥδε ἡ ἡμέρα τοῖς Ἕλλησι μεγάλων κακῶν ἀρξε.

170. specie: Serv.: *species rerum praesentium est, quod quasi aspiciunt, fama autem rerum absentium. hoc ergo dicit: non eam movet nec praesens deformitas, quod non in thalamo sed in specu concubuerat, nec futura mox fama*; *Schol. Dan.*: (alii) accipiunt facti qualitate aut respectu honestatis, τῷ πρὲ-

171. nec iam furtivom Dido meditatur amorem;
coniugium vocat; hoc praetexit nomine culpam.

furtivum codd.

171. nec . . . amorem: *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. 3, 6, 24* — *furtivum* —. 171. furtivom amorem: *Gl. Ansil. 260, 304* — *furtivum* —; *Gl. Abstr. 42, 38* — *furtivum* —.

172. coniugium . . . culpam: *Hier. Adv. Iovin. 2, 36*. 172. coniugium vocat: *Cento Probae, 134* — *uo (corr. in ue) A¹* —; *Gl. Ansil. 136, 1088*.

ποντι, adeo illam nec Tyriorum pudebat, videntium Italia, nec aliarum gentium, quae audiebant. ergo 'fama' deest mala.

170. fama: especially developed in lines 173-197; cf. also 4, 221: *oblitos fama melioris*; 4, 322-323: *qua sola sidera adibam/fama prior*.

171. furtivom . . . amorem: cf. Catull. 7, 8: *furtivos hominum . . . amores*; Ov. *F. 6, 573*: *furtivos . . . amores*; Prud. *Cont. Symm. 1, 160*: *furtivus amor*; also the analogous use of *furtim* (Tib. 2, 5, 53) and *furta* (Ov. *Ars am. 2, 617*; *M. 3, 7*; 9, 558). Dante (*De Monarchia*, 2, 3), quoting this line and the following, considers the relation of Dido and Aeneas as an entirely legitimate one, which he reckons with Aeneas's marriages with Creusa and Lavinia; cf. also Zabughin, *Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital. 1* (1921), 14-15; 74, n. 49.

171. meditatur amorem: for the verse-ending cf. Sil. 15, 588: *meditatur amore*. Servius says: *meditatur: exercet; sic Horatius (C. 4, 14, 27-28) 'et horridam (sic) cultis/diluviem meditatur agris.' nec incongrue dictum; actus enim est in ipsa meditatione, nam exercitium est meditatio*; cf. such Virgilian uses of *meditor* as in *Ecl. 1, 2*; 6, 8; 6, 82.

172. coniugium: cf. Donat.: *verbo iuris usus est ut diceret culpam; sic enim definitum est culpam esse mulieris cum pudoris in causa peccaverit. qua autem spe ducebatur Dido matrimonii quod eo genere contraxerat, quae ipsum Aenean in convivio referentem audisset responso Creusae vaticinantis accepto et regnum Italiae iam sibi paratum esse et coniugem regiam, Apollinis quoque et deorum penatium, Heleni etiam unum idemque exitis praedictum, quo non tantum Aeneae verum etiam liberis et posteris eius per uxoris Italicae consortium*

Italiae atque orbis totius debere memoratum est regnum? Ovid imitates this line in *M. 7, 69-70*: *coniugiumne putas, speciosaque nomina culpa / inponis, Medea, tuae* (cf. 9, 556-558). That Dido calls it *coniugium* seems to imply that Aeneas did not, but either recognized no relation at all or else that of a mere liaison (*amores*); cf. Kowalski, *De Didone Graeca et Latina* (1929), 47: *Graeci saepius matrimonii (γάμου) nomine liberum commercium amatorium* (cf. E. Maass, *Thalamos und Gamos*, in *Rh. Mus. 77* (1928), 10-20) *nuncupaverunt, et novelli poetae Romani mulierculas quaestui amatorio deditas matrimonii dignitate nonnumquam ornaverunt*, etc. In 4, 338-339 Aeneas declares *nec coniugis umquam / praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni*. Herrmann (in *Aus Unterricht u. Forschung*, 1 (1929), 122) remarks that Virgil had tried to keep the ancestor of Augustus — who laid so much stress on the purity of marriage — from any violation of the marriage relation, making Dido herself lament (4, 328-330) that she had no child by Aeneas. Mercury, however, perhaps relying on the gossip spread by Fama, calls Aeneas *uxorius* (4, 266); Anna (4, 48) had looked forward for Dido to a *coniugium* (cf. note there on *coniugio*), and such, to Dido, it continues (4, 324: *coniuge*; 4, 431: *coniugium antiquom*; cf. 4, 496, where *iugalem* seems to imply *coniugium*; Sil. 8, 143 (of Dido): *Aeneae coniux, Veneris nurus*), while she even goes beyond the idea of physical union (*coniugium*) to one of wedlock recognized by the laws of the state (*conubium*, as in 4, 316: *per conubia nostra*; such a relation with Iarbas she had rejected, according to 4, 213-214; cf. 4, 535; *Anth. Lat. no. 83, 27-29* (1, p. 114 Riese; the words of Dido): *conubium nunc crimen erat? male credula votis / cuncta dedi (nec mira fides) sub*

173. Extemplo Libyae magnas it Fama per urbes,

extemplo π. libiae γβ¹, lybiae p. magnas (s m. 2 in ras.) γ.

173. extemplo . . . urbes: *Donat. Aen. 4, 196* — *exemplo LR*; *urbis* —. 173. magnas . . . urbes: *Cento Probae, 456* — *magna fit S, magna sit cell., corr. edd.* —.

lege mariti / cuius et ipsa fui), as intended by Juno in 4, 126. For the legal meaning of *conubium* (according to Ulp. *Reg. 5, 3*: *uxoris iure ducendae facultas*; cf. Serv. *Aen. 1, 73*: *ius legitimi matrimonii*) see Leonhard in *P.-W. 4* (1901), 1170-1172; also 4, 328, n. (*aula*), below. The difficulties of supposing it between Aeneas and Dido in this legendary period seem considerable; cf. 4, 48, n. (*coniugio*), above; also Ussani in *Atene e Roma*, 10 (1907), 263-264. It is possible, however, that *conubium* as used in this book is, in a wider sense, nearly equivalent to *coniugium*; cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat. 4* (1909), 815-816. Keith (in *South Atlantic Quart. 21* (1922), 75) remarks: 'As one who flouts the conventional still finds the habit strong, so Dido attempts to make the irregularities regular.'

172. praetexit: cf. 4, 500: *praetexere funera sacris*; Hor. *S. 2, 7, 41-42*: *verbisque decoris / obvolvas vitium*; Ov. *H. 4, 137-138*: *ab illa / cognato poterit nomine culpa tegi*; Claud. *In Rufin. 1, 99*: *blando fraudem praetexere risu*; *In Eutrop. 2, 206-207*: *quid pulchra vocabula pigris / praetentis vitiis*; Molsa, *Eleg. ad Hen. Reg. Brit. 29*: *tu lamen hanc falso praetextens nomine culpam*; also Ar. *Plut. 159*: *ὀνόματι περιπέττονται τὴν μοχθηρίαν*; and the use of *praetendere* in 4, 339, *infra*.

172. culpam: cf. 4, 19, and n. (*culpa*); Liv. 1, 4, 2; 1, 58, 9; Ov. *M. 2, 37*: *nec falsa Clymene culpam sub imagine celat*; Tac. *Ann. 3, 24, 2-3*. In 4, 19 and here the *culpa* involves unfaithfulness to the memory of Sychaeus; whether it here implies more than that may be open to question; cf. 4, 190, n. (*infecta*). The contrast of *coniugium* and *culpam* at the two ends of the line is noteworthy.

173. extemplo: introducing a new and often exciting element in a story; cf. 1, 92; 2, 176; 5, 746; 8, 4; 11, 451; 11, 618; 11, 863; 12, 138.

173. magnas: probably exaggerated, considering the description in 4, 40-43.

173. Fama: cf. 3, 121: *fama volat*, etc.; 4, 666: *concussam bacchatur per urbem*; 7, 104: *circum late volitans iam Fama per urbes*; 7, 392: *fama volat*; 8, 554: *fama volat parvam subito volgata per urbem*; 9, 473-475: *interea pavidam volitans pinnata per urbem / nuntia fama ruit matrisque adlabitur auris / Euryali*; 10, 510-511; 11, 139-140: *et iam Fama volans, tanti praenuntia luctus, / Euandrum Euantrique domos et moenia replet*; 12, 608: *hinc totam infelix volgatur fama per urbem*; also the descriptions in other authors, e.g., *Il. 2, 93-94*: *μετὰ δὲ σφίσιν ὄσσα δέδῃε / ὀτρύνουσι λέναί, Διὸς ἄγγελος*; Od. 24, 413-414: *ὄσσα δ' ἄρ' ἄγγελος ὦκα κατὰ πτόλιν, ὥχετο πάντη / μνηστῆρων στρυγερὸν θάνατον καὶ κῆρ' ἐνέπυσσα*; Hes. *Theog. 820-835*, with similar details in the description of Typhoeus; *Opera*, 763-764 (making Φῆμη a goddess); Bacchyl. 9, 1-4 (as restored from its very fragmentary condition); Plat. *Legg. 8, p. 838 C-D*: *ὁρθότατα λέγεις τὸ γε τοσοῦτον, ὅτι τὸ τῆς φήμης θαυμαστὴν τινα δύναμιν εἴληχεν, ὅταν μηδεὶς μηδ' ἄλλως ἀναπνεῖν ἐπιχειρήσῃ ποτὲ παρὰ τὸν νόμον*; [Orph.] *Argon. 596-597*: *φήμη δὲ διέπτατο δώματος εἰσω / Κυζίκου οἴχομενον*; Ov. *M. 6, 146-147*: *Phrygiaeque per oppida facti / rumor it et magnum sermonibus occupat orbem*; 8, 267: *sparserat Argolicas nomen vaga fama per urbes*; 9, 137-139: *cum fama loquax praecessit ad aures, / Deianira, tuas, quae veris addere falsa / gaudet, et e minimo sua per mendacia crescit*; 12, 39-63 (an important passage on the dwelling of Fama, too long to quote); Curt. 4, 1, 24: *fama deinde, ut solet, strenue tota urbe discurret*; Luc. 1, 469-472; 4, 574: *totum discurrens Fama per orbem* (= Prisc. *Carm. 2, 239* in *Poet. Lat. min. 5, 283*); Sen. *H. F. 192-193*; Petron. 23, 210-212: *interea volucer motis conterrita pinnis / Fama volat summique petit iuga celsa Palati / atque hoc Romano*

174. Fama, malum qua non aliud velocius ullum;

malum om. p¹. qua P (quo P¹), quo Vγ²πbc, Donat. (quod codd. LR); cf. Serv. in explic. cit. aliut MP.

174-175. Fama . . . eundo: Petrus Cantor, Verb. abbr. 76 (Patr. Lat. 205, 224; cf. 205 541) — quo; uiresque; acquirit —. 174-175. Fama . . . viget: Rogerus de Hoveden, Chron. 2, p. 51 Stubbs — quo —; Anon. Vita Meinweri Episc. 132 (Mon. Germ. hist., Scriptores, 13, 133). 174. Fama . . . ullum: Tert. Apol. 7 — qua —; Prisc. Praeexerc. 12 (G. L. K. 3, 433) — quo (qua PVS); aliud V; illud (pro ullum) S —; Isid. Etym. 5, 27, 26 — quo B, quia T; illum T, illud C¹ —. 174. Fama malum: Schol. Dan. 4, 298; Anth. Lat. no. 11, 15 (1, p. 41 Riese).

tonitru ferit omnia signa; Val. Fl. 2, 116-125: Famamque vagam vestigat in umbra; / quam pater omnipotens digna atque indigna canentem, / spargentemque metus, placidis regionibus arcet / aetheris; illa fremens habitat sub nubibus imis, / non Erebi, non diva poli; terrasque fatigat, / quas datur; audentem primi spernuntque foventque; / mox omnes agit, et motis quatit oppida linguis. / talem diva sibi scelerisque dolique ministram / quaerit avens; videt illa prior; iamque advolat ultro / impatient; iamque ora parat; iam suscitatur aures; 5, 82-84; Sil. 4, 1: fama per Ausoniae turbatas spargitur urbes; 6, 554: vera ac ficta simul spargebat fama per urbem; 10, 578-579: fama dehinc glisciente sono iam sidera adibat; / iam maria ac terras primamque intraverat urbem; Stat. Silv. 5, 2, 170-171; Achill. 2, 66: inde dato passim varias rumore per urbes; Theb. 2, 205: socias it fama per urbes; 3, 425-430: at vigil omni / Fama sono varios rerum succincta tumultus / antevolet currum . . . / . . . urguet enim stimulis auriga cruentis / facta, infecta loqui; 4, 369; 6, 1-2: nuntia multivago Danaos perlabitur urbes / Fama gradu; 9, 32-34: fama per Aonium rapido vaga murmure campum / spargitur in turmas, solito pernicio index / cum lugenda refert; Tert. Adv. Nat. 1, 7; Apol. 7; Claud. In Eutrop. 1, 346-348: fama prius falso similis vanoque videri / ficta ioco; levior volitare per oppida rumor / riderique nefas; 2, 462-463; Panegy. Manl. Theod. Cons. 270-271; De Cons. Stil. 2, 408-409: iam Fama loquacibus alis / pervolat Oceanum; De Bell. Goth. 201-204; Paul. Nol. Carm. 26, 29: varias vaga fama per oras; Anth. Pal. 10, 89, 1-4; Synes. Ep. 44;

Achill. Tat. 6, 10, 4-5: Φήμη δὲ καὶ Διαβολὴ δύο συγγενῇ κακά: θυγάτηρ ἡ Φήμη τῆς Διαβολῆς. καὶ ἐστὶ μὲν ἡ Διαβολὴ μαχαίρας ὀξύτερη, πυρὸς σφοδρότερη, Σειρήνων πιθανώτερη: ἡ δὲ Φήμη ὕδατος ὑγρότερη, πνεύματος ὀρμηκωτέρα, πτερῶν ταχύτερα . . . τεχθεῖσα δὲ ἡ Φήμη . . . βεῖ μὲν εὐθὺς πολλὰ καὶ ἐπικλύζει τὰ ὅτα τῶν ἐντυχόντων, διαπνέει δὲ ἐπὶ πλείστον καταγίγνουςα τῷ τοῦ λόγου πνεύματι, καὶ ἐξίπταται κονφίζομένη τῷ τῆς γλώττης πτερῷ; Dracont. Rom. 8, 442-443: nuntia fama ducis totam repleverat urbem, / advenisse Parin Troiano sanguine cretum; Orest. 109-110; Venant. Fort. Vit. S. Mart. 1, 472: sparsisset fama per urbem; Crescon. In Laud. Iustin. 1, 184-187; Carm. de S. Cassiano, 66 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 4, 183): extimpro Nili volat ingens fama per urbes; Ilberg in Roscher, Ausf. Lex. 1 (1886), 1442-1443; Berge, De Belli Daemonibus qui in Carm. Graec. et Rom. inveniuntur (1895), 51-54; Waser in P.-W. 6 (1909), 1977-1979; Ogle in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc. 55 (1924), 90-119, who thinks (p. 98) that Virgil made a distinct contribution to the epic technique by assigning to Fama a major role as the motivating force in the most important episode of the poem, and by making true but indefinite rumor play a large part in aid of the action.

Among later writers imitations of the scene may be noted; e.g., Joseph of Exeter (Iscanus), Bell. Troian. 3, 218 (cited by Sedgwick in Speculum, 5 (1930), 67): praiceps it fama per urbes; Chaucer, House of Fame, 3, 266-302; Vida, Christias, 3, 1: fama volans iam finitimas impleverat urbes; Shakesp. 2 Hen. IV, Induction; Bacon, fragment of an essay 'Of Fame'; also near

the beginning of his essay on 'Seditions and Troubles'; Milton, In Quinti. Novemb. 170-193; Butler, Hudibras, 2, canto 1 (a parody; on which cf. Gray's notes, who quotes (p. 125, n. 3) from Cotton's Virgil-Travestie, 4); Addison, Spectator, no. 273 (for a criticism of such allegorical figures); Boileau, Lutrin, 2, 1-8; Voltaire, Henriade, 8, 477-490; Chateaubriand (cf. Naylor in Johns Hopkins Stud. in Rom. Lit. and Lang. 18 (1930), 116-118); George Eliot, Felix Holt, ch. 8; cf. also Zabughin, Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital. 2 (1923), 69, n. 231; 286; 330, n. 119; Gordon, Virgil in English Poetry (1931), 6.

Various features in Virgil's description are borrowed from the picture of Eris in Il. 4, 442-443, and Fama is suggestive of his own account of Allecto in Aen. 7, 324-445; cf. Heinze, Virgils epische Technik, 3 ed. (1915), 305; 380; Prescott, The Development of Virgil's Art (1927), 252; Conway, Anc. Italy and modern Religion (1933), 89. Perhaps it also suggested Ovid's figure Invidia (M. 2, 760-782), as Münzer, Cacus der Rinderdieb (1911), 48, n. 57, supposes. The description itself has been much censured as bizarre or baroque; e.g., by Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide, 1 (1926), 311-312, who notes the impropriety of a being reaching from earth to heaven yet perching by day on a housetop; Terzaghi, Virgilio ed Enea (1928), 40; 137; who considers as parallels the descriptions in 1, 124-156; 4, 246-251; also by many editors in their notes on the passage; so Page, who remarks (1923) ad loc.: "Symbolical figures, when they endeavor to represent more than a simple idea, soon become grotesque, and so while we can conceive Rumour as a bird, and also conceive a bird with an eye on every feather, yet the conception of a bird with an equal number of tongues and ears becomes ludicrous"; yet, on the other side of the question, cf. Conington ad loc.; Keith in Cl. Journ. 16 (1921), 298-301; and Masera (ad loc.) thinks Virgil may have been here influenced by some painting he had seen. Also cf. Quintil. 9, 2, 36: formas quoque fingimus saepe, ut Famam Vergilius, ut Voluptatem ac Virtutem . . . Prodicus, ut Mortem ac Vitam, quas contentes in Satura tradit Ennius.

The introduction of Fama into the story

implies the passage of a certain amount of time, to permit the rumors, not merely of the cave scene but of the general relations between Dido and Aeneas, to spread through the neighboring districts and reach King Iarbas. This kind of timeless interlude is somewhat analogous in effect to the chorus of a Greek tragedy; cf. DeWitt, The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil (1907), 44. Cartault, however, thinks (op. cit., 1, 311), as does Donatus (ad loc.), that events follow in rapid succession, with no period during which Dido's love is really satisfied. Keith (op. cit., 299) observes that "Fama prepares the way for Iarbas; Iarbas attracts the attention of Jupiter; and Jupiter despatches Mercury on his mission."

174. Fama: Serv.: definitio est, ut 'quo' ex praecedenti pendeat nomine; quamquam alii 'qua' legant. sane 'quo' nisi definitio sit, legi non potest; nec enim procedit ut ordo sit 'Fama, quo non aliud malum velocius.' That qua is preferable to quo is indicated by the continuance of the feminine in line 176 (parva). The punctuation is disputed, some (e.g., Janell) reading Fama malum, qua, etc.; others (e.g., Jahn and Forbiger) not supplying est but recognizing no pause after ullum. I should render: "Rumor, than which no other evil thing is more swift," considering qua as postpositive in its clause.

With the form of the sentence cf. G. 2, 127: felix mali, quo non praesentius ullum; Liv. 24, 21, 5: fama . . . qua nihil in talibus rebus est celerius; Val. Fl. 7, 333: qua non velocior ulla; and, for the thought, cf. 4, 173, n. (Fama); Ov. Ep. 16, 207: volucris praeconia famae; Philo Jud. Leg. ad Gaium, 18: φήμη γὰρ οὐδὲν ὠκύτερον; Sil. 4, 6: et gliscit gressu volucrique citatior Euro (sc. Fama); Nazar. Panegy. Const. 32, 4: Fama velox; Symm. Ep. 3, 45, 1: vera res est famam esse velocem; Albertus Stadensis, Troilus, 1, 560: fama volat, quid enim fama velocius extat; Hilarius, Versus et Ludi, 8, 5-8: Fama, munstrum quo nil deterius, / Fame nunquam credam ullerius; / de qua iure dixit Virgilius: / Fama malum, nam nil deterius. For the epanadiplosis cf. 4, 26, n. (pallentis), above. Symm. Ep. 3, 45 begins: vera res est, famam esse velocem. sed dissentio Mantuano qui eam putat in malis debere numerari.

175. mobilitate viget virisque adquirit eundo,
parva metu primo, mox sese attollit in auras

uiris *MPp*, uires *M²P²R*. atquirit *b*.

primo *codd.*, primum *codd.* *LR Donat Aen. 4, 175* (at 4, 190 = primo); cf. *Schol. Veron. Aen. 4, 176* — primo —. mo(x sese alto)llit *V.* in aliter an (ad?) *γ*.

[174*] 175. mobilitate: *Gl. Ansil. 377, 539* — mouilitate —; *q.v.*

176–177. parva . . . condit: *Macrob. Sat. 5, 13, 31* — adtollit —. 176. mox . . . auras: *Anth. Lat. no. 719, 101* (2, p. 188 *Riese*). 176. attollit . . . auras: *Gl. Ansil. 32, 821* — adtollit —.

175. mobilitate: *Serv.*: dat ei σωματοποιαν. et laudat a contrario; cum enim omnia labore minuantur haec crescit; *Lucr. 6, 340–342* (of a falling thunderbolt): denique quod longo venit impete, sumere debet / mobilitatem etiam atque etiam, quae crescit eundo / et validas auget viris et roborat ictum (*Bailey in Proc. of cl. Assoc. 28* (1931), 35 remarks that “Virgil has made great words greater”); *Dante, Convito, 1, 3*, paraphrases this line; *Vida, Christias, 5, 567* has mobilitate vigent.

175. viget viris: the alliteration, as *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* observes, unites the two halves of the verse.

175. adquirit: cf. *Ov. Ars am. 2, 343*: nascitur exiguus sed opes adquirit eundo.

175. eundo: instrumental or modal (cf. *Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2, 1, 2 ed.* (1912), 751–753), yet inclining toward the colloquial use in which the ablative of the gerund became (as in Italian) a substitute for the present participle; cf. *Grandgent, Introd. to vulgar Latin* (1907), 49.

176. parva, etc.: *Schol. Dan.*: non ‘primo metu,’ sed ‘primum,’ quod initio cautius loquatur, id est in principio; cum enim quis veretur, ne auctor sit, quod audit continet; at ubi sit vulgatum, passim loquitur. et modo ‘primo’ adverbium est, non nomen. From *Macrob. Sat. 5, 13, 31* on, the source for this and the following line has been found in *Il. 4, 442–443* (of *Eris*): ἦ τ’ ὀλίγη μὲν πρῶτα κορύσσεται, αὐτὰρ ἔπειτα / οὐρανῷ ἐστήριξε κάρη καὶ ἐπὶ χθονὶ βαίνει. *DeWitt (Virgil’s Biographia litteraria* (1923), 51–52) remarks: “In the *Aeneid* we find no orthodox use of metamorphosis. The magic figure of *Fama* . . . changes her size, like *Alice in Wonderland*,

but not her figure or colour.” On the alliteration in the line (*p m p m a a*) cf. *Kvřčala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 392.

176. attollit in auras: cf. 2, 699: genitor se tollit ad auras; 11, 455: magnus se tollit ad auras; 12, 703: vertice se attollens pater Appenninus ad auras; *Ov. M. 4, 721–722*: se sublimis in auras / attollit; *Stat. Theb. 1, 295*: se attollat ad auras; *Aug. Enarr. in Ps. 17, 11*: se . . . in auras . . . attollunt; also *Forbiger on Ecl. 1, 57* for a distinction between *ad auras* and *in auras*.

177. ingreditur, etc.: in 10, 767 this line is repeated in a simile used to describe *Mezentius*. On the hyperbole cf. 4, 89, n. (*aequala . . . caelo*), above; *Hunziker, Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), 26; also *Demetrius, De Eloc. 124*, who thinks hyperbole the most frigid of figures, and divides it into three kinds, based on likeness, superiority, or impossibility (κατὰ τὸ ἀδύνατον, ὡς τὸ ‘οὐρανὸν ἐστήριξε κάρη’). For similar exaggerations cf. 1, 103: fluctusque ad sidera tollit; 1, 379; 2, 488: ferit aurea sidera clamor; 3, 678: Aetnaeos fratres, caelo capita alta ferentis; 7, 530; 11, 136: actas ad sidera pinos; *Il. 4, 443* (quoted in n. on *parva*, etc., above); *Sapph. 37 Bergk*: ψαῖον δ’ οὐ δοκίμωμ’ ὀράνω δῦσι πάχχει; *Callim. Hymn. 6, 58*: ἰώματα μὲν χέρσω, κεφαλὰ δὲ οἱ ἄψατ’ Ὀλύμπω; *Herond. 4, 75–76*: θεῶν ψαβεῖν / ἡπείθεθ’; *Apollod. Bibl. 1, 6, 3* (of *Typhon*): ἦν δὲ αὐτῷ τὰ μὲν ἄχρη μνηῶν ἀπλετον μέγεθος, ἀνδρόμορφον, ὥστε ὑπερέχειν μὲν πάντων τῶν ὀρῶν, ἡ δὲ κεφαλὴ πολλὰκις καὶ τῶν ἄστρον ἔψαυε (cf. 2 *Maec. 9, 10*); *Ps. Callisth. 2, 20*: ὥσποτε κἀγὼ ἰσθῆον ἔχων κράτος χερσίν ἐμαῖς οὐρανὸν ἠθέλησα ψαῦσαι; *Babr. 64, 4* (of

177. ingrediturque solo et caput inter nubila condit.
illam Terra parens, ira inritata deorum,

solo *M* (solo *M¹*), solu. (u *corr. in o*) *b*.

terram *M* (terra *M²*). ira (i *ex corr.*) *γ*. inritate *P^γ1*, inritata (*corr. in irritata*) *b*.

[176] 177. ingrediturque . . . condit: *Macrob. Sat. 5, 3, 11*; *Aug. Regulae* (*G. L. K. 5, 522*) — nubula —; *Serv. Aen. 6, 157* — solet *G*; capud *F* —; *Aldhelmus, Aenigm. 13, 16* (*Patr. Lat. 89, 198*). 177. caput . . . condit: *Anth. Lat. no. 719, 102* (2, p. 188 *Riese*). 177. inter . . . condit: *Gl. Ansil. 314, 1819*.

178. illam . . . deorum: *Abbo Floriac. Quaest. gram. 6* (*Auct. class. 5, 334 Mai*) — irritata —.

the ἐλάτῃ): καὶ τῶν νεφῶν σύνουκος ὀρθῇ φῶν; *Cic. Ad Att. 2, 1, 7*: nostri aulem principes digito se caelum putent attingere; *Hor. C. 1, 1, 36*: sublimi feriam sidera vertice; *Ov. M. 7, 61*: vertice sidera tangam; *Ars am. 2, 39*: non ego sidereas adfecto tangere sedes; *F. 1, 210*: tetigit summo vertice Roma deos; 1, 308 (of *Pelion* on *Ossa*); 3, 34: contigeratque sua sidera summa coma; *Ex Pont. 2, 5, 57*: vertice sidera tangas; *Prop. 1, 8, 43*: nunc mihi summa licet contingere sidera plantis; *Manil. 4, 694–695*: quam rerum maxima Roma / imposuit terris caeloque adiungitur ipsa; *Val. Fl. 4, 149*: vasto qui vertice nubila pulset; *Mart. 8, 36, 11*: quae vertice sidera pulsat; *Stat. Theb. 6, 681*: sese . . . in nubila condit; *Sil. 17, 650*: incessit campis tangens Tiryntius astra; *Plut. De Alex. Mag. Fort. 2, 5* (spoken by *Lysimachus*): νῦν Βυζάντιον πρὸς ἐμὲ ἤκουσιν, ὅτε τῇ λόγῃ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ἄπτομαι; *Ael. V. H. 12, 41*: χάρις, ἥς ὁ ἀνὴρ εἰ τύχοι, ὁ πόνος αὐτοῦ τοῦ οὐρανοῦ ψαύσει; *Aristaen. Ep. 1, 11*: καὶ (τὸ λεγόμενον δὴ τοῦτο) ἐδόκει τῇ κεφαλῇ ψαβεῖν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ; *Symm. Ep. 1, 52*: ne ego digito, ut aiunt, supera convexa tetigissem; *Synes. Ep. 79*: οὕτως ἀράσσαι τῇ κεφαλῇ τὸν οὐρανόν; *Auson. Prec. Cons. des. Prid. Kal. Ian. 52*: tunc ero bis consul, tunc tangam vertice caelum; *Sedul. Pasch. Carm. 4, 56*: vertice sidera tanget; *Avien. 3, 528*: hic Aquileia decens celsis caput inserit astris; 3, 716: culmina nubibus indunt; 3, 1080–1081: consurgunt pinus, et caelum sibila pulsant / robora; *Boeth. Cons. 1, 1*: pulsare caelum summi verticis cacumine videbatur; *Nonn. 29, 320*: καὶ νεφῶν ἔψαυσε καὶ ἥψατο χερσίν Ὀλύμπου; *C. I. L. VI, 1163, 20* (= *Dessau 736*): pulsatque polos; *Otto, Sprichwörter . . .*

der Römer (1890), 63; also the cases of sea and sky mingling as collected by *Kroll, Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 271–272; and 4, 322, n. (*sidera*), below.

Later instances are found in [*Dicuil.*] *De Montibus, 23* (*Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 667*): mons Pelion tollens caput inter nubila condit; *Aonius Palearius, De Anim. Immortal. 1, 306*: nubes qui inter caput extulit altis; 3, 441: sed caput obscurum deus inter nubila condet; *Politian, Ambra, 457*: celsumque altis caput intulit astris; *Ben Jonson, Masque of Queens, sub fin.*: “As her brow the clouds invade / Her feet do strike the ground”; *Shakesp. Troil. and Cress. Act 4, Sc. 5*: “Those towers whose mountain tops do buss the clouds”; *Tennyson, Epilogue*: “Old Horace? ‘I will strike,’ said he, ‘the stars with head sublime’”; and *Eichhoff, Études grecques sur Virgile, 2* (1825), 252 for imitations, notably by *J. B. Rousseau*, in whose *Ode au Prince Eugene* there is an elaborate parallel. Cf. also the modern term ‘skyscraper.’

Servius remarks: hoc vult ostendere nec humili eam fortunae parcere, nec superiori, and the *Schol. Dan.* add: vel quia famae incertus auctor, doubtless emphasizing the phrase inter nubila.

178. Terra parens: *Serv.*: generale est: parens rerum omnium; cf. *Aesch. Prom. 90*: παμμήτορ . . . γῆ; *Choeph. 127*: Γαῖαν αὐτὴν, ἣ τὰ πάντα τίκτεται; *Juv. 8, 257*: Terraeque parenti (cf. *Carm. Lat. epig. no. 1039 Bücheler*); *Dieterich-Fehrle, Muller Erde, 3 ed.* (1925), 37–58. For Earth as the mother of monstrosities cf. *Drexler in Roscher, Ausf. Lex. 1, 2* (1886), 1569; *Eitrem in P.-W. 7* (1912), 473–474, who cites many such, in-

179. extremam, ut perhibent, Coeo Enceladoque sororem
progenit pedibus celerem et pernicibus alis,

extrema R (extremam R¹).
progeniet P (progenit P²).

179. Coeo Enceladoque: cf. *Gl. Ansil.* 120, 476 — cius et teneladus —; 125, 92 — coeus et enceladus —.

180. pernicibus alis: [*Acro*] in *Hor. Epod.* 2, 42. 180. pernicibus: *Gl. Ansil.* 438, 927; q.v.; *Gl. Aa*, 319, 451.

cluding Antaeus and other giants, Argos, Atlas, Charybdis, Echidna, the Erinyes, the Harpies, Python, and Typhon. The size of Fama seems to class her with the giants.

178. *ira*: cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 2, 38–40: ἀλλ' ὁ μὲν ἡ ὀλοοῖο Τυφώος, ἡ δὲ καὶ αὐτῆς / Γαίης εἶναι ἕκτο πέλωρ τέκος, οἷα πάροθεν / χωομένη Διὶ τίκτειν; *Apollod. Bibl.* 1, 1, 4: ἀγανακτοῦσα δὲ Γῆ ἐπὶ τῇ ἀπωλείᾳ τῶν εἰς Τάρταρον ῥιφέντων παίδων, κτλ.; 1, 6, 1: Γῆ δὲ περὶ Τιτάνων ἀγανακτοῦσα γεννᾷ Γιγάντας ἐξ οὐρανοῦ; 1, 6, 3: ὡς δ' ἐκράτησαν οἱ θεοὶ τῶν Γιγάντων, Γῆ μάλλον χολωθεῖσα μίγνυται Ταρτάρῳ, καὶ γεννᾷ Τυφῶνα; *Sil.* 5, 111: *irata tellure sala*; *Claud. Carm. min.* 53, 1–3: *Terra parens quondam caelestibus invida regnis / Titanumque simul crebros miserata dolores / omnia monstriifero complebat Tartara fetu.*

For *ira* with the genitive of the cause of the complaint Conington compares 2, 413: *ereptae virginis ira*; 9, 736: *mortis fraterna . . . ira*; also cf. *Liv.* 1, 5, 3: *ob iram praedae amissae* (and parallels in Weissenborn's note). Here this idiom is extended to the persons against whom anger is felt. *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* finds in this alliteration with *r* an expression of irritation; cf. *Lejay* on *Hor. S.* 1, 2, 127; *Pers.* 1, 109–110 and *schol.*

Serv.: *amphibolon est, utrum sua ira propter extinctos gigantes, an 'ira deorum irritata,' quae extinxerat gigantes* (the parallels just cited from Apollodorus support the former alternative). The *Scholia Danielis* add: *vel ideo 'ira deorum,' quod in eam fulmina et grandines de caelo cadunt.* *Bell (The Latin Dual)* (1923), 295 finds yet another amphibole here, construing *deorum* not only with *ira* but also with *extremam*. This might seem justified by *Hes. Theog.* 764 (of Φήμη): θεός γὰρ τίς ἐστι καὶ αὐτή, yet *extremam* and

sororem at the beginning and end of line 179 are clearly closely related, and this makes the connection of *deorum* with *extremam* less essential.

179. *extremam*: *Schol. Veron.* p. 432 *Hagen*: *utrum pessimam, an eruditius sensil, ut legimus apud medicos degenerare (e solere ulli) mos partus*; *Serv.*: *aut post omnes gigantes, quippe ad deorum ultionem nata, aut certe 'extrema' pessima; omnes enim qui de medicina tractant dicunt naturale esse ut inutiliores sint qui nascuntur ultimi*; *Thomas, Essai sur Servius* (1880), 172.

179. *ut perhibent*: cf. *G.* 1, 247; 4, 507; *Aen.* 8, 135; 8, 324; *Cir.* 56; 77; *Cic. Arat.* 447; also many similar qualifications in *Virgil* collected by *von Leutsch* (in *Philologus*, 39 (1880), 325) and *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 242, n. 1; cf. *Serv.*: *quotienscumque fabulosum aliquid dicit solet inferre 'fama est.' mire ergo modo, cum de ipsa fama loqueretur, ait 'ut perhibent'*; *Donat.*: *quod ait 'ut perhibent,' morem proprium tenuit; in fabulosis quippe et incredibilibus non se facit auctorem*; cf. *Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 347. *Münzer, Cacus der Rinderdieb* (1911), 48, thinks *Virgil's* tradition did not gain credence, for *Ov. M.* 12, 39–63 adopts a very different view.

179. *Coeo*: *Schol. Dan.*: *isti gigantes fuerunt inter alios, qui Iovem superpositis montibus regno caelesti detrudere conati, fulminibus sunt deleti. et bene elegit ex fratribus maximos, ex quibus aestimaretur.* For numerous passages dealing with the Titan *Coeus* cf. *Mayer* in *Roscher, Ausf. Lex.* 2 (1897), 1265–1266; *Hepding* in *P.-W.* 11 (1922), 1058–1059; also *G.* 1, 278–279: *tum partu Terra nefando / Coeumque lapelumque creat*

181. monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui quot sunt corpore plumae,
quod MPRVγ^{1c}. pl(umae) V, plume corpore γ.

181–184. *monstrum . . . umbram*: *Aldhelmus, Aenigm.* 13, 12–15 (*Patr. Lat.* 89, 198) — *auris; coeli; umbras* —. 181–183. *cui . . . sonant*: *Schol. Lucan.* 1, 472 (in *codd. Bc, Voss.*) — *corporeae Bc; oculos subitus Voss.* —. 181. *monstrum . . . ingens*: *Prob. Inst. Art.* (G. L. K. 4, 143); *Cledon. Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 72) — *orrendum* —; *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 448); *Anth. Lat. no. 8, 28* (1, p. 35 *Riese*) — *montrum corr. in monstrum A* —.

saeuomque Typhoea. For the not infrequent confusion of Titans with Giants cf. *Ilberg* in *Roscher, op. cit.*, 1, 2 (1886), 1642–1643.

179. *Encelado*: in 3, 578–582 *Virgil* states that he is said to be (*fama est*) buried under Mt. Etna; for other allusions see *Escher* in *P.-W.* 5 (1905), 2578–2579.

180. *progenit*: the alliteration and the appropriately swift metre of the line are noteworthy.

180. *pedibus*: *Serv.*: *conuertit rerum epitheta; nam 'pernix' pedum est, ut* (11, 718) *'pernicibus ignea plantis,' celeritas pennarum est, ut* (3, 243) *'celerique fuga sub sidera lapsae';* and the *Schol. Dan.* add: *aut certe intentio describentis est; supervacua enim est alas habenti pedum pernicitas; aut sic intellege 'pedibus celerem et alis velocibus'?*

180. *pernicibus alis*: *Stat. Theb.* 3, 471 (of birds): *pernicibus alis*; *Avien.* 2, 349–350: *caelum pernicibus intrat / diva alis*; 9, 33–34 (of Fama): *solito pernicior index / cum lugenda refert*; *Venant. Fort. Misc.* 7, 10, 1 (*Patr. Lat.* 88, 246): *quam cito fama volat pernicibus excila pennis, / et loca cuncta suis actibus aucta replet*; *Vida, Poet.* 3, 374: *hic melior motuque pedum et pernicibus alis*; *Aonius Palearius, De Anim. Immortal.* 2, 15–16: *quo tollere humo pernicibus alis / me possim.* On *Aen.* 9, 473 (where Fama is described as *pinna*) the *Schol. Dan.* give a fanciful explanation of why some think Fama is so represented. Words, however, are often described as 'winged,' from the time of *Homer* on (cf. *Plut. De Garrul.* 10), and gossip may appropriately be so imagined.

181. *monstrum*: cf. 3, 658 (of Polyphemus): *monstrum horrendum informe ingens, cui lumen ademptum*; *Schol. Dan.*: *bene vituperavit Famam ex accidentibus personae, per parentes malos et fratres; et quod*

eam describit non est narratio sed argumentatio. quidni monstrum, quae huius naturae sit ut quot plumas, tot oculos, tot linguas, tot aures, et cetera? The word *monstrum* (from *monere*) describes phenomena or beings so abnormal as to appear supernatural warnings; cf. *Donat. Aen.* 8, 80: *monstrum dicitur quod exoritur contra rationem naturae. idcirco existit ut futurum aliquid monstret*; *Pease* on *Cic. De Div.* 1, 3. Among such were, for *Virgil*, *Scylla* (*Ecl.* 6, 76 = *Cir.* 59; cf. *Cir.* 57), the *Harpies* (*Aen.* 3, 214), a varied list in 6, 285–289, *Allecto* (7, 328), *Cacus* (8, 198), *Anubis* (8, 698), etc.; also the *Trojan Horse* is so characterized (2, 245); and cf. *Pavor* in *Stat. Theb.* 7, 111. The appearance of such types in painting — and doubtless by implication also in literature — was censured by *Horace* (*A. P.* 1–5) as ridiculous, probably because unconvincing (cf. *A. P.* 187–188). In most of these cases hybridity or disproportionate size combines with general malevolence. Cf. also *De la Ville de Mirmont, Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile* (1894), 333–334; *Aonius Palearius, De Anim. Immortal.* 1, 316: *monstrum horrendum ingens*; *Cayado, Ecl.* 9, 26: *monstrum horrendum, ingens, cui, etc.*; *Anon. De Monstris*, 45 (in *de Xivrey, Traditions ératologiques* (1836), 142): *de monstro quodam nocturno. et dicunt, quod dici nefandum est, monstrum quoddam nocturnum fuisse, quod semper noctu per umbram coeli et terrae volabat, homines in urbibus horribili stridore terrilans; et quot plumas in corpore habuit, tot oculos, totidem aures et ora. semper quoque sine requie et somno fuisse describitur.*

Norden (on *Aen.* 6, 186) notes how strong *synaloepha* produces the effect of immensity, citing as parallels 3, 658; 6, 186; 6, 552; 7, 170; 12, 897, and quoting *Seneca* ap. *Gell.*

182. tot vigiles oculi subter (mirabile dictu),
tot linguae, totidem ora sonant, tot subrigit auris.

oculis *M* (oculi *M*¹).

auris *P* (aures *P*²), auris (*i an e non liquet*) *V*, aures *c*, auras (*corr. in aures*) *γb*.

[181] 182. mirabile dictu: *Anth. Lat. no. 16, 19* (1, p. 57 Riese); *Cento Probae*, 341.

[181*] 183. tot . . . auris: *Non. p. 50 M.* (p. 71 L.).

12, 2, 10: *de Vergilio quoque eodem in loco* (*Ep. moral. 22*) *verba haec ponit: Vergilius quoque noster non ex alia causa duos quosdam versus et enormes et aliquid supra mensuram trahentis interposuit quam ut Ennianus populus agnosceret in novo carmine aliquid antiquitatis*. The contrast between the heavy, lumbering metre of this line (cf. Maxa in *Wiener Stud.* 19 (1897), 93) and the nimbleness of the preceding well corresponds to that between the bulky content of gossip and the speed with which it is diffused, and I cannot agree with Mackail (1930 ed. of the *Aeneid*, 130) that "the overloaded amplifications" in 4, 181–183 are a sign of early unrevised writing.

181. *horrendum*: cf. 3, 26: *horrendum et dictu video mirabile monstrum*; 3, 712: *nec vates Helenus, cum multa horrenda moneret*; the adjective is also applied to such objects as the Cyclopes (3, 659) or the Hydra (6, 288), as well as to the Sibyl (6, 10) and her uncanny prophecies (6, 99).

181. *ingens*: cf. 4, 89, n. (*ingentes*).

181. *plumae*: cf. *Ar. Aves*, 720: *φήμη γ' ὑμῖν ὄρνις ἐστὶ*; and on the wings of Fame cf. *Hor. C.* 2, 2, 7–8: *illum aget penna metuente solvi / fama superstes*.

182. *tot*, etc.: on the anaphora cf. Haebler in *Philologus*, 47 (1888), 312; Otto, *De Anaphora* (1907), 50; with *tot* it is found in 1, 9–10; 7, 328–329 (in the somewhat similar description of Allecto); 10, 482; 10, 568; 10, 888; also cf. 4, 248, n. (*Atlantis*), below. In this passage Rumor is represented as seeing, hearing, and telling.

182. *vigiles oculi*: cf. *Apul. M.* 2, 2: *oculi caesii quidem sed vigiles et in aspectu micantes*; *Aug. Ep.* 40, 7: *oculos . . . sanos et vigiles*; *Contr. Acad.* 2, 20: *cum Academici ne oculis quidem credant humanis, nedum famae mille quidem, ut poetae fingunt, sed monstrosos tamen*

luminibus. Virgil seems to suggest eyes like those of Argus (cf. Engelmann in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1884), 537–539; Wernicke in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 791–792), who had the epithet of *πανόπτης* and was himself associated with the peacock, or of the beasts in *Rev.* 4, 8: *καὶ τὰ τέσσαρα ζῷα, ἐν καθ' ἐν αὐτῶν ἔχων ἀνὰ πτέρυγας ἕξ, κυκλόθεν καὶ ἑσθὼν γέμουσιν ὀφθαλμῶν*; cf. also Eitrem in *Symbol. Osloenses*, 5 (1927), 85–86, who suggests that Virgil drew upon some Alexandrian writer who made use of concepts found in certain magical documents. The Scholia Danielis remark: *mire 'subter,' quasi quae non videatur et omnia videat*. Nauck, somewhat unnecessarily, placed a colon after *oculi*; cf. Mayor in *Journ. of Philol.* 7 (1876), 7. Tasso imitates the passage in *Ger. lib.* 15, 32, 4: *la Fama ch' ha mille occhi e mille penne*; cf. Parini, *Il Vespro*, 216–217: *la fama / con uno il colse de' cento occhi suoi*.

182. *mirabile dictu*: Schol. Dan.: *sic exclamavit poeta, quasi minus admirationis haberet ipsa descriptio*. For the parenthesis cf. 4, 116, n. (*advert*), above. This phrase Virgil uses in *G.* 2, 30; 3, 275; *Aen.* 1, 439; 2, 174; 7, 64; 8, 252; cf. *Cir.* 120; also similar phrases in *G.* 4, 554: *dictu mirabile*; *Aen.* 4, 454 (= 8, 565): *horrendum dictu*; and *Aen.* 2, 680; 3, 26. Among other writers cf. *Sil.* 11, 440; 14, 66; [Tert.] *De Ligno Vitae*, 12 (*Patr. Lat.* 2, 1171); *Avien.* 2, 654; *Juvenc.* 2, 44; 3, 18; *Aug. C. D.* 1, 19; *Anth. Lat. no.* 377, 9 (1, p. 290 Riese); *Prisc. Carm.* 2, 415 (*Poet. Lat. min.* 5, 289); *Sanazaro, De Partu Virg.* 1, 188; *Vida, Christias*, 3, 309; 3, 478; 6, 939; in most of these cases in the same metrical position. Cf. also *Liv.* 7, 26, 5: *dictu mirabile*; *Ennod. Carm.* 1, 9, 88: *dictu . . . mirabile*; and the phrase *mirabile visu* (12, 252; cf. 7, 78; 10, 637; *Varr. ap. Schol. Dan. G.* 1, 375; *Colum.*

184. nocte volat caeli medio terraeque per umbram
stridens, nec dulci declinat lumina somno;

volat *distinguit M* (cf. Fairclough in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 63 (1932), 223); *Schol. Veron.* medio *distinguit M*²*P*². umbras *b*, umbra *p*. (*str*)idens *P*. declinat (*corr. in declinat*) *c*. lumine *M* (lumina *M*²).

[181*]

185. dulci . . . somno: *Cento Probae*, 125 — lumine *A*¹ et (*corr. m.* 2) *T* —. 185. declinat: *Gl. Ansil.* 162, 136; *q.v.*

10, 363; *Prisc. Carm.* 2, 583 (*Poet. Lat. min.* 5, 294); *Gualterus, Alexandreis*, 9, 366; *Kroll, Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 54.

183. *tot linguae*: *Serv.*: *infinitus est numerus, nam re vera quot sunt homines, in quibus fama est, tot ora habet, quae sunt hominum*; cf. *Anth. Lat. no.* 111, 9 (1, p. 129 Riese), of a pantomime: *tot linguae quot membra viro*; *Anon. Panegy. Max. et Const.* 1, 3: *Fama ultra naturam qua fingitur discursus volucres mutuata et plus quam mille vocibus sonora percrebuit*, etc.; *Amm. Marc.* 21, 9, 3: *fama vero, quae mille (ut aiunt) linguis rerum mire exaggerat fidem, per Illyrios . . . fundebatur*.

183. *subrigit auris*: the verb is infrequent in a transitive sense, and after the Augustan period chiefly in the uncontracted forms; cf. *Sen. H. F.* 790: *caplat aure subrecta sonum*; *Plin. N. H.* 11, 137: *in equis et omnium iumentorum genere indicia animi praeferunt* (sc. aures), *marcidae fessis, micantes pavidis, subrectae furentibus, resolutae aegris*; *Aug. De Anima et eius Orig.* 2, 9: *doctrinam cui omnis aetas aures subrigat*; *Wirth, De Vergili apud Senecam Philos. Usu* (1900), 18; also *Val. Fl.* 2, 125 (of Fama): *iamque ora parat, iam suscitatur aures*; *Otto, Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 49, for similar expressions.

184. *nocte volat*: the suggestion is that of a bat; cf. *Ov. M.* 4, 415 (of bats): *nocte volant*; *F.* 6, 135 (of striges): *nocte volant*; also *Aen.* 3, 121: *Fama volat* (= 7, 392; 8, 554); *Petron.* 123, 211; *Aonius Palearius, De Anim. Immortal.* 1, 329: *ille volat stridens*. *Serv.*: *bene naturalem rem dixit; nam quanto celatum est aliquid tanto magis requiritur. et sine dubio incipiens fama semper obscura est;*

quae divulgata conquisceat; unde ait 'luce sedet.'

184. *caeli medio*: *Schol. Dan.*: *absolute; quia inter caelum terramque medium est*. Why Fama is localized here Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 656–657) explains by citing *Ov. M.* 12, 39–43: *orbe locus medio est inter terrasque fretumque / caelestes plagas, triplicis confinia mundi; / unde quod est usquam, quamvis regionibus absit, / inspicitur, penetralque cavas vox omnis ad aures, / Fama tenet, summaque domum sibi legit in arce*; 12, 62–63: *ipsa quid in caelo rerum pelagoque geratur / et tellure videt, totumque inquirat in orbem*; *Val. Fl.* 2, 119–120: *illa (sc. Fama) fremens habitat sub nubibus imis, / non Erebi, non diva poli, terrasque fatigat*. On the phrase cf. 4, 256 and n. (*terras inter caelumque*); 9, 230: *castrorum et campi medio*; *Ov. M.* 5, 644: *et medium caeli terraeque per aëra vecta est*; *Tac. Ann.* 1, 64, 7: *medio montium et paludum*.

184. *terraeque per umbram*: *Serv.*: *noctem umbram terrae esse numquam aptius significavit*. With the end of the line cf. *Auson. Gripphus ternarii Numeri*, 25: *noctisque per umbram*.

185. *stridens*: cf. 9, 419 and 12, 859 (of arrows), in each of which lines the word occurs as a run-over at the beginning (cf. 4, 23, n. (*impulsi*)); 4, 190: *gaudens*). The verb expresses most commonly the whizzing sound of a missile (5, 502; 7, 531; 9, 419; 9, 586; 9, 632; 9, 705; 10, 645; 10, 776; 11, 563; 12, 319; 12, 691; 12, 859; 12, 926), also the creaking of hinges (1, 449; 6, 573; 7, 613; *Cir.* 222) or wheels (*G.* 3, 536) or of trees in the wind (2, 418), the hissing of hot metals dipped in water (*G.* 4, 172; *Aen.* 8, 420; 8, 450) or of a hydra (6, 288), the whistling of a gale (1, 102), the sound of waves flowing

186. luce sedet custos aut summi culmine tecti
turribus aut altis, et magnas territat urbes,

(tu)rribus P. magna P (magnas P¹), magnis (corr. in magnas) c. magnas et M (et magnas M²).

186. luce . . . culmine: [Prob.] De ult. Syll. 4 (G. L. K. 4, 226) — summi c. — 186. culmine tecti: Gl. Ansil. 155, 67.

187. territat: Gl. Ansil. 559, 506; q.v.

back from a beach (G. 4, 262), the buzz of insects (G. 4, 310; 4, 556), or the whirring of wings (G. 4, 310; Aen. 1, 397; 7, 561; Cir. 515), as here; cf. the *stridentibus alis* of Amor in Auson. *Cupido cruc.* 46; also notice the use of *stridit* in 4, 689, below. The Scholia Danielis remark: *stridens potest et ad oris sonum et ad alarum referri*. The latter interpretation fits especially well with the swiftness of flight here described. Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) compares Ov. *F.* 6, 140: *striges* are so called because *horrendum stridere nocte solent*, but this seems hardly comparable to the sound made by Fama.

185. dulci, etc.: Schol. Dan.: *qui est omnibus animantibus dulcis. et 'somno' utrum ablativo an dativo? (dativo) melius interpretis, quasi non succumbat illi*. On the onomatopoeia, cf. 4, 81, n. (*suadentque*), and the parallels there collected, some relating especially to the present line; cf. Cypr. *Hept. Gen.* 912: *defessus dulci declinat lumina somno*. Similar phrases without the same onomatopoeic effect are Catull. 64, 91-92: *flagrantia declinavit / lumina*; Ov. *Rem. Am.* 500: *somno lumina victa dedi*; Prop. 2, 1, 11: *seu cum poscentes somnum declinat ocellos*; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 31, 119-120: *somno / lumina declinat*. In Greek γλυκός appears as a frequent epithet of ὕπνος; e.g., Od. 2, 395; 8, 445; 10, 548.

185. lumina: for oculi; cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 28.

186. luce: 'by day'; cf. Cic. *Off.* 3, 93: *luce palam in foro sallet*; In Pis. 23: *luce et palam*; Auct. ad Her. 4, 48: *luci noctem, nocte lucem expectatis*; Aen. 9, 153: *luce palam*; Juv. 15, 43: *nocte et luce*. The word begins the verse, as *nocte* in line 184.

186. sedet custos: Cartault (*L'Art de*

Virgile dans l'Énéide, 2 (1926), 828-829) compares 11, 836-837: *at Triviae custos iamdudum in montibus Opis / alta sedet summis*; and the Scholia Danielis interpret: *custos speculatrix, ne quid eam praetereat; non quae custodiat aut servet*.

186. culmine tecti: cf. 2, 302: *summi fastigia tecti*; Ov. *M.* 12, 43 (of Fama): *summaque domum sibi legit in arce*; and, for the phraseology, Ov. *M.* 12, 480: *tecti a culmine*; Curt. 10, 5, 15: *culmine sui quisque tecti prospectabant*; Amm. Marc. 26, 10, 19: *culminibus insidere lectorum*; 27, 3, 8: *summis lectorum culminibus*; Juven. 2, 484: *spargantur culmine tecti*; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 16, 34; 18, 387; 26, 405; Licent. ap. Aug. *Ep.* 26: *inania tecti / culmina*; Bertharius ap. Mabillon, *Act. Sanct.* 1, p. 27 (cited by Zappert, *Virgil's Fortleben im Mittelalter* (1851), 21): *collapsi culmine tecti*; also cf. G. 1, 402 (of the noctua): *servans de culmine summo*. As noted by Servius, *summi culmine tecti* indicates the activities of Fama *per domos nobilium, turribus aut altis* its operations *per domos regum, et magnas territat urbes* refers to *magnos populos; et dicit plebeios*; to which the Schol. Dan. add: *et ostendere vult Famae linguis neminem exceptum qui non exagitari possit*. Private and public affairs alike thus fall within its notice.

187. turribus: often of high buildings, especially those of the wealthy; e.g., Hor. C. 1, 4, 13-14: *pallida Mors aequo pulsat pede pauperum tabernas / regumque turris*; *Epod.* 17, 70; Ov. *M.* 8, 14: *regia turris erat*; Tib. 1, 7, 19 (and Smith's note); Prop. 3, 21, 15; Suet. Nero, 38 (for the *turris Maecenatiana*); and Smith compares "the occasional use of 'Towers' in names of country places in England, etc."

187. aut: on its postpositive position cf.

188. tam ficti pravique tenax quam nuntia veri.
haec tum multiplici populos sermone replebat
gaudens, et pariter facta atque infecta canebat:

(t)am P.

po(pulos) V. replebant (corr. in replebat) π.

(g)audens P. f(acta atque inf)ecta V. adque R.

188. tam . . . veri: Paul. Nol. *Ep.* 16, 10 — falsi prauque (pravi quae O, paruique F); nescia veri —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 3, 430 — uicti (corr. in ficti) M, facti Pa; paruique (corr. in puerique) M, paruique Pa; qua Pa —; Anon. *Vita Godefridi Capenberg.* 7 (*Mon. Germ. hist., Scriptores*, 12, 521). 188. tam . . . tenax: Arus. *Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 513). 188. ficti pravique: Gl. Ansil. 243, 35. 188. tenax: Gl. Ansil. 556, 260; q.v. 188. nuntia veri: Arus. *Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 495).

189. multiplici sermone: Gl. Ansil. 372, 121.

190. facta . . . infecta: Gl. Ansil. 231, 179 (cf. 231, 180).

4, 317; Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 404. In this line Unterharnscheidt, *De Velerum in Aeneide Coniecturis* (1911), 22, would accept for *et magnas* of most manuscripts and editors the reading of M¹: *magnas et*, on the principle of the *lectio difficilior*, and in this he is followed by Janell. But the inversion of *aut* seems adequate to account for the corruption of *et magnas* to *magnas et*, and two such inversions in one line would seem unduly affected in style.

187. territat urbes: cf. 12, 852: *meritas aut bello territat urbes*; also Val. Fl. 2, 122 (of Fama): *motis quatit oppida linguis*; Sil. 4, 1: *Fama per Ausoniae turbatas spargitur urbes*; 4, 7: *terrificis quatit attonitos rumoribus arces*.

188. tam ficti, etc.: this general characteristic of Fama is resumed in 4, 190 by an account of its action in this particular instance; cf. 4, 11, n. (*quam, etc.*), above. With the thought cf. Ov. *M.* 9, 138-139: *quae veris addere falsa / gaudet*; 12, 54-55: *mixtaeque cum veris passim commenta vagantur / milia rumorum*; Sil. 6, 554: *vera ac ficta simul spargebat fama per urbem*; Aug. C. D. 8, 27: *falsis fictisque convictis*. On the irresponsibility of gossip cf. Plaut. *Trin.* 199-211; also Valentine in *Cl. Weekly*, 21 (1928), 108: "The poet's meaning in the Fama passage is that the deadly sin of gossip consists not necessarily in telling injurious lies, but in making injurious statements without knowing them to be true." For the substantial use of *fictum* cf. Ov. *M.* 9, 769.

Fictum probably represents sheer invention, while *pravum* is a distortion of the truth.

188. tenax: for its use with the genitive — with which, rather than modifying *nuntia*, it is probably here to be construed — cf. Hor. C. 3, 3, 1: *tenacem propositi virum* (cf. Ov. *M.* 10, 405); Ov. *M.* 7, 657: *quaesitque tenax*; Pers. 5, 48: *Parca tenax veri*; Juv. 8, 25: *iustitiaque tenax*.

188. nuntia veri: cf. 9, 474: *nuntia Fama ruit*; 11, 139: *Fama volans, tanti praenuntia luctus*; Ov. *M.* 15, 3-4: *praenuntia veri / Fama*; I. G. XIV, 1120 (on a stone found at Tusculum): Φήμη ἐναγγέλω.

189. multiplici: cf. Cic. *Orat.* 12: *multiplicium variorumque sermonum*.

189. populos: Schol. Dan.: *utrum generaliter, an Tyrios et Troianos tantum*; cf. Ogle in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 55 (1924), 90. But 4, 196 shows that the native African tribes are also to be included. Virgil uses this word in the plural 35 times in the *Georgics* and the *Aeneid*.

189. replebat: in Virgil more often with an object, like *tectum* (2, 679; 7, 502) or *moenia* (11, 140); but cf. Ov. *M.* 9, 134-135: *actaque magni / Herculis implerant terras*; 9, 666-667: *fama novi centum Creteas forsitan urbes / implesset monstri*; Dracont. *Rom.* 8, 442: *nuntia fama ducis totam replebat urbem*. For the rhyme between this line and the next cf. 4, 54, n. (*amore*).

190. gaudens: cf. Ov. *M.* 9, 138-139: *quae veris addere falsa / gaudet*; Schol. Dan.: *et quidam non temporale Famae epitheton*

191. venisse Aenean Troiano sanguine cretum;
cui se pulchra viro dignetur iungere Dido;

aeneam *c.* troia . . . anguine *V*, troiano a sanguine *R*, *Donat.*, et (a *add. sup.*) *γ.* cretom (*corr. in cretum*) *c.*

pulcra *c.*, sepulcra (ra *m. rec. in ras.*) *π.* <*dign*>etur *V*, dignentur *M* (dignetur *M*¹). dono *c*¹.

192. iungere: *Gl. Ansil.* 322, 152; *q.v.*

'gaudens' esse volunt, sed generale, ut multiplici sermone gaudeat, quo tunc populos implebat. If the former possibility were adopted we might punctuate *replebat*, / *gaudens et*, making *et* postpositive as in 4, 165; 4, 418; 4, 513. *Gaudens* is similarly added to the subject of a verb in 8, 702; *Val. Fl.* 1, 600: *ingenti gaudens domat aequora velo*. Here it expresses the glee of the retailer of gossip.

190. *infecta*: *Serv.*: *facta atque infecta sicut sequentia indicant*; *Schol. Dan.*: *et est quasi proverbiale*; with such a proverbial form cf. 1, 543: *fandi atque nefandi* (and parallels in Otto, *Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 132); 9, 595: *digna atque indigna relatu* (cf. 12, 811); *Hor. S.* 1, 4, 84-85: *fungere qui non visa potest, commissa tacere / qui nequit*; *Val. Fl.* 2, 117 (of Fama): *digna atque indigna canentem*; *Stat. Theb.* 3, 430 (of Fama): *facta, infecta loqui*; *Sil.* 6, 554: *vera ac ficta simul spargebat Fama per urbem*; *Vida, Christias*, 2, 44: *facta atque infecta canentes*.

Fundamental for the interpretation of this book is the meaning of *infecta*. In the following lines we learn that (1) there had arrived Aeneas, (2) of Trojan race, (3) upon whom as a husband Dido was willing to bestow herself; that (4) they were spending the whole winter in luxurious ease, (5) forgetful of their kingdoms, and (6) the victims of unseemly passion. Of these statements the identity, race, and arrival of Aeneas, and the spending of (at least part of) the winter at Carthage are clearly matters of fact; that both appeared largely forgetful of their royal duties is a somewhat subjective matter (and is denied by Servius), but the opinion would seem justified by 4, 86-89; 4, 227-237; 4, 265-276; that Dido, on her part, was ready to marry Aeneas needs no further elaboration. Nothing seems to remain for the specific

infecta, so carefully prepared for by the account of the general characteristics of Fama in line 188, save the two closely connected expressions *luxu* (which may or may not imply anything beyond idleness, gluttony, or extravagance) and *turpi . . . cupidine captos*; cf. Conington, *ad loc.*; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 132 (who off-sets against the rumor of the revelry of Dido and Aeneas the fact that Mercury on his first mission (4, 260) finds Aeneas *fundantem arces ac tecta novantem*); Ogle in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 55 (1924), 91; also Clark in *Cl. Journ.* 27 (1932), 501. If these, then, alone are to be classed as slander (as *infecta* would imply), the prevalent view of the relation between Aeneas and Dido needs revision.

190. *canebat*: cf. 1, 14, n. (*canebat*).

191. *venisse*: cf. Dracont. *Rom.* 8, 443: *advenisse Parin Troiano sanguine cretum*; also the rumors spread by Turnus (8, 11-17); La Cerda (*ad loc.*) compares *Liv.* 26, 50, 13.

191. *Troiano*: cf. 1, 19: *Troiano a sanguine*; also 1, 550; 7, 318; Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 3.

191. *sanguine cretum*: cf. 2, 74: *quo sanguine cretus* (= 3, 608); *Stat. Silv.* 5, 2, 17: *sanguine cretus*; *Carm. de S. Cassiano*, 36 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 4, 191): *de sanguine cretum*; *Carm. de S. Ansberto*, 9 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 4, 1004): *sanguine cretus*. In these and the other cases (8, 135; 9, 672) in which Virgil uses *cretus* it is with the simple ablative, as attested here by most MSS.

192. *pulchra*: cf. 4, 60, n. (*pulcherrima Dido*).

192. *viro*: 'as a husband'; *Schol. Dan.*: *marito, ut (Ecl. 7, 7) 'vir gregis ipse caper.'*

192. *dignetur*: cf. 3, 475: *coniugio, Anchise, Veneris dignate superbo*; *Ov. H.* 7, 33: *ego, quae coepi (neque enim dedignor) amare*

193. nunc hiemem inter se luxu, quam longa, fovere
regnorum immemores turpique cupidine captos.

(se) *V.*

immemores *MPp.*

193. nunc . . . fovere: *Serv. Aen.* 5, 626; 8, 86 — *luxum F*; *foueret ASM* — 193. hiemem quam longa: *Gl. Ansil.* 279, 83. 193. luxu fovere: *Gl. Ansil.* 350, 447.

194. regnorum . . . captos: *Anth. Lat. no. 719a*, 110 (2, p. 192 Riese) — *inmemores*; *capti* — 194. regnorum immemores: *Cento Probae*, 226 — *ignorum (corr. in signorum) S*; *immemores PS*, *inmemores cett.* —; *Gl. Ansil.* 490, 779. 194. turpi cupidine: *Gl. Ansil.* 576, 240.

(in 7, 92 Dido speaks of the *concupitus fama*); *M.* 8, 326-327: 'o felix, siquem dignabitur,' inquit, / 'ista virum'; *Serv.*: *libravit sermonem, quasi personae superioris*. The verb is used with the infinitive in *Ecl.* 6, 1; etc.; cf. Lohmann, *De Graecismorum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 79.

193. *hiemem*: cf. 4, 52, n. (*hiems*). We are not to infer that the whole winter has yet passed, for the contemplated departure of Aeneas at 4, 309-310 is while it still continues, but that rumor assumes that the season will all be passed in delay. This may well have been the attitude of the Trojans, feeling their interests neglected in favor of those of the Carthaginians, and evidently eager to depart (cf. 4, 294-295; 4, 397-407; 4, 581-583).

The syntax of *hiemem* is disputed. If it be accusative of duration of time, as seems probable, then *inter se . . . fovere* would seem to refer to embraces and fondling on the part of Aeneas and Dido (cf. *Ecl.* 3, 3-4; *Aen.* 1, 718; 8, 388), which are to be considered among the *infecta* retailed by Fama as *facta*. Grammatically this reciprocal use may be paralleled by 5, 766: *complexi inter se*. If, however, *hiemem* be construed as the object of *fovere*, we must explain it as an extension from various somewhat rare local idioms (e.g., *G.* 3, 420: *fovet humum*; *Aen.* 9, 57: *castra fovere*; *Schol. Dan.*: *veteres 'fovere' pro diu incolere et inhabitare dixerunt*; but cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 344) to a temporal usage elsewhere without parallel. Potter (in *Cl. Journ.* 21 (1926), 621, n. 6) thinks *fovere* here means "cherish in anticipation," and compares 1, 18 — again not a close parallel.

193. *luxu*: in Virgil only in the ablative. In 1, 637; 6, 605 it applies to the luxurious appointments of royalty, but has no bad connotation; in *G.* 3, 135, and perhaps in the present passage, the implications are more unfavorable; cf. DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 71, for Virgil's euphemism at this point.

193. *quam longa*: cf. 8, 86-87: *Thybris ea fluvium, quam longa est, nocte tumentem / leniit*; *Ov. Am.* 1, 2, 3: *noctem, quam longa, peregi*; *H.* 3, 49: *vidi, quantus erat, fustum tellure*; 12, 58: *actast per lacrimas nox mihi, quanta fuit*; *Auson. Ecl.* 3, 7: *dies quam longus erit*; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 21, 736: *et totam, quam longa dies aestate moratur*. On the omission of the copula cf. 4, 53, n. (*dum, etc.*). So Antony spent the winter with Cleopatra (cf. *App. B. C.* 5, 42-44; etc.; *Shakesp. Ant. and Cleop.* Act 1, Sc. 4, init.), and this alleged dalliance of Aeneas with Dido would probably suggest to a Roman reader that modern incident, or, as Conway (*Makers of Europe* (1931), 8, n. 2) thinks, the period from October, 48 to March, 47, during which the relations between Cleopatra and Julius Caesar continued. Cocchia (in *Riv. Indo-Greco-Italica*, 8 (1924), 15-16) thinks, however, that Fama here exaggerates the length of Aeneas's infatuation.

194. *immemores*: *Serv.*: *hoc fingit, nam et illi curae est Carthago et Aeneae Italia*; and the *Schol. Dan.* add: *an quia quod una patitur duobus assignat?* The negligence of Aeneas is, however, resumed by Jupiter (4, 224-225; 4, 236) and Mercury (4, 267: *regni rerumque oblite tuarum*); that of Dido has been noted, in its effects, at 4, 86-89.

194. *turpique, etc.*: cf. 7, 189: *capta*

195. haec passim dea foeda virum diffundit in ora.
protinus ad regem cursus detorquet Iarban,

diffundit c.

gregem R. cursus P (cursu P¹), Donat. et cursus et cursum. detorque P, detorquat γ.
hiarban Pγ, Donat., iarbam Serv., iraban c¹, iarban (corr. in iarbam) b.

195. dea foeda: Gl. Ansil. 161, 1. 195. diffundit: Gl. Ansil. 177, 301; q.v.
196. protinus... Iarban: Non. p. 377 M. (p. 600 L.) — cursum; hiarbam (hiarbam L¹A*) —. 196. protinus... regem: Cento Probae, 357. 196. cursus detorquet: Gl. Ansil. 158, 331 — cursum —; Gl. Aa, 209, 1075.

cupidine coniunx; Ov. M. 13, 762: *validaque cupidine captus*; 14, 29: *pariliq[ue] cupidine captam*; F. 6, 119: *visaeq[ue] cupidine captus*; Val. Fl. 2, 131: *adfore iam luxu turpique cupidine captos*; Juv. 10, 351: *magnaue cupidine ducti*; Justin, 12, 7, 13: *captus itaque cupidine Herculis acta superare*; Amm. Marc. 15, 4, 6: *Alfeus... cupidine fontis Arethusae captus*; Schol. Dan.: *cupidinem veteres inmoderatum amorem dicebant*.

195. dea foeda: Schol. Dan.: *crudelis, impia; quod alibi (4, 298–299) interpretatur 'eadem impia fama... / detulit.'* Foeda might here modify *haec* (cf. Donat.: *non dea foeda sed ora virum foeda*), but in that case *dea*, without any modification, would appear a little bald; moreover *foeda* seems an appropriate description for Fama, both in physical appearance, as above described, and in moral character. Stat. Theb. 2, 208 describes Fama as a *dea turbida*; cf. Juv. 14, 152: *foedae bucina famae*.

195. virum... in ora: cf. Enn. Epig. 2, 2: *volito vivos per ora virum*; cf. G. 3, 9: *virum volitare per ora*; Aen. 12, 235: *succedet fama vivosque per ora feretur*; Hor. Ep. 1, 3, 9: *Romana brevi venturus in ora*; Prop. 3, 9, 32: *venies... in ora virum*.

196. protinus: in Virgil often initial in the line; 2, 437 begins with *protinus ad*.

196. cursus: for the plural cf. Spitta, Quaest. Vergilianae (1867), 33; Braumüller, Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis, 1 (1877), 15.

196. detorquet: cf. Apul. M. 8, 6: *fama dilabitur et cursus primos ad domum Tlepolemi detorquet*.

196. Iarban: cf. 4, 36, n. (*despectus Iarbas*); also, for the spelling, varying be-

tween the aspirated and the non-aspirated form, and thus paralleling some Punic names (like (H)amilcar, (H)asdrubal, (H)annibal, (H)anno, (H)amilco, and (H)iempsal), cf. Barkowski in P.-W. 9 (1916), 746. Iarbas is a mythical figure (for his identification as a deity cf. Barkowski, op. cit., 747), as his descent from Ammon and a nymph indicates (4, 198; Sil. 2, 59), with no other family connections save a daughter, Asbyte, mentioned by Sil. 2, 58. He ruled over one or more African tribes variously identified as the Gaetuli (4, 326; Ov. H. 7, 125; Sil. 2, 64), Maxitani, Numidae, Mauri, Mazici, Libyans, and others named by Silius (2, 56–64; cf. Barkowski, op. cit., 747; Dante, Purg. 31, 72, calls Africa the *terra di Iarba*), thus corresponding to one of those semi-barbarous princes who in Virgil's own day surrounded the confines of the Roman Empire and gave to their peoples a little of its culture; cf. Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide, 1 (1926), 313. The name also appears as that of an historical Numidian king of the time of Pompey; cf. Lenschau in P.-W. 8 (1913), 1388. For evidence that Iarbas was regarded by certain African peoples as their autochthonous ancestor cf. the passage from Hippolytus discussed by Barkowski, op. cit., 747; and for a possible confusion in Serv. Aen. 1, 263 between Iarbas and Sicharbas, by which Iarbas is earlier placed at Tyre, cf. Kowalski, De Didone Graeca et Latina (1929), 23, n. 1. According to one form of the legend it was to avoid the advances of Iarbas that Dido committed suicide (cf. the passages cited by Barkowski, op. cit., 746; to which add Anth. Planud. 151, 7–8, translated by [Auson.] Epig. 118

197. incenditque animum dictis atque aggerat iras.
Hic Hammone satus rapta Garamantide nympha

197–216: MPR. adque R. agger. t b¹.

ammone Pγ, hamone (h in ras.) b, amone c. garamanthide p. nimpha γ.

197. incenditque animum: Cento Probae, 359. 197. aggerat iras: Gl. Ansil. 40, 44.

198. hic... satus: Schol. Lucan. 3, 292 — amnone —. 198. rapta... nympha: Serv. Aen. 1, 28.

(p. 420 Peiper)). According to Ov. F. 3, 551–556 and Sil. 8, 50–56, after the death of Dido Iarbas seized her kingdom. Some correspondences may be noted between the figures of Iarbas and Turnus, each a princely rival of Aeneas for the affections of a woman of royal family in the country to which Aeneas had come, and each a person of vigorous, not to say violent, disposition. The outcome is, of course, quite different in the two cases, and the figure of Iarbas never comes into the presence of Aeneas but remains in the background of the story as a practical means, through the intermediate figures of Jupiter and Mercury, of removing Aeneas from Carthage, as the progress of the Aeneid demands; cf. Cauer, Zum Verständnis der nachahmenden Kunst des Vergil (1885), 24; Heinze, Vergils epische Technik, 3 ed. (1915), 320.

197. incenditque animum: = 6, 889; cf. 4, 54, and n. (*incensum*); 7, 482: *animos accendit agrestis*; 10, 368: *dictis virtutem accendit amaris*; 12, 426: *animos accendit in hostem*; Spitta, Quaest. Vergilianae (1867), 41; Preuss, Die metaph. Kunst Vergils in der Aeneis (1894), 7–8; also 4, 232, infra.

197. aggerat: cf. 11, 342: *his onerat dictis atque aggerat iras*; Stat. Theb. 2, 198–199: *dictis impensius aggerat omne / promissum*; Schol. Dan.: *super eas quas habebat ex contemptu*; and, for the cadence, G. 3, 556: *atque aggerat ipsi*; Walahfridus Strabo, Vita S. Galli, 45 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 430): *verbis exaggerat iras*; Salom. et Waldr. Carm. 1, 128 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 4, 301): *exaggerat iras*.

197. iras: on the plural cf. Braumüller, op. cit., 1 (1877), 15; Buscaroli ad loc., who considers this not as a poetic plural but as indicating the accumulation of grievances each provocative of the anger of Iarbas.

198. hic, etc.: the events of another day probably begin here and extend to 4, 583; cf. 4, 6, n. (*postera*, etc.).

198. Hammone: on this name, in Greek usually without and in Latin with an aspirate, due, according to Meyer (in Roscher, Ausf. Lex. 1 (1884), 291; cf. Cook, Zeus, 1 (1914), 354), to a confusion with the Punic *Ba'al chamman*, or 'fiery Baal,' but by modern scholars usually derived from Amen-Râ of Egyptian Thebes, who, as king of the gods, was easily (as probably in 4, 205–210) syncretized with Zeus and Jupiter, cf. Pease on Cic. De Div. 1, 3; Gsell, Hist. anc. de l'Afrique du Nord, 4 (1920), 283, n. 6. The especial seat of his worship was at the Ammonium in the Oasis of Siwah in the Libyan desert, but his importance had in Virgil's time greatly declined; cf. Strab. 17, 1, 43: *περί τοῦ Ἀμμωνος τοσοῦτον εἰπεῖν βουλόμεθα ὅτι τοῖς ἀρχαίοις μᾶλλον ἢ ἐν τιμῇ καὶ ἡ μαντικὴ καθόλου καὶ τὰ χρηστήρια, νυνὶ δ' ὀλιγωρὰ κατέχει πολλή, κτλ.*

198. satus: cf. 5, 244: *satus Anchisa* (= 5, 424; 7, 152; cf. 6, 331); 7, 656: *satus Hercule*; 7, 331: *sata Nocte* (cf. 12, 860); 10, 563: *Volcente satum*. The partly divine origin of Iarbas puts him more nearly on a parity with Aeneas, thereby dignifying somewhat the position of Aeneas in rivalry with him, as well as giving the prayer of Iarbas speedy attention by Jupiter. Divine origin was often claimed by persons whose birth was obscure or of doubtful legitimacy (e.g., Romulus and Remus; cf. Liv. 1, 4, 2), as well as by those seeking to enhance their own importance; cf. Val. Max. 9, 5, Ext. 1 (of Alexander the Great): *fastidio... Philippi Iovem Hammonem patrem ascivit*; and on the whole subject of virgin births Saintyves (pseudonym for Nourry), Les

199. *templa Iovi centum latis immania regnis,
centum aras posuit vigilemque sacraverat ignem,*

ioui (ui in ras.) R. simania P (immania P²), inmania R. regis (corr. in regnis) γ.

Virgès Mères et les Naissances miraculeuses (1908).

198. *rapta*, etc.: cf. 1, 28. Children whose mothers were reputed to be nymphs appear frequently in literature; e.g., 7, 47 (Latinus, son of Faunus and the nymph Marica); 7, 734 (Oebalus, son of Telon and the nymph Sebethis); 10, 551 (Tarquinius, son of Faunus and the nymph Dryope); Apollod. *Bibl.* 3, 6, 7 (Tiresias, son of Everes and the nymph Chariclo); Apoll. Rh. 2, 4 (Amycus, son of Posidon and the Bithynian Melie).

198. *Garamantide*: Serv.: *et proprium potest esse et gentile; nam Garamantes sunt iuxta Libyam*. No other mention of this particular nymph seems to occur. Donatus curiously seems to take the Garamantian woman as the wife rather than the mother of Iarbas.

The Garamantes, whose chief town was Garama and whose eponymous ancestor was Garamas (Apoll. Rh. 4, 1494), lived in the oases of the Eastern Sahara, being mentioned as early as Herodotus (4, 174; 4, 183) and frequently by geographers, historians, and (after Virgil) Latin poets. As a result of two campaigns during the reign of Augustus (cf. *Ecl.* 8, 44; *Aen.* 6, 794-795; Dessau in *P.-W.* 7 (1912), 751) their name must have been familiar to Virgil's readers, and their ancestors might appear as appropriate rivals to the Trojan ancestors of the Romans. In *Ecl.* 8, 44 the Garamantes are a type of far-distant peoples.

With the phrase cf. Sil. 2, 65: *fundarat thalamos Tritonide nympa*; in 2, 58-59 he says: *proles Garamantis Iarbae / Hammone hic genitus*.

199. *centum*: a frequent round number in Latin as with us (cf. Serv.: *finitus pro infinito*; Hunziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), 39-40; Clark, *Numerical Phraseology in Vergil* (1913), 74), ritual cases in Virgil being 1, 416-417: *centumque Sabaeo / ture calent arae*; 2, 501: *centumque nurus Priamumque per aras* (if

centum does not modify *nurus* rather than *aras*); 4, 510: *ter centum tonat ore deos*; 7, 93: *centum . . . bidentis*; 8, 716: *maxima ter centum totam delubra per urbem* (though in these cases it is, of course, a multiple of *centum*); Guillemin, *L'Originalité de Virgile* (1931), 39; cf. Sil. 1, 91-92: *centum / stant arae*; 12, 332-333: *altaria fument / centum festa Iovi; centum cadat hostia cultris*. Possibly there is some mystic significance in the number, as is suggested by La Cerda (*ad loc.*), who cites [Julian,] *Ep. ad Seraphionem*, p. 394 D-396 B, where many instances are collected. The description which follows, of the magnificence of the rites, is, as Cartault observes (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 313), Greco-Roman in its details. Iarbas has both by his birth and by the extent of his religious devotion merited the attention of Jupiter.

199. *latis . . . regnis*: cf. Sen. *Tr.* 878: *regna . . . lata*.

199. *immania*: rather a favorite adjective with Virgil, like *ingens* (cf. 4, 89, n. (*ingentes*), above); often, though not here, with a bad connotation (Serv. *Aen.* 1, 110); cf. also 6, 19: *posuitque immania templa*.

200. *centum*: with the repetition cf. G. 2, 43; 4, 383; *Aen.* 1, 634-635; 6, 43; 6, 625; 10, 565-566 (*centum . . . centenas*); Otto, *De Anaphora* (1907), 50.

200. *aras posuit*: cf. 3, 404: *positis aris*.

200. *posuit . . . sacraverat*: with the shift of tense the Schol. Dan. compare 1, 471-472 (*vastabat . . . avertit*); 5, 96-98 (*coedit . . . fundebat*); 8, 506 (*misit mandatque*); also cf. 4, 149, n. (*ibat*), above. Some editors refer the pluperfect to the original kindling of a fire which antedated the foundation of the hundred altars; more probable seems the choice of *posuit* because of the metrical impossibility of *posuerat*; cf. Hahn, *Coordination of non-coordinate Elements in Vergil* (1930), 26-27. In 6, 18-19 the verbs *sacravit . . . posuitque* are similarly combined.

200. *vigilem*: Schol. Dan.: *significat sine*

201. *excubias divom aeternas, pecudumque cruore
pingue solum et variis florentia limina sertis.*

excubiasque R, aliquot codd. Pieriani. diuum codd. plerique, deum aliquot codd. Pieriani. pecudumque π. cruorem P (cruore P²). florentia (flo m. 2 in ras.) b.

201-202. *pecudumque . . . solum*: Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 4, 62. 201. *excubias aeternas*: Gl. *Ansil.* 219, 337 (cf. 319, 23).

[201] 202. *florentia*: Gl. *Ansil.* 248, 220; q.v.

intermissione fieri sacrificia, ad quem excubare per diem et noctem necesse sit, ut dicimus cotidie in officio esse; non ergo apud quas dii excubant, sed quae diis excubantur; and Serv. on line 201 says: *sciendum non vacare ratione, ut in aliquibus templis sit ignis pervigil; nam potestates aut terrenae sunt, aut aetherae, aut aetheriae; sed quia aether ignis est, ideo aetheriarum potestatum templis ignis est, ut reddatur eis imago sui elementis. est autem Iovis, qui aether est, Minervae, quae supra aethera est; unde de patris capite procreata esse dicitur*. Donat.: *vigilemque ignem, hoc est, qui semper nutrimentis necessariis foveat extinguere non posset perindeque excubias divom continuas exhiberet*. On the constant fire at the temple of Ammon cf. Plut. *De Def. Orac.* 2: *νεωστὶ δὲ γεγενησὶ παρ' Ἀμμωνα, τὰ μὲν ἄλλα τῶν ἐκεῖ δῆλος ἦν μὴ πάνυ θαυμακῶς, περὶ δὲ τοῦ λυχνοῦ τοῦ ἀσβεστοῦ διηγείτο λόγον ἄξιον σπουδῆς λεγόμενον ὑπὸ τῶν ἱερέων, κτλ.*

An undying fire, perhaps originally a practical means of preserving in each community an uninterrupted supply of that convenience and later endowed with symbolic associations, appears in many parts of the world, including the fires maintained at Rome by the Vestals and in Greek cities in the Prytaneum (cf. Süß in *P.-W.* 8 (1913), 1284; 1288-1289; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 1 (1913), 13-14) and at various other spots (cf. Paus. 2, 19, 5; 8, 9, 2; 8, 37, 11; Callim. *Hymn.* 2, 83-84; etc.), among the Persian fire-worshippers, and in some Greek and Roman Catholic churches. Cf. also Eitrem, *Opfertritt v. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 144; 150-154.

200. *sacraverat ignem*: cf. 2, 502: *quos ipse sacraverat ignes*; 3, 305: *geminas . . . sacraverat aras*.

201. *excubias*: cf. 9, 159: *interea vigilum excubiis obsidere portas*; *Cir.* 207-208: *vigilum . . . / excubias*. The phrase is loosely appositive to *vigilem . . . ignem*.

201. *cruore*: cf. G. 4, 542: *sacrum iugulis demitte cruorem*; *Aen.* 6, 248; 8, 106: *tepidusque cruor fumabat ad aras*; Sil. 10, 461-462: *per lubrica pingui / stante cruore soli*; also Is. 1, 88; *Ezech.* 39, 18.

202. *pingue solum*: cf. 4, 62, n. (*pinguis*); the *pingue solum* of G. 1, 64, and the *sola pinguis* of Auson. *Mosella*, 370, are used in another sense, that of fertility. Whether *solum* and *limina* are objects of *sacraverat*, or, more probably, subjects of *erant* to be supplied, is disputed by editors.

202. *variis*: cf. *Ecl.* 9, 40-41; *Aen.* 6, 708: *floribus insidunt variis*; Tib. 1, 7, 45; Vida, *Christias*, 3, 597: *variis auxerunt limina sertis*.

202. *florentia limina sertis*: cf. Mart. *Cap.* 1, 1 (p. 4, 1 Dick): *comere vernificis florentia limina sertis*; also *Aen.* 1, 417: *tur calant arae sertisque recentibus halant*; 4, 506: *intenditque locum sertis*; *Draae*, 20: *vario florentia sarta decore*; *Cir.* 94-96: *castos alvaria postis / munere saepe meo inficiunt, foribusque hyacinthi / deponunt flores*; 98: *sparsaque liminibus floret rosa*, etc.; *Ov. F.* 4, 738: *et legat ornatas longa corona fores*; Tib. 1, 1, 15: *corona / spicae quae templi pendeat ante fores*.

As argued by Henry (*Aeneidea*, 1 (1873), 696-697), *limina* here and in some other passages must refer, not to the mere threshold or sill but to the whole door-case, including the *limen inferum*, *limen superum*, and *postes*. Elsewhere we find the *postes* especially garlanded; e.g., *Dracont. Rom.* 10, 337: *postes sacri via sarta coronant*. This view

203. isque amens animi et rûmore accensus amaro
dicitur ante aras media inter numina divom

i. s. γ. amore γ¹ (ut vid., amaro γ²).

mea P (media P²). numina p (munera p¹; cf. Schol. Dan.; sane multi 'munera' legunt). diuum codd.

203. isque . . . amaro: Non. p. 241 M. (p. 362 L.) — amore L^A —; [Iul. Rufin.] p. 54 Halim. 203. isque . . . animi: Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 455) — isque animi amens —.

203. amens . . . amaro: Donat. Aen. 4, 210. 203. amens animi: Gl. Ansil. 48, 145.

204. media . . . divom: Schol. Dan. Aen. 1, 447 — diuum —; 2, 178 — diuum —.

204. media . . . numina: Gl. Ansil. 361, 58.

seems preferable to that of Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 20, by which *limina* figuratively stands for 'house' or 'palace.'

203. **amens**: is there a faint suggestion in the case of this suitor of the various Latin puns upon *amens* and *amans* (cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 1881, 22–28)?

203. **animi**: whether genitive or locative is disputed; cf. Antoine, *De Casuum Syntaxi Vergiliana* (1882), 230–231; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 486–487 (and works there cited); 446–447, for a list of adjectives used with *animi*, including, in Virgil, *dubius* (G. 3, 289), *egregius* (Aen. 11, 417), *fidens* (2, 61), *furens* (5, 202), *infelix* (4, 529), *inops* (4, 300), *maturus* (9, 246), *miseratus* (6, 332), *praeceps* (9, 685), *praestans* (12, 19), and *victus* (G. 4, 491); Lohmann, *De Graecismorum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 42, n. 6; Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 1 (1928), 143 (and works there cited), who, on the analogy of other constructions, decides that this is probably a genitive. The idiom is found in prose beginning with Livy and in the poets of all periods. It seems unlikely that our passage recalls, as Wagner supposed, the *mens animi* of Lucr. 4, 758; etc.

203. **accensus amaro**: cf. 10, 368: *dictis virtutem accendit amaris*; 10, 591: *dictis adfatur amaris*; Val. Fl. 2, 385: *monitis accensus amaris*; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 83. The original force of *amaro* is so weakened that the mixed metaphor is less objectionable. Servius glosses the word by *aspero*.

204. **dicitur**: perhaps to give a more vivid impression that the poet himself is at Carthage and learning of Iarbas by the same sort of rumors by which Iarbas learned of Aeneas and Dido; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik* 3 ed. (1915), 242, n. 2, who compares the use of *fertur* in 9, 82, where Cybele's speech to Jupiter is reported; also Rand, *The magical Art of Virgil* (1931), 389; Bassett in *Cl. Weekly*, 27 (1934), 108. But Conway (*Anc. Italy and modern Religion* (1933), 107) remarks: "Vergil rather allows than gives us to believe."

204. **ante aras**: cf. Lucr. 1, 89: *ante aras adstare*; Aen. 1, 334; 1, 349; 2, 663; 3, 545; 5, 237; 8, 719; 9, 627; also 8, 640; and 4, 517: *altaria iuxta*.

204. **numina divom**: Donat.: *quasi praesentibus testibus diis*; Serv.: *ac si diceret 'diis testibus,' ut Sallustius (Cat. 35, 2) 'quam mediusfidius veram licet mecum recognoscas';* and the Schol. Dan. add: *id est sis dictis medius; fidius, id est, Διὸς υἱός, Iovis filius, id est, Hercules. medium dixit testem. sane multi 'munera' legunt, hoc est, in media precatione deorum; et est invidiosius si inter munera quae ipse sacraverat.* The reading *munera* (also added above by the first hand in p = Paris. Fonds Lat. 7906 (S. IX); cf. Chatelain in *Mélanges Rénier* (1887), 379), though compared by editors to G. 3, 486: *in honore deum medio stans hostia ad aram*; and Aen. 1, 447: *donis opulentum* (sc. *templum*) *et numine divae*, seems sufficiently explained by the occurrence of the word in 4, 217.

Whether the *numina divom* are images (*simulacra*) as many have thought (e.g.,

205. multa Iovem manibus supplex orasse supinis:

suplex γ. suppinis γ, supinus (corr. in supinis) π.

205. multa . . . supinis: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 437 — supplex . . . supinis *supplendum* —; Aug. Regul. (G. L. K. 5, 519) — supinus F —. 205. multa orasse: Gl. Ansil. 378, 89.

Haeckermann, *Explic. Vergilian. Specimen* (1853), 13; cf. Hor. *Epod.* 17, 3; Buscaroli compares *θεοῖς* in Soph. *Antig.* 199 (for statues of the gods); Plat. *Legg.* 10, 909 E), or refer merely to the divine presence found in and near temples (cf. Ammann, *Vergiliana* (1870), 4; Aen. 12, 201), is disputed; according to the latter view the meaning here is "before the (presence of the) gods." The phrase occurs in 2, 123–124: *quae sint ea numina divom / flagitat*; Aetna, 85: *speculantur numina divom*; but these passages give little aid. On the whole question cf. Dietsch, *Theologumenon Verg. Particula* (1853), 7; De la Ville de Mirmont, *Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile* (1894), 264–265; Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 1 (1928), 48, n. 2 (and works there cited). Kvičala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 85–87) defends *munera*.

205. **multa**: Stephenson (*ad loc.*) would explain this as signifying the intensity rather than the length of his prayer, though in that sense *multum* would be more natural.

205. **supplex orasse**: cf. 6, 91–92: *supplex . . . oraveris*; also, for this introduction of a speech, 1, 64: *supplex his vocibus usa est*; 10, 523: *effatur talia supplex*; and 4, 30, n. (sic *effata*), above; Serv.: *partim precatur, unde ait 'supplex'; partim conqueritur, unde ait 'orasse' id est, dixisse; hinc et oratores dicimus*.

205. **supinis**: Schol. Dan.: *iuxta rationem; nam inferos demissis ad terram manibus invocamus, ut Homerus (Il. 9, 568–570) inducit Althaeam, matrem Meleagri, manibus in longum porrectis, ut ipse alibi (Aen. 3, 263) 'passis de litore palmis'; caelestes levatis ad caelum, ut modo et alibi (1, 93) 'duplices tendens ad sidera palmas';* cf. Sall. *Cat.* 31, 3: *manus supplices ad caelum tendere*; Aen. 3, 176–178: *tendoque supinas / ad caelum cum voce manus, et munera libo / intemerata focis*; Hor. *C.* 3, 23, 1: *caelo supinas si tuleris manus*; Ov. *M.* 8, 681–682:

manibusque supinis / concipiunt . . . preces; Liv. 3, 50, 5: *supinas deinde tendens manus commilitones appellans orabat*; 26, 9, 8: *supinas manus ad caelum ac deos tendentes orantesque*; Curt. 6, 6, 34: *supinas manus tendentes orare coeperunt*; Petron. 17, 9: *prolendo igitur ad genua vestra supinas manus, petoque et oro*; 114, 5: *trepidans ad me supinas porrigit manus*; Stat. *Silv.* 3, 4, 99: *tendens ad sidera palmas*; Sil. 6, 301–302: *supinas / Africa tendebat palmas*; Apul. *De Mundo*, 33: *habitus orantium sic est, ut manibus extensis (ad) caelum precemur*; Florus *Lugdun. Carm.* 29, 25 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 565): *manibusque ad celsa supinis*; and, in Greek, Aesch. *Prom.* 1004–1005: *καὶ λιπαρήσω τὸν μέγα στρυγούμενον / γυναικομίμοις ὑπτιάσμασιν χειρῶν*; Pind. *Isth.* 5, 41: *ὁ δ' ἀνατείναις οὐρανῷ χεῖρας*; Apoll. *Rh.* 4, 228–230: *χεῖρας ἀέρας / Ἥλιον καὶ Ζῆνα κακῶν ἐπιμάρτυρας ἔργων / κέκελετο*; Isyllus 13 (*Collectanea Alexand.* 133 Powell): *χεῖρας ἀνασχόντες μακάρεσσιν ἐς οὐρανὸν εὐρύ(ν)*; Plut. *Philop. et Flamin. Comp.* 2, 3: *τοῦ Τίτου τὰς χεῖρας εἰς τὸν οὐρανὸν ὑπτιὰς ἀνατείναντος ἐστῶτος καὶ προσευχομένου*; Heliod. 9, 5: *χεῖρας εἰς οὐρανὸν αἶροντες*; Voulliéme, *Quomodo Veteres adoraverint* (1887), 33–35 (who notes other passages in which *supinis manibus* = *libenter*).

Virgilian passages dealing with the attitude of prayer include 2, 153: *sustulit . . . ad sidera palmas*; 2, 688: *caelo palmas cum voce tetendit*; 5, 233: *palmas ponto tendens*; 5, 256: *palmas nequiquam ad sidera tendunt*; 9, 16–17: *duplicisque ad sidera palmas / sustulit*; 10, 667: *duplicis cum voce manus ad sidera tendit*; 10, 845: *ad caelum tendit palmas*; 12, 196: *suspiciens caelum tenditque ad sidera dextram*; also 2, 405–406; cf. Appel, *De Romanorum Precationibus* (1909), 196; 201.

206. **Iuppiter omnipotens**: cf. 2, 689; 4, 25, n. (*vel pater omnipotens*); 5, 687; 9, 625 (where Servius remarks: *hoc epitheton inter-*

206. 'Iuppiter omnipotens, cui nunc Maurusia pictis
gens epulata toris Lenaeum libat honorem,

nunt *M.* maurusa *P* (maurusia *P*¹).
laeneum *R*, leueum *γ*. lubat *P* (libat *P*¹).

206–207. Maurusia gens: *Gl. Abstr.* 56, 46; *Gl. Affatim* (C. G. L. 4, 536, 32) — maurosia gens (gens *bc*) — 206. Iuppiter omnipotens: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 218. 206. Maurusia: *Gl. Abba*, 86, 68; *q.v.*

[206*] 207. epulata: *Gl. Ansil.* 36, 180; *q.v.*

dum ad gloriam numinis ponitur, interdum ad causam dicentis); Soranus, frag. 4, 1 (*F. P. R.* p. 273 Baehrens); Catull. 64, 171; Stat. *Theb.* 3, 471; Anon. in *F. P. R.* p. 357, no. 7 Baehrens; Petron. 122, 156; Dracont. *Rom.* 4, 1; etc. Serv. *G.* 4, 321 remarks: *invidiosum est nomine parentes vocare*, and the Scholia Danielis here say: *epithela quae commemorationem potentiae habent interdum exprobrationis vim obtinent, ut hoc loco*. For such prayers of heroes to their divine parent cf. the appeal of Achilles to Thetis (*Il.* 1, 348–356) and that of Aristaeus to Cyrene (*G.* 4, 321–332); so Alexander (Plut. *Alex.* 33, 1) παρεκάλει τοὺς θεοὺς . . . ἐπειχόμενος, εἴπερ δυνάως Διὸς ἐστὶ γεγονώς, ἀμύναι, κτλ.

206. nunc: Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 658) notes the emphasis, as showing that not until Iarbas introduced his cult had Jupiter been worshipped by the Maurusian people. Servius understands that the rites were at that moment in progress: *et bene conqueritur quia humanas res ne tum quidem curat cum ei tribuitur honos sacrificii*.

206. Maurusia: in Virgil only here but used by Coelius (cited by the *Schol. Dan.*: *Maurusii, qui iuxta oceanum colunt*), Silius (4, 567; 9, 620; 10, 401; 11, 412; 13, 145; 16, 553), Lucan (9, 426), and Claudian (*IV Cons. Hon.* 39; *VI Cons. Hon.* 104: *Maurusius Atlas*; *De Bell. Gild.* 1, 344; *De Cons. Stil.* 3, 278). Vitruv. 8, 2, 6 locates Mt. Atlas in *Maurusia quam nostri Mauretanium appellant*, and Strabo, 17, 3, 2, p. 825 says: οἰκοῦσι δ' ἐν ταῦθα Μαυρούσιοι μὲν ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων λεγόμενοι, Μαῦροι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Ῥωμαίων καὶ τῶν ἐπιχωρίων, κτλ. The Greek origin of the word seems to explain its occasion in later Latin poetry. The inexactness by which its

meaning is here perhaps stretched eastward in application may be paralleled in Horace, *C.* 2, 6, 3–4: *barbaras Syrtis ubi Maura semper / aestuat unda*.

206. pictis . . . toris: cf. 1, 708: *loris iussi discumbere pictis* (these embroidered coverings seeming more appropriate at Dido's court than among the more barbarous people of Iarbas); Ov. *H.* 12, 30: *premitis pictos, corpora Graia, toros*; Mart. 14, 135, 2: *pictis accumbere toris*; also, on the subject of such covers, Athen. 2, p. 48 b–c.

207. epulata: cf. *G.* 2, 537: *caesis gens est epulata iuencis*; *Aen.* 3, 224: *extruimusque toros dapibusque epulamur opimis*; 4, 602; 5, 762: *dies epulata novem gens omnis*.

207. Lenaeum: Serv.: *Bacchicum; nam Liber Lenaeus dicitur quia torculis praeest, qui et Graece ληνόι dicuntur; nam cum sit Graecum a mentis deliramento non potest accipi*; *Schol. Dan.*: *ex calcatorio ἀπὸ τῆς ληνοῦ, hoc est, <a> lacu*; also *G.* 3, 509–510: *latices infundere cornu / Lenaeos*; elsewhere (*G.* 2, 4; 2, 7; 2, 529) Liber is thus saluted. For this derivation and others more recently proposed cf. Höfer in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 2 (1894), 1940–1942; Kock in *P.-W.* 12 (1924), 1940–1941. Conington considers the word a secondary adjective derived from *Lenaeus* regarded as a substantive, like *Sychaeo*, in 4, 552.

207. honorem: in the sense of 'offering'; cf. *G.* 3, 486; *Aen.* 1, 49; 1, 335; 1, 632; 1, 736: *in mensam laticum libavit honorem*; 3, 118; 3, 178; 3, 264; 3, 406; 3, 547; 5, 58; 5, 94; 5, 763; 8, 61; 8, 76; 8, 102; 8, 189; 8, 268; Hor. *Ep.* 2, 1, 15; Ov. *M.* 8, 740; *F.* 4, 409; Sil. 7, 184; Braumüller, *Ueber Trophen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 4.

208. aspicias haec? an te, genitor, cum fulmina torques
nequiquam horremus, caecique in nubibus ignes

aspice *P* (aspicias *P*²). torquens *M* (torques *M*¹).
nequiquam *P*. ignis *b*¹.

208. an . . . torques: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 8, 429. 208. genitor . . . torques: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 230.

209–210. caecique . . . animos: Serv. *Aen.* 10, 98 — *ignem F*; *terrificant animos om. F* — 209. caeci ignes: *Gl. Ansil.* 105, 29.

208. aspicias haec: cf. 4, 372: *nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspiciat aequis*; 9, 209: *Iuppiter aut quicumque oculis haec aspiciat aequis*; 11, 725–726. Cf. *Il.* 7, 448 (to Zeus): οὐχ ὀράεις, κτλ.; Soph. *El.* 823–826: ποῦ ποτε κερανοὶ Διός, ἢ / ποῦ φαίθων Ἄλιος, εἰ ταῦτ' ἐφορῶντες / κρύπτουσιν ἑκηλοὶ; Eur. *Hec.* 488–491: ὦ Ζεῦ, τί λέξω; πότερά σ' ἀνθρώπους ὄραν; / ἢ δόξαν ἄλλως τήνδε κεκτῆσθαι μάτην, / . . . / τύχην δὲ πάντα τὰν θροτοῖς ἐπισκοπεῖν; Lucian, *Tim.* 1: ποῦ σοι νῦν ἡ ἐρισμάρατος ἀστραπή καὶ ἡ βαρύβρομος βροντὴ καὶ ὁ αἰθαλόεις καὶ ἀργήεις καὶ σμερδαλέος κεραυνός; Luc. 7, 447–448: *spectabil ab alto / aethere Thesalicas, teneat cum fulmina, caedes?* Stat. *Theb.* 10, 888–889: *nunc ubi saeva manus, meaque heu cunabula flammae, / fulmen, io, ubi fulmen?* Dante, *Purg.* 6, 120: *son li giusti occhi tuoi rivolti altrove?* On *aspicio* used for the divine notice of human affairs cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1900), 836, 72–837, 4.

208. genitor: perhaps literally (as Henry and Conington think), of Jupiter Ammon as the parent of Iarbas, though the same form of address is used by Aeneas to the god of the Tiber (8, 72) and by Turnus to Jupiter (10, 668).

208. fulmina torques: for the plural number of thunderbolts, as represented in literature and art cf. *G.* 1, 329; *Aen.* 8, 427–428; etc.; also my note on Cic. *De Div.* 2, 44. With the phrase cf. 10, 585; 12, 536; Ov. *Ex Pont.* 3, 6, 27: *Iuppiter in multos temeraria fulmina torquet*; *H.* 4, 158: *proavi fulmina torta manu*; Sen. *Agam.* 802: *at te, pater, qui saeva torques fulmina*; Val. Fl. 2, 22–23: *torquet ab alto / fulmina crebra pater*; Sil. 1, 253: *torquentem cum tela Iovem*; Anon. in *F. P. R.* p. 401, no. 159 Baehrens: *fulmina nubibus obvia torques*; Cypr. *Hept. Gen.* 661:

fulmina torquet; Claud. *IV Cons. Hon.* 202 (of Jupiter): *fulmenque rudi torquere lacerto*. On Jupiter as the god of lightning cf. Cook, *Zeus*, 2 (1925), 1373; 1391.

209. nequiquam: Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) notes the appearance of *nequiquam* . . . *caeci* . . . *inania* at the beginning of these hemistichs. *Schol. Dan.*: *quia non iudicio hoc facis; quia non punis malos et supervacua horremus; aut quia existimamus ea non emitti manu tua*. an 'nequiquam' pro 'non,' ul sil 'tu fulmina non torques'? Kvíčala (*Neue Beitr.* 2. *Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 87–90) and Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 313, following *Schol. Dan.* on 4, 210: *latenter secundum Epicureos locutus est*) consider this speech a sort of Epicurean blasphemy, and Sil. 1, 416–417 (of a very different situation but perhaps with a reminiscence of this) says: *heu, frustra reditum sortes tibi saepe locutas / mentilumque Iovem increpitans occumbis, Hiarba*. A suggestion of our passage is found in Leopardi, *Bruto minore*, 26–30: *dunque degli empi / siede, Giove, a tutela? e quando esulta / per l'aere il nembo, e quando / il tuon rapido spingi, / ne' giusti e pii la sacra fiamma stringi?*

209. caeci, etc.: Serv.: *non quia non videntur, sed quorum origo non apparet*; *Schol. Dan.*: *an quorum rationem ignorantes timemus; alii enim de ventis dicunt fieri, alii de nubibus, alii de aëre fulmen*. In 4, 2 (see n. on caeco) the *caeci ignes* are of a different and figurative sort, but our passage is imitated by Sil. 12, 628–629 (in describing the disbelief of Hannibal): *caecum e nubibus ignem / murmuraque a ventis misceri vana docebat*; cf. also Stat. *Theb.* 4, 742–743: *omnia caecis / ignibus hausta sedent*. Page notes the oxymoron in *caeci ignes*.

210. terrificant animos et inania murmura miscent?
femina, quae nostris errans in finibus urbem

terrificat *M*.

[209*] 210. animos . . . miscent: *Anth. Lat. no. 8, 77 (1, p. 37 Riese)*. 210. et . . . miscent: *Non. p. 362 M. (p. 512 L.)* — mascent *L¹A^a* —. 210. murmura: *Gl. Ansil. 381, 304; q.v.*

211–212. urbem . . . posuit: *Non. p. 365 M. (p. 581 L.)*. 211. femina . . . finibus: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C. 3, 3, 20; Anth. Lat. no. 17, 52 (1, p. 63 Riese)* — errant *A*, errans *A¹*, erras *Scriver, Riese* —.

209. nubibus ignes: *Serv.: in nubibus: ac si diceret non ex te fiunt; si enim errant, tuo non reguntur imperio. Iuvenalis (13, 225–226): nec ventorum rabie sed / iratus cadat in terras et iudicet ignis.* For the verse-ending cf. *Lucr. 2, 214: abrupti nubibus ignes; Aen. 3, 199: abruptis nubibus ignes*; and for *ignes* in the sense of *fulmen* cf. *Henry, Aeneidea, 1 (1873), 854–855.*

210. terrificant: a rare word, found also in *Lucr. 1, 133; 4, 34; Stat. Theb. 7, 678; Sil. 17, 474–475: ut cum fulminibus permixta tonitrua mundum / terrificant; cf. horrificant* in 4, 465.

210. inania murmura: cf. *Paul. Nol. Carm. 10, 121: nec inania murmura miscet; Prud. Peristeph. 1, 17: inane . . . murmur.* The meaning in our passage seems to be that of sounds void of significance, mere sounds; cf. 4, 433, n. (*tempus inane*), below. *Belli* (in *Archivio per lo Studio delle Tradizioni popolari, 23 (1906), 11*) curiously misunderstands it to mean “prayers in a low voice.” Note the alliteration at the end of the line.

210. miscent: cf. 4, 160, n. (*misceri*); here of the “vague confused rumbling of thunder” (*Conington*), which poetically appears to be caused by the lightning.

211. femina: for the contemptuous tone — emphasized by the initial position in the line — cf. 4, 95, n. (*femina*); *Serv.: invidia a sexu.*

211. errans: *Dido* was, after all, an immigrant only a little less recent than *Aeneas*; cf. 4, 350, where *Aeneas* says: *et nos fas extera quaerere regna.* The cumulative effect of the grievances of *Iarbas* should be noted: (1) a woman, (2) an emigrant from her home, (3) in a district belonging to him, (4) has

founded a tiny town, (5) on land bought for a price (rather than won by the sword), and (6) has received the infertile seashore, (7) under certain fixed conditions, and then (8) rejects *Iarbas* and (9) takes another immigrant as her husband.

211. urbem, etc.: cf. 1, 365–368: *devenere locos, ubi nunc ingentia cernis / moenia surgentemque novae Karthaginis arcem, / mercatique solum, facti de nomine Byrsam, / taurino quantum possent circumdare tergo; Ov. H. 7, 118–120: quod tibi donavi, perfide, litus emo; / urbem constitui lateque patentia fixi / moenia finitimis invidiosa locis; App. Lib. 1: ἐξωθούμενοι δ' ὑπὸ τῶν Λιβύων ἐδύναντο χωρίον ἐς συνοικισμόν λαβεῖν, ὅσον ἂν βύρσα ταύρου περιλάβοι . . . συνθέντο δώσειν καὶ ἐπαμοσαν. οἱ δὲ τὸ δῆρμα περιτεμένοντες ἐς ἱμάνα τα ἑνα στενώτατον, περιέθησαν ἐνθα νῦν ἔστιν ἡ Καρχηδονίων ἀκρόπολις καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε βύρσα ὀνομάζεται; Justin, 18, 5, 9: *Elissa . . . empto loco, qui corio bovis tegi posset . . . corium in tenuissimas partes secari iubet atque ita maius loci spatium quam petierat occupat, unde postea ei loco Byrsae nomen fuit; Serv. Aen. 1, 367: adpulsa ad Libyam Dido, cum ab Hiarba pelleretur, petit callide ut emeret tantum terrae quantum posset corium bovis tenere. itaque corium in fila propemodum sectum telendit occupavitque stadia viginti duo; quam rem leviter tangit Vergilius dicendo 'facti de nomine Byrsam' et non 'tegere' sed 'circumdare'; the similar accounts in *Mythog. Vat. I, 214; Dionys. Perieg. 197 (Geogr. Gr. min. 2, 112 Müller); Expos. totius Mundi, 61 (Geogr. Lat. min. 123 Riese); Eustath. Comm. (Geogr. Gr. min. 2, 251); also Butler, Hudibras, canto 1: “The mighty Tyrian Queen, that gained, / with subtle shreds, a tract of***

212. exiguum pretio posuit, cui litus arandum
cuique loci leges dedimus, conubia nostra

exiguum *M* (exiguam *M²*). praetio *MR* (pretio *M²*). cu (corr. in cui) *b*.

[211] 212–213. cui . . . dedimus: *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. 3, 4, 32 — litus —. 212–213. dedimus litus arandum (sic): Schol. Lucan. 1, 194 ed. Weber. 212. cui . . . arandum: Serv. Aen. 1, 3; Auson. Ep. 14, 4, p. 245 Peiper — litus Z —; Gl. Arma, 10, 156 — arando —.*

[212] 213–214. cuique . . . repulit: *Serv. Aen. 1, 73; Prisc. Inst. 13, 14 (G. L. K. 3, 10) — connubia G; repulit codd. GLK —; Hrab. Maur. Exc. de Art. Prisc. (Patr. Lat. 111, 645) — connubia —. 213–214. conubia . . . recepit: Non. p. 282 M. (p. 434 L.). 213–214. conubia . . . repulit: Serv. Aen. 4, 126; Consent. Ars (G. L. K. 5, 389) — repulit —; Anth. Lat. no. 17, 8–9 (1, pp. 61–62 Riese) — repulit A —. 213. cuique . . . dedimus: Serv. Aen. 11, 322.*

land”; *Marlowe and Nash, Dido, Act 4, Sc. 2: “She crav’d a hide of ground to build a town”; New English Dict. 5 (1901), 268.*

For the same motif of deception found in other tales cf. *Köhler in Orient u. Occident, 3 (1864), 185–187 ‘Hyde Park,’ Calcutta ‘cuttings of the hide or khal’, Moscow, etc.; Anderson, Norse Mythol. (1875), 240; Frazer in Cl. Rev. 2 (1888), 322 (on ‘Hide-measured Lands’); Basset in Rev. des Trad. pop. 6 (1891), 335–337; Zingerle in Zeitschr. d. Vereins f. Volkskunde, 2 (1892), 80 (Persia); Bargetzi, Dido in der Gesch. u. in der Dichtung (1898), 2; Grimm, Deutsche Rechtsalterthümer, 4 ed., 1 (1899), 126–127; Frazer, Adonis, Attis, Osiris (1906), 325–326 (with parallels from the Saxons, Danes, Hindus, Siberia, Burma, Cambodia, Java, Bali, and Bechuanaland); Laufer in Smithsonian misc. Collections, 50 (1908), 282–284 (Asiatic cases); Franck, Glimpses of Japan and Formosa (1924), 169; McCartney in Cl. Journ. 22 (1927), 331, and n. 40. As noted by Kvíčala, Vergil-Studien (1878), 107, Virgil’s form of the story gives no indication of that deceit upon *Dido*’s part which some accounts emphasize.*

212. exiguum: to be contrasted with the *ingentia . . . moenia* of 1, 365–366 and the *minae . . . murorum ingentes* of 4, 88–89. Perhaps *Iarbas* had not lately seen the city which had risen so rapidly, or else he wished to disparage the upstart town or to emphasize the smallness of the tributary territory upon which its economic life depended (cf. *Donat.: non quo vere exigua fuisset, sed talem*

dicere debuit qui deformantis animo loquebatur). Cf. also 7, 229–230: *dis sedem exiguum patriis litusque rogamus / innocuum.* *Knapp (ad loc.; cf. Cl. Weekly, 27 (1934), 148, n. 51)* would explain “The little she has she owes to me, yet she rejects me.”

212. pretio: *Serv.: ut ostendat eam nec meruisse per gratiam nec invasisse virtute. et si vendidit, quid conqueritur? vel defraudatus per corium vel de nuptiarum promissione; cf. 1, 367: mercatique solum; Sil. 1, 24–25: tum pretio mercata locos nova moenia ponit, / cingere qua secto permissum litora tauro; 1, 444–446: non haec Sidonia tecta / feminea fabrica manu pretiose parata, / exulibusve datum dimensis litus harenis.*

212. posuit: for this term used for the establishment of cities or individual buildings cf. 3, 404; 4, 344; 6, 19; *Hor. C. 2, 6, 5; Sil. 1, 24; etc.*

212. litus arandum: *Schol. Dan.: non ait ‘agros’ sed ‘litus,’ ut et supra (1, 2) diximus, terram mari vicinam (cf. 7, 797–798). modo etiam infertilem sibi et angustam vult ostendere, etc.* There is a suggestion of a proverbial expression for profitless labor, appearing in various forms, such as *σπείρειν πόντον* (or *πέτρας*), *πέτρας γεωργεῖν, litus arare, harenae semina mandas*, etc., collected by *Otto, Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 159 (who does not, however, consider the present line an illustration of this use). *Iarbas*, as an invader, considers the shore as worthless (for grazing and agriculture), while the sea-loving Carthaginians looked on it as of value. Another element in the story appears in the

214. reppulit ac dominum Aenean in regna recepit.
et nunc ille Paris cum semiviro comitatu,

aeneam R, eneam c. regia P (regna P¹).

[213*] 214. ac . . . recepit: Serv. Aen. 4, 374 — et (pro ac) NLHM —; 4, 596. 214. repulit: Gl. Ansil. 494, 1365; q.v.

215. et . . . Paris: Serv. Aen. 10, 865 — ut (pro et) RHL —. 215. cum . . . comitatu: Lact. Inst. 1, 10, 9 — comitatus HM —; Firm. Mat. De Errore, 6, 7. 215. semiviro: Gl. Ansil. 517, 298.

Schol. Dan.: videtur illud attingere moris antiqui, quod cum conderetur nova civitas, tauro et vacca, ut illa vacca esset interior, a magistratu muri designarentur. nam ideo ad exaugurandas vel diruendas civitates aratrum adhibebatur, ut eodem ritu quo conditae subvertantur. On this subject cf. Frazer on Ov. F. 4, 819 (pp. 379–384) and the works there cited.

213. loci leges: Serv.: aut quam tribularem fecimus, aut cui ideo concessimus civitatem ut in nostrum veniret matrimonium. Though there is also the possibility that Iarbas had granted Dido legislative and administrative rights over the ceded area (cf. 1, 507: iura dabat legesque viris (sc. Dido); Kvěčala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis (1881), 90–91), it is more probable that the first suggestion of Servius contains the truth, and that, while Dido may not have had to pay actual tribute to Iarbas, the king had imposed some conditions upon the tenure of the territory. For the phrase cf. Ov. Am. 3, 2, 20: haec in lege loci commoda circus habet. Donatus remarks: haec non sunt omnia pro veris accipienda, quae amens fundebat, quae iactabat inimicus, quae clamabat iratus.

213. conubia: cf. 4, 172, n. (coniugium vocal); 4, 316: per conubia nostra; 4, 535; 9, 600: qui nostra sibi bello conubia poscunt; 12, 42: conubia nostra petentem; and for the plural Braumüller, Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis, 1 (1877), 16.

213. nostra: Serv.: pro 'mea'; est autem nobilius.

214. reppulit: balanced against recepit at the end of the line. Cf. Ov. H. 7, 123–124 (said by Dido): mille procis placui, qui me coiere querentes / nescio quem thalamis prae-

posuisse suis; M. 13, 735; F. 3, 554: quem lotiens reppulit illa.

214. dominum: cf. 4, 103: liceat servire marito; Schol. Dan.: et est quasi vehemens accusatio; me maritum respuit et Aeneam non virum sed dominum recepit. Though sometimes used in a good sense, dominum here obviously expresses a servile relation on the part of the queen.

214. Aenean: cf. 4, 74, n. (Aenean).

214. recepit: cf. 4, 374: excepti ei regni demens in parte locavi; 4, 597: cum sceptrum dabas; also Sall. Iug. 10, 1: parvom ego, Iugurtha, te . . . in regnum meum accepi; Ov. H. 7, 89–90 (said by Dido): fluctibus eiectione tuta statione recepi / vixque bene audito nomine regna dedi. So Hypsipyle had offered Jason a dwelling place and her father's sceptre; Apoll. Rh. 1, 827–829; 1, 890–892; cf. Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide, 1 (1926), 348. With the verse-ending cf. Mar. Victor, Aleth. 3, 682: seque in sua regna recepit; Walahfridus Strabo, Drog. Episc. 30 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 354): in regna recepit.

215. et nunc: in scorn; cf. Prop. 2, 21, 7: et nunc inter eos tu sermo es.

215. ille: contemptuous; cf. Tac. Ann. 1, 59, 7: discesserit ille inter numina dicatus Augustus, ille delectus Tiberius.

215. Paris: Serv.: et bene 'Paris,' quasi qui sustulit pactam; but cf. Donat.: per originalis hominis inlicitum factum crimen inventum est, cuius Aeneas adficeretur invidia, cum non sit similis causa, quando ille alieni matrimonii rapuit feminam, Aeneas autem viduae videbatur esse coniunctus et ei quae nubendi et eligendi quem vellet liberum habuisset arbitrium. sed quid faciemus mori hominum qui in ultione conviciorum etiam falsa

216. Maeonia mentum mitra crinemque madentem

mitara P (mitra P¹).

216–217. Maeonia . . . potitur: Non. p. 405 M. (p. 652 L.) — mitram; portitur L¹A^a —. 216–217. crinemque . . . potitur: Serv. Aen. 3, 402 — subnixas G —. 216–217. mentum subnixus: Gl. Ansil. 366, 388. 216. Maeonia . . . mitra: Serv. Aen. 9, 613 — moenia HMF, melia L (corr. l) —. 216. crinem madentem: Gl. Arma, 10, 157.

conponunt? On Paris as a type of effeminacy and intrigue cf. 7, 321: Paris alter (again Aeneas); 7, 363–364: an non sic Phrygius penetrat Lacedaemona pastor / Ledaemque Helenam Troianas vexat ad urbes; Il. 3, 39: δύσπαρι, εἶδος ἀρίστω, γυναιμανές, ἡεροπευτά; 3, 390–394: 'Ἀλέξανδρος σε καλεῖ οἰκόνδε νέεσθαι' / κείνος ὁ γ' ἐν θαλάμῳ καὶ δυνωτοῖσι λήχεσσι, / κάλλει τε στιλβῶν καὶ εἵμασιν' οὐδὲ κε φαίης / ἀνδρὶ μαχεσσάμενον τὸν γ' ἐλθέμεν, ἀλλὰ χορόνδε / ἔρχεσθ' ἢ χοροῖο νέον λήγοντα καθίξιν; Eur. I. A. 73–76: ἀνθρὸς μὲν εἰμάτων στολῇ / χρυσῷ δὲ λαμπρὸς, βαρβαρῶν χλιδήματι, / ἐρῶν ἐρώσαν ὥχετ' ἐξαναρπάσας / Ἑλένην; Hor. C. 1, 15, 13–20; Ael. V. H. 9, 38; Anth. Lat. no. 295, 1–3 (1, p. 251 Riese): exacti species viri, / naturae grave dedecus, / usu femineo Paris. Cic. Ad Att. 1, 18, 3, refers to Memmius, on account of his relations with the wives of others, as hic noster Paris; and Turnus (Aen. 9, 135–139), in comparing himself to the Atridae, by implication compares Aeneas to Paris.

215. semiviro: Donat.: qui corpore praeferant virum, animo tamen et corruptione, cultu quoque feminas imitentur. The adjective seems to appear here for the first time; cf. 12, 99: semiviri Phrygis; Ladewig, De Vergilio Verborum Novatore, 1 (1870), 5; Val. Fl. 8, 347: semiviri . . . Achivi; Prud. Cont. Symm. 1, 125: cum semiviro comitatu; Vida, Christias, 2, 102: semiviri comitalus.

This particular taunt was made by Greeks and Romans against various Oriental peoples, from the Persian Wars onward, including the Trojans; thus in 9, 141–142 Turnus speaks of the Trojans as a genus . . . femineum; cf. 9, 617–618: o vere Phrygiae — neque enim Phryges —, ite per alta / Dindyma, ubi adsuetis biforem dat tibia cantum (cf. Il. 7, 96); Dio Chrys. Or. 11, 63: εἶναι γὰρ τὴν μὲν πόλιν (sc. Τροίαν) πλουσιωτάτην ἀπασῶν, τοὺς δὲ ἀνθρώ-

πους ὑπὸ τρυφῆς διεφθαρμένους. The Trojans — often called 'Phrygians' — are thus often identified with the emasculated Galli, or priests of Cybele (cf. Cook, Zeus, 1 (1914), 394–395; 591, n. 2; Heinze, Virgils epische Technik, 3 ed. (1915), 271; Mart. 3, 91, 2: semiviro Cybeles cum grege), from whom the reputation of the whole Phrygian people suffered (e.g., Eur. Or. 1528; Nonn. 17, 255: οὐ Φρυγίης γενέσθην, ὅθεν ἀρσενές εἰσι γυναῖκες). Iarbas, in his barbaric contempt for the graces of civilization, gladly seizes upon this charge; cf. Prescott, The Development of Virgil's Art (1927), 281; Hahn in Cl. Weekly, 25 (1931), 21, n. 159. Ercole (in Atti d. r. Accad. di . . . Palermo, 3 ser., 16 (1931), 221) emphasizes the anachronism of ascribing to Iarbas the dislikes of Augustan Romans. A similar accusation is brought by Horace against the Oriental attendants of Antony and Cleopatra (C. 1, 37, 9–10: contaminato cum grege turpium / morbo virorum; Epod. 9, 13–14: miles et spadonibus / servire rugosis potest). The Scholia Danielis add: et bene non solum regi sed et sociis convicium facit. sane quidam tradunt iure hoc in Phryges dictum; ab ipsis enim ferunt coepisse stupra puerorum. For a parallel in Chateaubriand, Les Natchez, 2, 190, cf. Naylor in Johns Hopkins Stud. in Rom. Lit. and Lang. 18 (1930), 117.

216. Maeonia: note in this line and 218 the scornful alliteration, as Page observes. Servius remarks on Maeonia mitra: Lydia; nam utebantur et Phryges et Lydi mitra, hoc est, incurvo pillo, de quo pendeat etiam buccarum tegimen; cf. Schol. Dan.: sane quibus effeminatio crimini dabatur, etiam mitra eis adscribebatur; multa enim lectio mitras proprie meretricum esse docet. ergo ex habitus qualitate mutuatur invidiam; nam eum non iam effeminatum, sed velut meretricem appellat, quod est

217. subnixus, rapto potitur; nos munera templis

217-233: MP. subnexus dett. duo; edd. quidam.

[216*] 217-218. nos . . . inanem: Non. p. 305 M. (p. 475 L.) — muneris L'A* —. 217-218. nos . . . ferimus: Donat. in Ter. Eun. 171 — vide Wessneri adn. crit. —. 217. subnixus . . . potitur: Serv. Aen. 11, 493 — subnixos F; potiris F —. 217. rapto: Gl. Ansil. 484, 185; q.v.

inimicius non mulierem tantum, sed etiam meretricem vocare. For Maeonia and Maeonius cf. G. 4, 380; Aen. 8, 499 (of Etruscans); 9, 546; 10, 141; 11, 759; Cir. 62.

216. *mitra*: the effeminacy expressed in *semiviro* is continued, as Henry observes (Aeneidea, 2 (1878), 658), by *mitra* and *crinemque madentem*. So Remulus reviled the Trojans (9, 616): *et tunicae manicas et habent redimicula mitrae*. This head-dress, the so-called 'Phrygian cap,' may be seen in representations of Paris (cf. Tat. Orat. adv. Graec. 10); e.g., Reinach, *Répert. de la Statuaire*, 1 (1906), 101; 493; 499-502; etc.; *id.*, *Répert. de Reliefs Gr. et Rom.* 1 (1909), 377; 2 (1912), 235; 435; 452; 521; 3 (1912), 226; 280; 289; 324; 460; *id.*, *Répert. de Peintures Gr. et Rom.* (1922), 28; 163; 164; 165; 334; also in those of Attis, whom *semiviro* might here suggest. In some of these cases it has a rather high and knobbed peak bent forward; in others it is flattish and turban-shaped; cf. the *tiaras* of 7, 247; also the discussion by Schuppe in *P.-W.* 15 (1932), 2219-2220. While earlier artistic representations of Aeneas show him in Greek dress, later ones sometimes exhibit the Phrygian head-covering; cf. Rossbach in *P.-W.* 1 (1894), 1016. Though especially characteristic of Phrygia, this headgear was also worn by Arabs (Plin. N. H. 6, 162; Solin. 33, 16; Claud. *De Cons. Stil.* 1, 156) and Cissians (Hdt. 7, 62), and was introduced, according to Arrian, *Ind.* 7, 9, by Dionysus to the Hindus. In Greece and Italy it was primarily an article of feminine wear (e.g., Catull. 64, 63; 64, 68; Varr. *Menipp.* 433 Bücheler; *Copa*, 1; Prop. 2, 29, 15; Plin. N. H. 35, 58; Juv. 3, 66; Poll. 7, 95; Tert. *De Virgin. veland.* 17; Diog. ap. Athen. 14, 38; Claud. *In Eutrop.* 2, 185; Hier. *Ep.* 38, 4, 2; 54, 7, 1; *Comm. in Is.* 2, pp. 60-61 Vall.; Isid. *Etym.* 19, 31, 4; *mitra est pil-*

leum Phrygium, caput protegens, quale est ornamentum capitis devolarum. sed pilleum virorum est, mitrae autem feminarum. redimicula autem sunt quibus mitra alligatur. pilleum autem . . . a pelle erat; nam mitra ex lana est), though also associated with effeminate men (Cic. *De Har. Resp.* 44; *In Clod. et Cur. Frag.* 22 (4, 3, p. 274 Müller); Mart. 2, 36, 3; Plin. N. H. 35, 140 (a curious description of Jupiter); Lucian, *Deor. Dial.* 18, 1 (Hera to Zeus): *ἐγὼ μὲν ἡσυχνόμεν ἄν, ὦ Ζεῦ, εἰ μοι τοιοῦτος υἱὸς ἦν θῆλυς οὕτως καὶ διεφθαρμένος ὑπὸ τῆς μέθης, μήτρε μὲν ἀναδεδμενός τὴν κόμην, κτλ.*; Prud. *Psychom.* 358-359; also the cases dealing with Heracles in the Omphale story, including Ov. *H.* 9, 63; Sen. *H. F.* 471; *H. O.* 377; Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 58). Elsewhere it appears in connection with Bacchus and his cult (Diod. 4, 4; Prop. 3, 17, 30; 4, 2, 31; Sen. *Phaedr.* 756; *Oed.* 413; Stat. *Theb.* 9, 795; Clem. *Protr.* 12, p. 119, 1), with the worshippers of Cybele (Apul. *M.* 8, 27), and with Helios (Preisendanz, *Pap. Gr. mag.* 1 (1928), no. II, 90 (p. 26)) and Ammon (Sidon. *Carm.* 9, 202), as well as being worn by Cyprian rulers (Hdt. 7, 90). Doubtless the cap may have possessed, like some other head-coverings, a symbolism now lost; cf. Cook, *Zeus*, 2 (1925), 386, and the works there cited.

The prejudice — amounting often to a taboo — against the wearing of feminine garb by men is widespread, appearing in classical writers, for example, in Soph. *Frag.* 702 ap. Clem. *Paedag.* 3, 11: *γυναικομίμους ἐμπρεπείς ἐσθήμασιν*; Eur. *Bacch.* 836: *οὐκ ἂν δυναίμην θῆλυν ἐνδύειν στολήν*; Cic. *De Off.* 1, 130: *a forma removeatur omnis viro non dignus ornatus* (cf. *Tusc.* 3, 36); Ov. *H.* 4, 75: *sint procul a nobis iuvenes ut femina compli*; *Ars am.* 3, 433-434; Strab. 11, 13, 9 (of the Persians): *ὥστ' ἀντὶ γυμνητῶν καὶ*

218. quippe tuis ferimus famamque fovemus inanem.

[217]

φιλῶν θηλυστολεῖν ὑπέμειναν; Philo Jud. *De Fortitud.* 18-21; Tac. *Ann.* 2, 33, 1: *decretumque . . . ne vestis serica viros foedaret*; 3, 53, 5: *promiscas viris et feminis vestes atque illa feminarum propria*; Just. 1, 3, 2: *invenit eum* (sc. *Sardanapallum*) *inter scortorum greges purpuram colo nentem et muliebri habitu*; Ael. *Frag.* 39 Hercher (of a criminal thrown over a cliff): *στολήν γυναικείαν περιβληθείς*; Sext. *Emp.* 1, 155: *καὶ ὅταν ὁ μὲν Ἀρίστιππος ἀδιάφορον ἡγεῖται τὸ γυναικείαν ἀμφέννυσθαι στολήν, ἡμεῖς δὲ αἰσχρὸν τοῦτο ἡγώμεθα εἶναι* (cf. 3, 203-204); Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 6 (1914), 260; Crawley-Besterman, *Mystic Rose*, 2 ed. (1927), 1, 250-252; 318-321; 2, 101-117; Halliday on Plut. *Quaest. Gr.* 58, p. 217.

216. *crinemque madentem*: so Turnus (12, 99-100) speaks of the hair of Aeneas as *crinis* / . . . *murra* . . . *madentis*; cf. *Dracont. Rom.* 9, 56: *anne Parin fortuna iubet qui crine madenti*, etc.; Prud. *Psychom.* 413: *comamque madentem*; also Cic. *In Catil.* 2, 10: *sertis redimiti, unguentis obliti*; *Post Red. in Sen.* 13: *qua auctoritate viri vini, somni, stupri plenus, madenti coma*, etc.; *In Pison.* 25: *erant illi compti capilli et madentes cincinnorum fimbriae*; Ov. *M.* 3, 555: *madidi murra crines*; Suet. *Vesp.* 8: *adulescentulum fragrantem unguento*; many other passages might be cited. It may be noted that in *Il.* 3, 55 Hector speaks disparagingly of the locks and beauty of Paris.

217. *subnixus*: Henry (Aeneidea, 2 (1878), 659-660) contends stoutly for *subnexus*, on the authority of *Basil. D* and *Leidensis*, and cites cases of *subnectere* used with *crines* and similar words, including G. 3, 166-167; Aen. 10, 137-138; Val. Fl. 2, 103; Stat. *Silv.* 5, 3, 115. But the MS testimony (and that of Servius, the Scholia Danielis, and Donatus) is overwhelmingly for *subnixus* (cf. also Mackail in his edition, lxii), which may be supported by various passages, including Catull. 68, 71-72: *plantam / innixa arguta constituit solea*; Ov. *Am.* 3, 1, 31: *pictis innixa colturnis*; Turpil. 31 Ribbeck:

sandalio innixa digitulis primoribus; Prop. 2, 29, 40: *prosiluit in laxa nixa pedem solea*; Sil. 2, 397-398: *galeamque coruscis / subnixam* (*subnexam* Bauer) *cristis*; also 1, 506, supra: *solioque alte subnixa resedit*; 3, 402: *subnixa Pelelia muro*. As Conington remarks, "subnixus" might stand, the chin and hair being said to rest on the cap or cap-strings, agreeably to the use of 'fulcio' (E. 6, 53, note) and *ἐπελδω*"; cf. Nutting, *On the Syntax of Nitor* (Univ. of Calif. Publ. in cl. Philol. 10 (1930), 181-185); also Gl. Ansil. 366, 388: *anti tu* (= *ἀντὶ τοῦ*) *subnixum habens, id est, subligatum*. Part of the effeminacy here charged may lie in the support of the chin and the locks by the *mitra*. With the beginning of this line cf. Sil. 8, 243: *subnixus rapto*.

217. *rapto*: Serv.: *stupro fruitur; nam proprie raptus est illicitus coitus; nec enim hic rapuerat*; but the meaning is probably less specific; cf. 7, 749 (= 9, 613): *vivere rapto*; Conington compares Aesch. *Agam.* 535, where Helen is *τοῦ ἡρώδου* of Paris.

217. *potitur*: this form varies between the third and the fourth conjugation, the only other Virgilian case (3, 56) having a short penultimate vowel, as here.

217. *nos*: contrasted with *ille*; hardly a 'plural of modesty' (Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 87-88; Canter, *Rhet. Elements in the Trag. of Seneca* (1925), 125-126), but perhaps here referring literally to the worship of Jupiter by the king and his subjects. For the irony cf. Kroll in *Neue Jahrbücher*, 21 (1908), 525, n. 2.

217. *munera templis*: Forbiger compares Ov. *M.* 8, 445: *dona deum templis . . . ferebat*; 9, 791: *dote munera templis*; cf. also G. 3, 22: *dona feram*; Ov. *H.* 1, 27; 6, 77. Such appeals to the gods on the basis of services rendered by the worshipper are collected by Appel, *De Romanorum Precationibus* (1909), 149-151.

218. *quippe*: probably ironical (cf. 1, 39; Plaut. *Epid.* 618; Cic. *Pro Milon.* 33; Hor. *S.* 1, 2, 4; Pers. 1, 88; Sil. 5, 117), rather

219. Talibus orantem dictis arasque tenentem
audiit omnipotens, oculosque ad moenia torsit

219-220. talibus . . . omnipotens: *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 2, 9.
audit π.

[219]

than restricting it (with Conington) to modify *tuis*. On its parenthetic character cf. Lerche, *De Quippe Particula* (in *Bresl. philol. Abh.* 41 (1910), 106). Mackail (*ad loc.*) observes that it is also deferred in the sentence in 1, 59 and 12, 422, yet even there, as here, stands first in its metrical line.

218. *fovemus*: Serv.: *aut quia frustra te credimus mundi esse rectorem, aut quia me tuum filium esse confido*. 'fovemus' autem quasi in se infirmam. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 661) thinks that the former of these ideas has been already adequately expressed in 4, 208-210, and that the latter "was necessary to complete his argument: 'I doubt that you exist; but if you do exist, I am surely not your son or you would not treat me so.'" If, however, *nos* in line 217 refers to both Iarbas and his subjects the former explanation seems more appropriate, and the repetition of the thought in another form is easily explicable, especially in the mouth of an indignant speaker. On the alliteration cf. 4, 216, n. (*Maeonia*). Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) compares Juv. 8, 165: *fovisti errorem*; Mart. 9, 48, 4: *spem muneribus fovimus*.

218. *inanem*: cf. 4, 210; 4, 433, n. (*tempus inane*); applied to *fama* in Tac. *H.* 4, 11; Aug. *Cont. Acad.* 2, 5; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 2, 76: *inania fama*. In this case *fama* has no divine reality underlying it; cf. Floardus Remensis, *De Triumphis Christi* (Antioch.) 1, 10, 6: *Christique templum inane censens numine*.

219. *talibus*, etc.: cf. 4, 362: *talía dicentem*; 4, 437: *talibus orabat*; 6, 124: *talibus orabat dictis arasque tenebat*; 10, 96: *talibus orabat*; Val. Fl. 4, 38: *talibus orantem dictis visuque fruentem*; 5, 520: *talibus orantem*; Ov. *M.* 13, 966: *talía dicentem*; also Lucr. 4, 837: *dictis orare*; and 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*), above.

219. *arasque tenentem*: a ritual phrase (cf. 6, 124, where Norden suspects a reminis-

cence of Ennius); cf. 12, 201: *tango aras, medios ignes et numina testor*; Catal. 13, 22: *prensus . . . altaribus*; Aesch. *Sept.* 258: *θυγάδων ἀγαλμάτων*; and other Greek passages cited by Reisch in *P.-W.* 1 (1894), 1690; Paul. ex Fest. p. 222 M. (p. 248 Lindsay): *poena constituta a Numa Pompilio hac lege: plex aram Iunonis ne tangito* (cf. Gell. 4, 3, 3); Plaut. *Rud.* 1333: *tange aram hanc Veneris. tango*; 1336: *tene aram hanc. teneo*; Cic. *Pro Flacc.* 90: *si aram tenens iuraret crederet nemo*; Nep. *Hannib.* 2: *me ad aram adduxit . . . eamque . . . tenentem iurare iussit* (cf. Val. Max. 9, 3, Ext. 3); Hor. *C.* 3, 23, 17: *immunis aram si tetigit manus*; Ov. *Am.* 1, 4, 27: *tange manu mensam, tangunt quo more precantes*; M. 5, 103: *amplexo tremulis altaria palmis*; 9, 772: *aram complexa*; Sen. *H. F.* 503: *complectere aras* (cf. *H. O.* 810); *H. F.* 876: *aras tangite supplices*; Sil. 3, 82: *tangat Elissaeas palmis puerilibus aras*; Juv. 14, 219: *Cereris tangens aramque pedemque*; Tac. *Ann.* 16, 31: *altaria et aram complexa*; Macrob. *Sat.* 3, 2, 7-8: *multifariam enim legimus quod litare sola non possit oratio nisi ut is qui deos precatur etiam aram manibus adprehendat. inde Varro divinarum libro quinto dicit aras primum asas dictas, quod esset necessarium a sacrificantibus eas teneri, ansis autem teneri solere vasa quis dubilet? commutatione ergo litterarum aras dici coeptas*, etc. (a very similar account is given by the Scholia Danielis on our line); Henzen, *Acta Fratr. Arval.* (1874), 34; Voulliéme, *Quomodo Veteres adoraverint* (1887), 17; Appel, *De Romanorum Precationibus* (1909), 194; McCartney in *Cl. Journ.* 21 (1925), 122, and nn. 96-97 (connecting this rite with the general folklore of touching). Sometimes a suppliant sits on or by an altar (e.g., Plaut. *Aul.* 606; *Rud.* 846; Nep. *Paus.* 4; *Aen.* 2, 574; Ov. *M.* 9, 297-298; Tib. 4, 13, 23; also the suppliant Orestes in Aesch. *Eum.* 259, and as shown on various ancient vase-paintings);

221. regia et oblitos famaе melioris amantis.
tum sic Mercurium adloquitur ac talia mandat:

oblitus c¹. amantes c.
alloquitur c.

221. et . . . amantis: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 17* (1, p. 62 Riese) — oblitus —; *Mythogr. Vat. III*, 3, 3 — amantes —. 221. famaе melioris: *Gl. Ansil.* 233, 316.

222. tum . . . adloquitur: *Max. Victor. De Rat. Metr.* (G. L. K. 6, 219).

at other times he grasps the horns of the altar, in which the divine power was perhaps thought to be concentrated (e.g., 1 *Kings*, 1, 50-51; 2, 28; Reisch, *op. cit.*, 1673-1674; Sjövall in *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 23 (1925), 185-192, and works there cited). What Iarbas later did is not stated. Ribbeck (*Gesch. d. röm. Dichtung*, 2 ed., 2 (1900), 66) thinks we must suspect that Carthage after Dido's death fell into his power (cf. 4, 326). Yet in that case the curse in 4, 625-629, which implies the continued Phoenician rule over Carthage, could hardly have been fulfilled. For the purposes of Virgil's narrative his active rôle is ended and he may be dismissed from the story.

On the plural *aras* (it seems unlikely that Iarbas touched more than one at a time), probably on the analogy of the plural *altaria*, cf. Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 1 (1928), 39.

220. *omnipotens*: cf. 4, 206, n. (*Iuppiter omnipotens*); and with the structure of the line Dracont. *Rom.* 10, 209: *audiit ignipolens, hominum nom murmura sentit*.

220. *oculos . . . torsit*: cf. G. 4, 451: *ardentis oculos intorsit*; *Aen.* 7, 399: *sanguineam torquens aciem*; 7, 448-449: *flammea torquens / lumina*; 12, 670: *ardentis oculorum orbes ad moenia torsit*. Burger (in *Rev. des Études lat.* 8 (1930), 224) compares Cic. *Off.* 1, 131: *ora torquentur*; also the word *torvus*, as in 6, 467: *torva tuentem*; etc. Henry compares Dante, *Inf.* 13, 65: *non torse gli occhi*; *Purg.* 9, 45: *il viso m'era alla marina torso*. The phrase is the answer to the question of Iarbas in 4, 208: *aspicis haec?*

221. *famae*: Virgil does not here repeat the charges of Rumor in 4, 194 — an indication, perhaps, that those were some of them recognized by an omniscient deity as being false —, but Jupiter is concerned that the

reputations of Dido and Aeneas should not suffer from such accusations; cf. Ogle in *Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 261-262. With *famae melioris* the Scholia Danielis compare 4, 170: *neque enim specie famave movetur*; and for *bona* (or *melior*) *fama* (φῆμη ἀγαθή) cf. the numerous references in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1906), 2091, 10-23. In 6, 889 cod. *M* reads *famae melioris*. The opposite is *infamia*.

221. *amantis*: Heinze (*Virgil's epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 124, n. o) considers this passage, in which Virgil speaks directly rather than through one of his characters, as evidence against DeWitt's view (*The Dido Episode in the Aen. of Virgil* (1907), 26-37) that Aeneas felt no affection for Dido.

222. *tum*, etc.: so Mercury is sent by Jupiter to Carthage (1, 297-303), as Hermes had been sent to escort Priam (*Il.* 24, 333-348), or, again, to free Odysseus from the charms of Calypso (*Od.* 5, 28-54); cf. Sil. 3, 163-171, where Jupiter sends him to Hannibal; also the mission of Raphael to Adam (*Parad. lost.* 5, 224-297). The present theophany seems to have been by day, while the corroborative dream (4, 554-570) was at night. Hey, *Der Traumglaube der Antike*, 1 (1908), 14, remarks that visions by day were more significant and more suitable for a deity (cf. my n. on Cic. *De Div.* 2, 126), and if Mercury here symbolizes the conscience of Aeneas (cf. Cornut. *N. D.* 16: *τυγχάνει δ' ὁ Ἑρμῆς ὁ λόγος ὅν, ὃν ἀπείστειλαν πρὸς ἡμᾶς ἐξ οὐρανοῦ οἱ θεοί*; Prescott, *The Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 282), roused by some sudden stimulus, the daytime message would have been more startling than any dream. For such theophanies in Virgil cf. Heinze, *Virgil's epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 311-313. Serv. *Aen.* 5, 606 remarks of the divine messengers: *ex magna parte servatur ut*

223. 'vade age, nate, voca zephyros et labere pinnis
Dardaniumque ducem, Tyria Karthagine qui nunc
expectat fatisque datas non respicit urbes,

natae γ, nato α¹. uoca. c. pennis ac.
carthagine MPγc, cartagine b, kartagine a.
expectat Pp. prospicit c dell.

223. vade . . . pinnis: Boeth. In Arist. Lib. De Interpr. Ed. sec. (Patr. Lat. 64, 396) — pennis —; Isid. Etym. 2, 21, 15 — lebare T —. 223. vade . . . zephyros: Empor. De Ethop. p. 562 Halm. 223. voca . . . pinnis: Cento Probae, 443 — te syros P, zefiros S, zefyros π, zephyros A; pro et labere: inlabere P, allabere (alla m. 2 in ras.) S; pinnis (pennis m. 2) S —. 223. voca zephyros: Serv. Aen. 5, 607. 223. labere pinnis: Serv. Aen. 2, 14 — pennis L; Isid. Etym. 10, 158; Gl. Abba, 80, 15; Gl. Aa, 278, 14.

224–225. Tyria . . . expectat: Serv. Comm. in Donat. (G. L. K. 4, 416) — Turia —; [Serg.] Expl. in Donat. 1 (G. L. K. 4, 511) — carthagine (cartago L, kartagine S, cartagine F); quae F —; Cledon. Ars (G. L. K. 5, 65) — carthagine; expectat —; Pomp. Comm. (G. L. K. 5, 253) — expectat —; Cassiod. Comm. in Orat. 3 (Patr. Lat. 70, 1237) — carthagine quae —. 224. Dardanium ducem: Gl. Ansil. 160, 124.

[224*] 225. fatis data (sic): Gl. Ansil. 236, 624. 225. non respicit: Gl. Ansil. 395, 188.

Mercurius ad concordiam, Iris ad discordiam
mittatur.

222. adloquitur: on the lengthened final syllable see 4, 64, n. (pectoribus), above; also cf. 1, 668 (iactetur); 5, 284 (datür); 12, 68 (ebür); etc. For this verb introducing a speech cf. 4, 226; 5, 780; 8, 372; 10, 860; 11, 821.

222. talia mandat: cf. 4, 30, n. (sic effata).

223. vade age: lines 223–237 are resumed by 265–276; on such epic repetitions cf. Heinze, op. cit., 404. Schol. Dan.: singulis verbis et iubentis, ut 'vade,' et hortantis, ut 'age,' et blandientis, ut 'nate' expressit adfectum; cf. Donat.: 'vade' imperativum est, 'age' hortativum cum imperativo, 'nate' religiosum et pium. For vade age cf. 3, 462; 5, 548; Sil. 13, 413; Il. Lat. 114; Val. Fl. 2, 127; Candidus, De Vita Aegili, 2, 7, 8 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 100); also the Homeric βάσκ' ἰθι (Il. 2, 8; 8, 399; 11, 186; 24, 144; 24, 336); Apoll. Rh. 4, 758: εἰ δ' ἄγε λαιψήρησι μετοιομένη περὶβύσσου; and 4, 569, n. (heia age), below.

223. zephyros: Serv.: aut quibus Aeneas naviget, unde est (4, 562) 'nec zephyros audis spirare secundos,' aut qui vehant Mercurium, ut (4, 257) 'ventosque secabat,' item (4, 241) 'rapido pariter cum flamine portant.' In defence of the former view we may assume,

either that the zephyri of 4, 562 are extended from their specific sense of west winds to apply to winds in general, or else that a light wind from the west would be held as favorable for a northeastward voyage from Carthage to Sicily. It should be noted that Mercury in his flight from Olympus (4, 268) — wherever that may be localized — passes Mt. Atlas (4, 246–251), that is, approaches Carthage from a westerly direction, perhaps not being dependent on the breezes, yet using them, as Conington suggests, as a natural power at his command. Cf. De la Ville de Mirmont, Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile (1894), 250, on Hermes as a wind-god, a subject treated also by Roscher, Hermes der Windgott (1878). The winds are elsewhere imagined as at call; cf. 3, 253; 5, 211; 8, 707.

223. pinnis: referring to his winged sandals; cf. 4, 239–241; 4, 259.

224. Dardaniumque ducem: = 9, 100; cf. Ov. F. 2, 680; also ductor Dardanius (10, 602–603; 10, 814). While Fama in 4, 191–194 blames both Aeneas and Dido, and Iarbas (4, 211–217) complains to Jupiter of both, Jupiter sends Mercury only to Aeneas, as Juno later sends Iris to Dido.

224. Tyria Karthagine: Schol. Dan.: quasi homini ita civitati epitheton patrium dedit.

226. adloquere et celeris defer mea dicta per auras.
non illum nobis genetrix pulcherrima talem

adloquere corr. in alloquere γ, alloquere bc.

genetrix nobis P dell. (nobis genetrix P²). genetrix π. pulcherrime γ¹.

226. et . . . auras: Prisc. Inst. 7, 85 (G. L. K. 2, 360) — aureas (corr. in auras) D, aures H¹ —. 226. celeris . . . auras: Serv. Aen. 4, 357 — celeres (et celeres F) —. 226. celeris per auras: Gl. Ansil. 107, 166.

227–230. non . . . reget: Donat. Aen. 7, 160 — bisum . . . indicat V —; Dante, De Mon. 2, 7 — genetrix —. 227. genetrix pulcherrima: Gl. Ansil. 264, 120 — pulcherrima —.

225. expectat: Serv.: moratur, deterit tempus. It is unnecessary with Jahn to supply urbes from the next clause as an object, or with 'S. W.' (in Cl. Rev. 2 (1888), 226) to emend Tyria to Tyrias, supplying urbes from the present line, or with Housman (in Cl. Rev. 19 (1905), 260–261) to emend to Hesperiam. The verb is usually followed by a direct object or a dum clause, and is more rarely used absolutely; yet cf. Cic. Ad Fam. 15, 17, 1: comites ad portam expectare dicunt; Quintil. 4, 5, 19: expectent paulum et agi ordine sinant; Justin, 5, 4, 1: Lacedaemoniorum duces instructis navibus expectabant.

225. fatisque datas: cf. 11, 112 (said by Aeneas): nec veni, nisi fata locum sedemque dedissent; Dietsch, Theologumenon Vergilian. Particula (1853), 26, thinks this an indication that the power of the Fates is superior to that of Jupiter, who might otherwise have said a me datas. For datas cf. 3, 255: datam cingetis moenibus urbem; also 1, 257–260.

225. respicit: cf. 4, 236: nec prolem Ausoniam et Lavinia respicit arva; 4, 274–275: spes heredis Iuli / respice; 12, 43: respice res bello varias; Cir. 177: carum non respicit aurum; Placek, Re in den Compositis in Vergils Aeneis (1882), 8–10.

225. urbes: in certain passages looking merely to Aeneas's future home the singular is used (1, 5: dum conderet urbem; 1, 258; 3, 255), but, as noted by Buscaroli (ad loc.), the allusion here is doubtless to Lavinium, Alba Longa, and Rome (cf. 1, 6–7).

226. adloquere: cf. 4, 222, n. (adloquitur).

226. celeris . . . auras: cf. 4, 270: ipse haec ferre iubet celeris mandata per auras; 4, 357–358: celeris mandata per auras / delulit; and Dido's echo in 4, 378: interpres divom fert

horrida dicta per auras. For the figurative transfer of speed from the messenger to the medium through which he passes cf. 5, 502–503: sagitta / . . . volucris diverberat auras; 5, 610: cito decurrit tramite virgo; 11, 795: volucris dispersit in auras; 12, 859: celeris incognita transilit umbras; Lünzner, Ueber Personificationen in Vergils Gedichten (1876), 20; Bell, The Latin Dual (1923), 324. The phrase per auras is a favorite hexameter ending; numerous cases from Lucretius and Virgil are cited by Merrill, Parallels and Coincidences in Lucretius and Virgil (Univ. of Calif. Publ. in cl. Philol. 3 (1918), 157).

226. mea dicta: Jupiter in the Aeneid never speaks directly to mortals but through gods as mouth-pieces, as befits his dignity; in Apollonius he is entirely silent; cf. De la Ville de Mirmont, Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile (1894), 300.

227. non illum: Serv.: κατὰ τὸ σωπώμενον intellegimus. With the form of expression cf. 11, 152: non haec, o Palla, dederas promissa parenti; also Catull. 64, 139–140: at non haec quondam blanda promissa dedisti / voce mihi; Ov. M. 3, 652–653: non haec mihi litora, nautae, / promisistis. For such striking forms of negation Kroll (in Neue Jahrbücher f. d. kl. Alt. 21 (1908), 525) compares 4, 425 (where cf. my n. on non ego); 6, 625; 10, 333. Dietsch (Theologumenon Vergilian. Particula (1853), 26, n. 199) thinks Virgil is to be censured for not making Venus dissuade Aeneas from a love for Dido which was not destined to permanence.

227. genetrix pulcherrima: = 12, 554; Serv.: epitheton perpetuum, nec ad praesens negotium pertinens.

228. promisit Graiumque ideo bis vindicat armis;
sed fore qui gravidam imperiis belloque frementem
Italiam regeret, genus alto a sanguine Teucri

gra. ium b. uendicat π.
forte p. grauidam (a in ras.) π.
alto om. m. ab P (a P¹), a suprascr. γπ.

[227*] 228. Graiumque . . . armis: *Non. p. 419 M. (p. 676 L.); Gl. Ansil. 270, 32* — arms *supplendum* — 228. Graiumque ideo: *Sacerd. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 6, 446).*

[227] 229-230. belloque . . . regeret: *Donat. Aen. 11, 400* — regere —.

[227, 229*] 230-231. Italiam . . . proderet: *Non. p. 363 M. (p. 577 L.)* — regeret et B^a; a om. A^a; proderat A^a, prodere L —; *Diomed. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 1, 414)* — prodere M —. 230. alto a sanguine: *Gl. Ansil. 46, 361.*

228. **Graiumque**: Serv.: *alii dicunt 'bis' semel a Diomedis singulari certamine (Il. 5, 311-317), et item in excidio, sicut legimus (2, 632) 'descendo, ac ducente deo' (cf. 2, 664-665 (cited by the Schol. Dan.): hoc erat, alma parens, quod me per tela, per ignis / eripis). alii dicunt propter Diomedis et Achillis (Il. 20, 273-329) certamina singularia. sed quando cum Achille dimicavit a Neptuno liberatus est; potest tamen hoc pro Venere factum videri; sic Iuno imputat Veneri quod pro ea factum est (10, 83) 'et poles in totidem classes convertere nymphas.' potest etiam alter sensus esse; nam Troia antea ab Hercule, qui et ipse Graecus fuit, capta est (cf. 2, 642-643; 3, 476); ut intelligamus iam tunc Aeneam natum fuisse; nec enim multum tempus interfuit, cum constet Priamo tunc ab Hercule imperium traditum. Graium is the commoner genitive in Virgil (cf. 6, 588; 10, 81; 10, 334; 11, 289; 12, 538), Graiorum being found only in 2, 157.*

228. **vindicat**: Schol. Dan.: *pro 'vindicaui'; et quaedam ideo praesenti pro praeerito tempore ponuntur ad maiorem significationem figurandam; citing G. 1, 279 (creat); Aen. 1, 316 (fatigat); cf. Ley, Vergilian. Quaest. Specimen, 1 (1877), 23, for similar shifts of tense. Metrically vindicaui is here impossible.*

229. **fore, etc.**: on the prophecies in the *Aeneid* of the kingdom and future of Aeneas cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 463, n. o; Billmeyer, *Rhet. Stud. z. d. Reden in Vergils Aeneis* (1932), 31; Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil* (1933), 35, n. 86 (citing eight references).

With the general tone of the passage cf. 6, 851-853: *tu regere imperio populos, Romane, memento — / haec tibi erunt artes — pacique imponere morem, / parcere subiectis et debellare superbos*; and for the possible symbolism of the line see Georgii, *Die politische Tendenz der Aeneide Vergils* (1880), 15; Herrmann in *Aus Unterricht u. Forschung*, 1 (1929), 120.

229. **gravidam**: cf. 10, 87: *gravidam bellis urbem*; Auson. *Epigr. 31, 4* (p. 322 Peiper): *imperiis gravidas qua seco Pannonias*; also *Aen. 1, 51: loca feta furentibus austris*; 6, 598-599; Schol. Dan.: *quasi parituram imperia, vel unde multi imperatores possent creari, ut (1, 21) 'hinc populum late regem' . . . alii hunc ordinem volunt: sed fore qui Italiam gravidam rerum abundantia et bello frementem imperiis regeret*; the former view seems the more probable, and provides a symmetrical group (b a a b) in the words *gravidam imperiis belloque frementem*. Italy at the time contained many different states and seemed likely to produce (*gravidam*) yet others (cf. 10, 263); Aeneas did not himself unite them into a single state, but such union was the work of the rulers and the race descended from him and the Trojans.

229. **bello**: Serv.: *exceptis temporibus quibus a Latino regebatur, ut (7, 46) 'longa populos [sic] in pace regebat'; nam alias bellicosa fuit Italia.*

230. **regeret**: cf. the predictions in *Il. 20, 307-308: νῦν δὲ δὴ Αἰνείας βίῃ Τρώεσσι ἀνάξει / καὶ παῖδων παῖδες, τοὶ κεν μετόπισθε γένωνται.*

230. **genus, etc.**: cf. 5, 45: *genus alto a*

231. proderet ac totum sub leges mitteret orbem.
si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum
nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem,
Ascanione pater Romanas invidet arces?

(pr)oderet P. leges (s m. rec. in ras.) π.

(s) i P.

suam M (sua M²), suam (corr. in sua) γ. laborum M (laborem M¹), laborem P (laborum P²), laborum (corr. in laborem) γ.

234-257: FMP. roman(as . . . arces) F. inuides P (inuidet P²)

[230*] 231. proderet: *Gl. Ansil. 464, 1819; q.v.*

232. tantarum . . . rerum: *Cento Probae, 159; 645* — tanta sum P —; 689.

233. nec . . . laborem: *Diomed. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 1, 413)* — ipsa Ap —; *Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 508)* — suum cod. *Parrhasii* —. 233. super sua: *Gl. Ansil. 547, 777.*

234. Romanas arces: *Gl. Ansil. 500, 113.*

sanguine divom; 6, 500: *genus alto a sanguine Teucri*; also 1, 235: *a sanguine Teucri*; 2, 366: *sanguine Teucri*; 6, 648: *genus antiquom Teucri*; and, for Teucer as the eponymous ancestor of the Teucry, 1, 107-110.

230. **alto**: Schol. Dan.: *inlustri, nobili*; cf. Hier. *Ep. 108, 4, 1: Toxotio, qui Aeneae et Iuliorum altissimum sanguinem traxit*; 127, 1, 3: *inlustrem familiam, alti sanguinis decus*; Prud. *Apolh. 984-985: venam sanguinis alti / ex alavis longo lexens per stemmata filo*. The adjective is also, however, used to express high antiquity: cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat. 1* (1900), 1783, 5-17.

231. **proderet**: Serv.: *id est, propagaret*; Cic. *Off. 3, 84: regno quod a Tantalo et Pelope proditum iure optinebatur*.

231. **totum**: for such extravagant descriptions of the extent of the Roman Empire Hunziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), 58, compares 1, 287; 3, 159; 6, 782; 6, 794-795; 7, 99-101; to which add 7, 258 and many parallels in other authors collected by Gernentz, *Laudes Romae* (1918), 103-106.

231. **sub leges**: cf. 4, 618-619: *cum se sub leges pacis iniquae / tradiderit*; 6, 851-853; Luc. 1, 22: *totum sub Latias leges cum miseris orbem (sc. Roma)*; C. I. L. XII, 5272, 6 (*Carm. Lat. epigr. no. 1202 Bücheler*): *orbem sub leges si habeas*. Editors compare the phrase *sub iugum mittere*.

232. **si, etc.**: cf. 4, 272: *si te nulla movet*

tantarum gloria rerum; Ariosto, *Orl. fur. 7, 60, 1-4: se non ti muovon le tue proprie laudi, / e l'opre eccelse a chi l'ha il cielo eletto, / la tua successione perchè defraudi / del ben che mille volte io t'ho predetto?*

232. **accendit**: with the figure *Preuss, Die metaph. Kunst Vergils in der Aeneis* (1894), 10, compares 6, 889: *incenditque animum famae venientis amore*; 7, 496: *eximiae laudis succensus amore*.

232. **tantarum, etc.**: cf. *Aetna, 340: tantarum semine rerum*; Juven. 1, 400: *quae sit tantarum gloria rerum*; Mantuan, *Ecl. 6, 149: tantarum copia rerum*.

233. **super**: = *pro*; Servius compares *ὐπέρ*; cf. G. 4, 559: *super arborum cultu*; *Aen. 1, 750: super Hectore*; 4, 273: *nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem*; 10, 839. In order *super . . . sua . . . laude* is interlocked with *ipse . . . molitur . . . laborem*; the juxtaposition of *ipse* and *sua* adds to the emphasis upon the former word, and Conington compares the Greek idiom *πρὸς αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ*; also cf. Ov. *H. 12, 18: ut caderet cultu cultor ab ipse suo*; and, below, 4, 314, n. (*per ego has*).

233. **molitur laude laborem**: note the alliteration.

234. **Ascanione**: in 1, 267-277 Jupiter had foretold to Venus that Ascanius was destined to found Alba Longa, whence would arise Romulus, the founder of Rome; cf. 5, 597: *Ascanius, Longam muris cum cingeret Albam*; 12, 166: *pater Aeneas,*

235. quid struit, aut qua spe inimica in gente moratur

quit *M.* quae spe *p.* i(nimica . . . moratur) *F.* gente . *a*

235. quid . . . moratur: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 178* (1, p. 68 Riese) — struis; moraris —. 235. quid struit: *Gl. Ansil. 479, 75.* 235. struit: *Gl. Philox. 274, 104; q.v.* 235. qua . . . moratur: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 1, 299 — om. M;* in gente inimica *L;* moraris —. 235. qua spe: *Gl. Ansil. 477, 242.* 235. inimica . . . moratur: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 271 — moraris —.* 235. inimica . . . gente: *Gl. Ansil. 303, 932.*

Romanae stirpis origo; 12, 168: *Ascanius, magnae spes altera Romae.* Servius remarks: *ideo autem hoc asserit poeta ut laudando Iulium Caesarem laudet, quia ab eo originem ducit, ut* (1, 288) *'Iulius a magno demissum nomen Iulo.'*

234. *pater*: the word of relationship, emphasizing the personal feeling which Aeneas might be expected to show, complements the use of *puer* in 4, 354; on the affection of Aeneas for Ascanius cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 348, who cites 1, 643–644; 1, 715; 2, 789.

234. *Romanas*: mention of Rome would as yet have meant little to Aeneas, though Mercury in 4, 275, carrying out this message, refers to it in his presence. Virgil in the *Aeneid* is careful to use *Roma* and *Romanus* (1) when speaking in his own person as author (e.g., 1, 7; 1, 33; 5, 123; 7, 603; 7, 709; 8, 99; 8, 313; 8, 338; 8, 361; 12, 166–168); (2) in speeches of omniscient gods (as here and in 1, 234; 1, 277; 1, 282; 10, 12; 12, 827); and (3) in prophetic passages, like the words of Anchises (6, 781; 6, 789; 6, 810; 6, 851; 6, 857; 6, 870) or the description of the shield of Aeneas (8, 626; 8, 635; 8, 714). When Aeneas in the earlier books mentions his goal or others than prophets name it in his presence it is usually described as Latium; cf. 1, 205–206; 1, 553–554; 4, 432; 5, 731; 6, 67–68; also the mention of the Tiber (3, 500; 5, 83), already foretold by the shade of Creusa (2, 782).

234. *arces*: Serv.: *honestior elocutio est si addamus quam rem invidemus, ut* (Ecl. 7, 58) *'Liber pampineas invidit collibus umbras.'* On *Romanas* . . . *arces* cf. *G. 2, 172: Romanis arcibus; Aen. 6, 774; 10, 12: Romanis arcibus; Ov. M. 15, 582: Latiae . . . arces.* The plural often means high points of land

(e.g., *G. 1, 240; 4, 461; Aen. 3, 291; 7, 696*), but here would suggest to a Roman reader the seven hills of Rome with the structures eventually erected upon them; cf. *G. 2, 172: Romanis arcibus; 2, 535: septemque una sibi muro circumdedit arces* (sc. *Roma*); *Aen. 6, 783; 10, 12.*

235. *quid struit*: cf. 4, 271: *quid struis, aut qua spe Libycis teris otia terris*; 12, 796: *quid struis, aut qua spe gelidis in nubibus haeres?* Vida, *Christias*, 2, 124: *quid struis aut quo te raptat tam dira cupido?* Radin (in *Cl. Journ.* 8 (1913), 308–309) explains this phrase, not in the sense of 'contrive,' 'prepare,' or 'do,' but as 'dally,' citing Fest. p. 313 M. (p. 408–410 L.): *at in XII [sc. tabulis] quod est 'si calvitur pedemve struit manum endo iacito,' alii putant significare retrorsus ire; alii in aliam partem; alifu (ge)re; alii gradum augere; alii minuire; † ac vix pedem pedi praefert, otiose il, remoratur.* But Festus cites *pedem struere* (as Radin admits), whereas Virgil uses the word either intransitively or with *quid* as object. Further, in the similar phrase in 8, 15: *quid struat his coeptis*, and in Val. Fl. 3, 585–586: *luctu succensus acerbo / quid struat Alcides, tantaque quid adparet ira*, the emphasis is upon action rather than upon procrastination or resistance to action. Again, when Mercury finds Aeneas he is (4, 260) *fundantem arces*, and Mercury's words recognize his activity (4, 266–267): *fundamenta locas pulchramque uxori urbem / exstruis.* We need not press too far, however, this meaning of *struere* in the phrase *quid struit*, which probably means, "what is he up to?" cf. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 18, n. 17; also Donatus, *Aen. 4, 277: struere disponi atque tractari significare manifestum est.*

Mackail (ed. of *Aeneid*, 130) thinks this

236. nec prolem Ausoniam et Lavinia respicit arva?

la(uinia . . . arua) *F.* respicat *P* (respicit *P²*).

236. Lavinia arva: *Gl. Ansil. 332, 525.*

line would come more appropriately after 236 (which Ribbeck deleted), but the MSS do not support such a change.

235. *spe*: for the hiatus after this word cf. Kroll, *Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 19, who cites Homeric and Latin parallels; Miller, in *Cl. Journ.* 25 (1930), 323, comparing 1, 16; 1, 405; 3, 74; 3, 606; 4, 667 (*femineo ululatu*); 5, 261. This is the only case in the *Aeneid* of a monosyllable in such a hiatus retaining its long quantity; cf. Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 265. With the phrase cf. Ter. *Eun.* 1025: *qua spe aut quo consilio huc imus?*

235. *inimica*: Schol. Dan.: *praecoccupat quasi praescius; nam nondum inimica est.* Virgil probably thinks of Jupiter as foreseeing Dido's rage when Aeneas might try to depart (cf. 4, 591–594; 4, 600–606), but his lines would also suggest to a Roman reader the conflicts of the Punic Wars, as foreshadowed in 4, 625–629. In Mercury's delivery of the message (4, 271) he tactfully substitutes for this phrase the words *Libycis teris otia terris*, making the reasons for departure rest upon the negligence of Aeneas rather than the risks he was running, while in his second embassy he stresses (4, 560–570) the dangers around him rather than his duty to Ascanius and his own future.

235. *moratur*: the sojourning of Romans in foreign lands, with the consequent loss of their moral stamina, is a frequent topic in the Augustan period; cf. Herrmann in *Aus Unterricht u. Forschung*, 1 (1929), 21, who cites Dio Cass. 42, 38; cf. also Hor. C. 3, 5, 5–12; *Epod.* 9, 11–16.

236. *prolem Ausoniam*: Serv.: *ut in sexto (756–757) 'nunc age Dardanium prolem quae deinde sequatur / gloria';* cf. 10, 429: *Arcadiae proles.* Elsewhere a proper adjective with *proles* denotes chiefly parentage rather than race; e.g., 4, 258, and n. (*Cyllenia*

proles); 7, 691 (= 9, 523; 10, 353; 12, 128): *Neptunia proles.* The attempt to identify *prolem* with a particular descendant of Aeneas, such as Aeneas Silvius (6, 763–766) is unprofitable; the word refers rather to his race (cf. 4, 230; 4, 274–276; 6, 756–757). For conflicting traditions relating to Ascanius and Silvius cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 348.

236. *Lavinia*: cf. 1, 2–3: *Laviniaque venit / litora*; 6, 84–85: *in regna Lavini / Dardanidae venient*; Prop. 2, 34, 64: *Lavinis . . . litoribus*; Luc. 9, 991: *Lavinia sedes*; Plin. N. H. 3, 64. The long *a* of the first syllable should be compared with *Ov. M.* 15, 728: *Lavini sedes*, but contrasted with the common usage of the noun *Lavinium* (e.g., *Aen.* 1, 258; 1, 270; 6, 84). For such adjectives, identical in form with the nouns from which they are formed, cf. 4, 58, n. (*patrique Lyaeo*); 4, 552: *cineri . . . Sychaeo*; Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 215. As remarked on 4, 234 (*Romanas*), this adjective could as yet have had little meaning to Aeneas as suggesting his later kingdom, and when Mercury (4, 274–276) finds him engaged in the enterprises of Dido he tactfully suppresses the allusion with its implication of Aeneas's later marital relations. Jupiter, however, has here no such motives for concealment, and in his use of the present *respicit* almost implies that future events should be as obvious to Aeneas as to him; cf. Donat.: *ex persona Iovis bene processit, quoniam futura noverat et ventura bene habuit cognita*; Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (1919), 300; Cartault, *l. c.*, who thinks this line a marginal one, not part of the original text, because not reproduced by Mercury in his delivery of the message.

236. *respicit*: cf. *Ecl.* 1, 27; 1, 29; *Aen.* 4, 225; 4, 275; 5, 689; 12, 43; and, for the cadence, *Cir.* 470: *Salaminia respicit arva.*

237. naviget! haec summa est, hic nostri nuntius esto.
Dixerat. ille patris magni parere parabat

h(ic . . . esto) F.
(parere parabat) F.

237. naviget . . . est: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 537 — hoc H —. 237. haec . . . est: *Schol. Iuv.* 3, 79. 237. hic . . . esto: *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 495).

238–246. dixerat . . . nubila: *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 6, 11 — aequora iuxta (cf. 4, 255); tunc (pro tum); pallentes; ranat P (pro tranat) —. 238–239. ille . . . imperio: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 689; *Cento Probae*, 413–414. 238. patris magni: *Gl. Ansil.* 428, 825.

237. naviget: the chief point in Jupiter's command, emphasized by its position in the line, yet entirely omitted by Mercury in 4, 265–276; cf. Cartault, *op. cit.*, 1, 349; Valentine in *Cl. Weekly*, 21 (1928), 107.

237. haec, etc.: with *haec summa* . . . hic . . . nuntius cf. 6, 129: *hoc opus, hic labor est*; 12, 572: *hoc caput, o cives, haec belli summa nefandi*.

237. summa: *Serv.*: *id est, mei praecepti collectio*.

237. hic: cf. Val. Fl. 2, 142: *utinam non hic tibi nuntius essem* (though *hic* may here be adverbial).

237. nostri nuntius: cf. 4, 654: *magna mei . . . imago*; 8, 514; 10, 72. Donatus remarks: *si omnia Iovis ipsius verba considerentur, nihil Hiabae contemplatione invenietur mandasse Mercurio nec ad illius aliquam culpam pertinere poterit qui Carthaginis finibus excludi praeceptus est*. Whether *nuntius* means 'messenger' or 'message', and, consequently, whether *esto* is in the second or the third person (of 9 Virgilian cases 7 (and possibly 8) are in the third person) is not clear. It has been asserted that Virgil does not use *nuntius* in the latter sense, yet 6, 456; 7, 437; 8, 582; 9, 692; and 11, 897 seem possible instances.

238. dixerat. ille: cf. 2, 152; 2, 705; 4, 331; 9, 743; 10, 547; *Stat. Theb.* 2, 655; *Juvenc.* 1, 751. *Dixerat* is thus used in nineteen other places in the *Aeneid*, including 4, 663; cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*). *Serv.*: *non respondet quasi numen inferius sed dictis obtemperat*; and the *Schol. Dan.* compare 1, 689: *paret Amor dictis carae genetricis*, etc.;

cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 314, who thinks it is not Virgil's custom in general to represent inferiors as replying to superiors.

That this passage imitates at several points *Il.* 24, 339–345 and *Od.* 5, 43–54 has been observed from as early as *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 6, 11–12, and individual points of likeness will be noted below. The present line corresponds to *Il.* 24, 339 (= *Od.* 5, 43): *ὧς ἔφατ' οὐδ' ἀπίθησε διάκτορος ἀργεῖφόντης*. *Stat. Theb.* 1, 303–311 contains a further imitation of the passage; cf. its opening line: *paret Atlantiades dictis genitoris*. There should be compared the first mission of Mercury to Carthage (*Aen.* 1, 297–304), as well as *Ov. M.* 1, 671–674.

On the frequency and distribution of theophanies in the *Aeneid* cf. Heinze, *Virgil's epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 462, n. 5 (for those in Homer cf. Spiess in *Neue Jahrb. f. Wiss. u. Jugendbildung*, 5 (1929), 395–417). Jupiter and Juno are not made by Virgil to appear to human beings, though Venus, Apollo, Mercury, and various lesser deities are so seen. In the present passage Mercury acts in the rôle of an angel in Christian tradition; cf. Gardner, *Virgil in Italian Poetry* (1931), 9.

238. patris . . . parere parabat: note the alliteration, continued, in part, by *imperio* . . . *primum pedibus* in the next line.

239. imperio: cf. 5, 726: *imperio Iovis huc venio*; 5, 747: *Iovis imperium*.

239. et: = 'and so'; Ladewig compares 3, 62.

239. talaria: *Serv.*: *Mercurius ideo dicitur*

239. imperio; et primum pedibus talaria nectit
aurea, quae sublimem alis sive aequora supra

imper F (imperio F¹). primo (corr. in primum) M. ta(laria nectit) F.
que P (quae P²). submon (corr. in sublimem) c. alii(s) F (alii(s) F¹), alii M (alis M²), al . is c.
(siue . . . supra) F. suppra P (supra P¹).

[238] 239–240. pedibus . . . aurea: *Mart. Cap.* 1, 9; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1, 304. 239. talaria nectit: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 300. 239. nectit: *Gl. Ansil.* 387, 155 (cf. 387, 153); q.v.

[238*, 239] 240. aequora supra: *Gl. Ansil.* 37, 235.

habere pennas quia citius ab omnibus planetis in ortum suum recurrit; unde et velox et errans inducitur; cf. the proverb in *Hier. Ep.* 4, 1, 2: *pinnatis, ut aiunt, pedibus*; also *Il.* 24, 340–342 (= *Od.* 5, 44–46): *ἀντίκ' ἐπειθ' ὑπὸ ποσσὶν ἐδήσατο καλὰ πέδιλα / ἀμβρόσια χρύσεια, τὰ μιν φέρον ἥμιν ἐφ' ὕγρην / ἧδ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν ἅμα πνοῆσ' ἀνέμοιο*; [*Orph.*] *Hymn.* 28, 4, which addresses Hermes as *πτηνοπέδιλος* (so in *Paphr. Gr. magicæ*, 1, p. 194, 404; 2, p. 30, 67 Preisendanz); *Ov. M.* 1, 671–672: *alas pedibus virgamque potenti / somniferam sumpsisse*; 2, 736: *ut tersis niteant talaria plantis*; *F.* 4, 605: *sumpsit caducifer alis*; 5, 100: *alipedisque dei*; *Cornut. N. D.* 16: *πέδιλα δὲ φέρει πτερωτὰ καὶ δι' αἶρος φέρεται συμφώνως τῷ καθὼς εἴρηται τὰ ἐπὶ πτερόεντα*; *Philo, Legat. ad Gaium*, 94; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 303–304: *et inde / summa pedum propere plantaribus inligat alis*; *Min. Fel.* 22, 5: *pedibus Mercurius alatis*; *Sidon. Carm.* 7, 21; *Fulg. Myth.* 1, 18: *Mercurium . . . pennatis quoque talaribus praeditum . . . pennata vero talaria, quod negotiantum pedes ubique pergerendo pennati sunt*; *Shakesp. King John*, Act 4, Sc. 2: "Be Mercury, set feathers to thy heels"; *1 Hen. IV*, Act 4, Sc. 1: "like feather'd Mercury"; *Hen. V*, Act 2, prol.; *Rich. III*, Act 2, Sc. 1; *Keats, Endymion*, 4, 331: "foot-feather'd Mercury."

Winged sandals, common artistic symbols of Mercury (Scherer in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 2 (1890), 2360; 2368; on their allegorical significance cf. *Mythogr. Vat.* I, 119; II, 41–42; III, 9, 5), are attributed also to Perseus (*Ov. M.* 4, 667; 4, 730; *Val. Fl.* 1, 67–68; *Apollod. Bibl.* 2, 4, 2; *Opp. Cyneg.* 2, 10), to whom Mercury gave them (*Hygin. Astron.* 2,

12), and to Minerva (*Cic. N. D.* 3, 59); for their aphrodisiac and apotropaic significance cf. *Eitrem, Hermes u. d. Toten* (1909), 44–45. Alexander the Great at times wore such and carried a *κηρύκειον* (*Athen.* 12, 53).

239. nectit: cf. the account of a statue of Hermes (*Anth. Pal.* 2, 297–302): *ἦν δὲ καὶ Ἑρμείας χρυσόραπις ἰστάμενος δὲ / δεξιτερῇ πτερόεντος ἀνέρισε δεσμὰ πέδιλον, / εἰς ὁδὸν ἄλξαι λελημένος εἶχε γὰρ ἧδ' / δεξιὸν ὀκλάζοντα θοὸν πόδα, τῷ ἔπι λαὶν / χεῖρα ταθεῖς ἀνέπεμπεν ἐς αἰθέρα κύκλον ὀπωπῆς, / οἷά τε πατὴρ ἀνακτος ἐπιτρωπῶντος ἀκούων*.

240. aurea: on the 'run-over' adjective cf. 4, 26, n. (*pallentis*). Golden sandals are associated also with Hera (*Od.* 11, 604; *Hes. Theog.* 454), Apollo (*Callim. Hymn.* 2, 34), Athena (*Od.* 1, 96), and Eos (*Sappho*, 18 Bergk). Virgil's account of golden winged sandals is derived from the Homeric passages cited above, and suggests, it must be admitted, rather the wealth and dignity of the gods than the speed and lightness of a swift messenger. Cf. Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 1, 14, 1–4: *ali bianche vesti . . . / . . . / fende i venti e le nubi, e va sublime / sovra la terra e sovra il mar con queste*; *Shelley, Prom. unbound*, Act 1, "trampling the slant winds on high / with golden-sandalled feet." Mercury's *virga* is also often described as of gold (cf. his epithet *χρυσόραπις*): *Od.* 5, 87; 10, 277; 10, 331; *Hymn. Herm.* 529–530; 539; *Hymn. Aphrod.* 117; *Schol. Il.* 15, 256 (*Alc. fr.* 4 Edmonds); *Pind. Pyth.* 4, 178 (316); *Apolod. Bibl.* 3, 10, 2; *Ov. Ep.* 15 (16), 64; *Cornut. N. D.* 16; *Plut. fr.* 146 (p. 176 Bernardakis).

240. sublimem: cf. 1, 257; 5, 255; 11,

241. seu terram rapido pariter cum flamine portant.
tum virgam capit; hac animas ille evocat Orco

(cum . . . portant) F. flamine γα¹. portant M (portant M²).
haec Pγ¹. anim(as . . . orco) F. uocat (corr. in euocat) a.

[238] 241. rapido . . . portant: Serv. Aen. 4, 223; Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 245 — om. T —. 241. rapido . . . flamine: Gl. Ansil. 484, 147.

[238*] 242–243. tum . . . mittit: [Acro] in Hor. C. 1, 10, 17–18 (ed. Hauthal) — euorat (perperam impressum?) —. 242–243. tum . . . pallentis: [Acro] in Hor. C. 1, 24, 16 — reuocat A; pallentes —. 242–243. hac . . . mittit: Serv. Aen. 6, 264 — uocat H; pallentes; alios R —; 6, 749 — hac om. ASRM; ille om. M; uocat HMF; pallentes; tristitia FC —. 242–243. hac . . . pallentis: Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 2, 11 — uocat P; pallentes —. 242. tum . . . capit: Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 1, 306. 242. virgam capit: Schol. Dan. Aen. 1, 300; Gl. Ansil. 590, 292.

722; Cir. 487: aeris potius sublimem sustulit alis; Stat. Theb. 1, 310–311: nec mora, sublimis raptim per inane volatus / carpit.

240. alis: to be taken closely with sublimem; cf. 11, 722: pennis sublimem.

240. aequora supra: cf. 4, 255: volat aequora iuxta.

241. rapido, etc.: it is natural that Mercury, as a wind-god (cf. 4, 223, n. (zephyros), above), should have ascribed to him the speed of wind; cf. Roscher in Ausf. Lex. 2 (1890), 2368; and with the present line cf. Il. 24, 342 (= Od. 1, 98; 5, 46): ἥδ' ἐπ' ἀπείρονα γαῖαν ἄμα πνοῆν' ἀνέμοιο. While the literal meaning in both cases is 'with the wind,' or 'on the wind,' the implication is that the speed is that of the wind itself; cf. Stat. Theb. 1, 292–293: impiger alis / portantes praecede notos, Cyllenia proles; 2, 80–90; 7, 35–38; Prud. Contra Symm. 1, 100–101: simulans per nubila ferri / aligerisque leves pedibus transcurrere ventos.

242. virgam: cf. Il. 24, 344–345 (= Od. 5, 47–48): εἴλετο δὲ ῥάβδον, τῇ τ' ἀνδρῶν δμματα θέλγει / ὧν θέλει, τοὺς δ' αὖτε καὶ ὑπνώοντας εἵλπει; Stat. Theb. 1, 306–308: tum dextrae virgam inseruit, qua pellere dulces / aut suadere iterum somnos, qua nigra subire / Tartara et exanguis animare adsueverat umbras; Spenser, Mother Hubbard's Tale, 1291–1298.

The caduceus of Hermes belongs in a large category of sticks with some symbolic significance or magical power, including the thyrsus, spear, sceptre, crosier, shepherd's crook,

mace, magic wand, judges' staff, dowsers' stick, and blooming rod; cf. Pease on Cic. De Div. 1, 30; to which add McCartney in Cl. Journ. 21 (1925), 116; De Waele, The Magic Staff or Rod in Graeco-Italian Antiquity (1927). On its form, as seen in many works of art, cf. Preller, Ausgew. Aufsätze (1864), 147–154; Drexler in Roscher, Ausf. Lex. 2 (1890), 2365; Hoffmann, Hermes u. Kerykeion (1890), 47; Eitrem in P.-W. 8 (1913), 760; Boetzkies in P.-W. 11 (1922), 330–342 (an important article, with bibliography on p. 342); Pfister in P.-W. 11 (1922), 2129; Riess in Am. Journ. of Philol. 46 (1925), 233; Scott in Hermes, 63 (1928), 32, who notes the frequency of this symbol in the Augustan period; De Waele in P.-W. 2 ser. 3 (1929), 1894–1923 (especially 1914–1920, and bibliography on p. 1923). As observed by van Wageningen (in Mnemosyne, 32 (1904), 43, n. 2), the caduceus and virga are occasionally differentiated.

242. hac: a parenthesis extends from here through resignat in line 244, the story being resumed by illa in 245.

242. animas: Serv.: pro 'umbras,' secundum poeticum morem.

242. evocat: cf. 6, 748–749: has omnis . . . / Lethaeum ad fluvium deus evocat agmine magno (where Servius thinks the deus is Mercury). Hermes here appears as a ψυχοπομπός (Diod. 1, 96, 7; Cornut. N. D. 16; Eitrem in P.-W. 8 (1913), 757; van Wageningen in Mnemosyne, 32 (1904), 43–48; Fairbanks, Athenian Lekythoi (1907), 307, and works

243. pallentis, alias sub Tartara tristia mittit,

pallentes Fc. (tristia mittit) F. ducit P (mittit P²).

[238*, 242*]

there cited), with the double function of bringing up souls of the dead (perhaps for necromancy) and escorting others to the nether world. The two-fold task appears in Stat. Theb. 1, 307–308 (quoted above); Lucian, Dial. Deorum, 7, 4: ῥάβδον τινα ποιοῖται θανάσιαν τὴν δύναμιν, ἣ ψυχαγωγεῖ καὶ κατὰγει τοὺς νεκρούς; Petron. 140, 12: Mercurius enim, qui animas ducere et reducere solet; Prud. Cont. Symm. 1, 90–94: traditur extinctas sumptae moderamine virgae / in lucem revocasse animas, Cocytia leti / iura resignasse, sursum revolantibus umbris. / ast alias damnas neci, penitusque latenti / immersisse chaos; Vida, Scacchia, 640–641: felicem virgam, qua puras evocet umbras / pallenti Styge.

The former of these two functions is especially noted in Aesch. Pers. 628–630: ἀλλὰ, χθόνιοι δαίμονες ἀγροί, / Γῇ τε καὶ Ἑρμῇ, βασιλεῦ τ' ἐνέρον, / πέμψατ' ἔνερθεν ψυχὴν ἐς φῶς; cf. the story of Laodamia's return from her visit to the shade of Protesilaus (Hygin. Fab. 103).

242. Orco: used both for the nether world (e.g., G. 4, 502; Aen. 2, 398; 6, 273; 8, 296; 9, 527; 9, 785; Hor. C. 1, 28, 10; 3, 4, 75; 3, 11, 29; perhaps 4, 2, 24; yet cf. Cl. Rev. 1 (1887), 258) and for the god of death (G. 1, 277; perhaps Aen. 4, 699, though this may be local; Hor. C. 2, 3, 24; 2, 18, 30; 2, 18, 34; 3, 27, 50), but with much of the indefiniteness which Roman ideas of the underworld show; cf. Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide, 1 (1926), 501. The construction may be an ablative of separation (cf. Speijer, Lanx satura (1886), 13) or perhaps a dative (cf. Cl. Rev., l. c.).

243. pallentis: cf. 4, 26, and n. (pallentis).

243. alias: how the same rod had such contradictory powers is explained by the First Vatican Mythographer (119): pater vero tradidit ei virgam caduceam; qua si quem ex grossiori parte a capite tangeret moreretur;

quem vero a subtili viveret. The Third Mythographer (9, 3) rationalizes: ea etiam somnum dat et adimit quia sermo ingeniosus lites alias, ut diximus, sopit, alias etiam nonnumquam excitat. vitam quoque largitur et aufert, quod idem rhetorum sermo in causis hunc liberali, hunc condemnat.

243. Tartara: Virgil uses the form Tartarus only in 6, 577; elsewhere Tartara, the distinction being apparently merely one of metrical convenience, as with Ismarus and Ismara; cf. Koczyński, De Flexura Gr. Nom. propr. apud Lucil. Varr. Lucr. Verg. (1892), 20; Van Bleek, Quae de Hominum post Mortem Condicione doceant Carm. sepulchr. Lat. (1907), 69, and n. 1; also Braumüller, Über Tropen u. Figuren in Vergils Aeneis, 2 (1882), 17. With the phrase cf. manis . . . sub imos (4, 387; 11, 181); Il. 14, 278–279: θεοὺς δ' ὀνόμηνεν ἅπαντας / τοὺς ὑποταρταρίους, οἱ Τιτῆνες καλεῖνται; Papyr. Gr. magicae, 1, p. 194, 404–411 Preisendanz: αἰθέριον δρόμον εἰλίσσων ὑπὸ τάρταρα γαίης . . . λαμπάσι τέρπων τοὺς ὑπὸ τάρταρα γαίης τε βροτοὺς βίον ἐκτελέσαντας, κτλ. (cf. 2, p. 30, 671–672); the place is commonly pictured as one for those undergoing punishment; cf. Waser in Roscher, Ausf. Lex. 5 (1916), 121–128; Scherling in P.-W. 2 ser., 4 (1932), 2440–2445. With the phrase cf. 8, 563: sub Tartara misi (= 11, 397; cf. 12, 14). Note the alliteration, Tartara tristia.

243. mittit: cf. Od. 24, 1–5: Hymn. Herm. 572–573: οἶον δ' εἰς Ἀἴδην τετελεσμένον ἀγγελον εἶναι, / ὅς τ' ἄδοτος περ ἔων δώσει γέρας οἷκ ἐλάχιστον; Aesch. Cho. 1: Ἑρμῇ χθόνιε (so 124 a); Eum. 91; Soph. El. 1395–1397; Ai. 831–832: καλὸν θ' ἄμα / πομπαῖον Ἑρμῇ χθόνιον εὐ με κοιμήσαι; O. C. 1547–1548: τῆδε γὰρ μ' ἄγει / Ἑρμῆς ὁ πομπὸς ἢ τε νερέτερα θεός; Eur. Alc. 743–744: πρὸφρων σε χθόνιός θ' Ἑρμῆς / Ἀΐδης τε δέχονται; Ar. Pax, 648–649; [Orph.] Hymn. 57, 2–3: ὅς ψυχὰς θνητῶν κατὰγει ὑπὸ νέρετρα γαίης, / Ἑρμῇ; 57, 6–9: αἰνόμερος ψυχᾶς πομπὸς κατὰ

244. dat somnos adimitque et lumina morte resignat.

et add. sup. Fl. limina (corr. in lumina) γ, lumin(a . . . resignat) F. . . morte a.

[238] 244. dat . . . adimitque: *Macro. Somn. Scip.* 2, 3, 9. 244. et . . . resignat: *Prisc. Partit.* 161 (G. L. K. 3, 497). 244. morte resignat: *Gl. Ansil.* 377, 464. 244. resignat: *Gl. Ansil.* 495, 1507; q.v.

γαῖαν ὑπάρχων, / ἄς κατάγει, ὅπῳ' ἂν μοίρης
χρόνος εἰσαφίκηται, / εὐτέρῳ ῥάβδῳ θέλγων
ὑπνοδῶτιδι πάντα, / καὶ πάλιν ὑπνῶντας
ἐγείρει; *Hor. C.* 1, 10, 17-19: *tu pias laetis
animas reponis / sedibus virgaque levem co-
erces / aurea turbam;* 1, 24, 15-18: *num
vanae redeat sanguis imaginis, / quam virga
semel horrida, / non lenis precibus fata reclu-
dere, / nigro compulerit Mercurius gregi;* *Val.
Max.* 2, 6, 8: *defusus Mercurio delibamentis et
invocato numine eius ut se placido itinere in
meliolem sedis infernae deduceret partem;*
Cornut. N. D. 16: *ψυχοπομπὴν δὲ τὸν Ἑρμῆν
ἐμύθευσαν εἶναι συμβάλλοντες, ὅπερ ἴδιον
αὐτοῦ ἐστὶ, τὸ ψυχαγωγεῖν· διὰ τοῦτο γοῦν καὶ
ῥάβδον αὐτῷ ἐγχειρίζουσι, κτλ.;* *Diog. L.* 8, 31:
τὸν δ' Ἑρμῆν ταμίαν εἶναι τῶν ψυχῶν καὶ διὰ
τοῦτο πομπᾶν λέγεσθαι καὶ πυλαῖον καὶ χθό-
νιον, ἐπειδὴ περ οὗτος εἰσπέρπει ἀπὸ τῶν σωμά-
των τὰς ψυχὰς ἀπὸ τῆς γῆς καὶ ἐκ θαλάττης· καὶ
ἀγεσθαι τὰς μὲν καθαρὰς ἐπὶ τὸν ὕψιστον, τὰς
δ' ἀκαθάρτους μὴτ' ἐκείναις πελάζειν μὴτ'
ἀλλήλαις, δεῖσθαι δ' ἐν ἀρρήτοις δεσμοῖς ὑπ'
Ἑρμῆν; *Paus.* 8, 32, 4: τῷ δὲ Ἑρμῇ . . .
πρόσεστιν ἐξ ἐπῶν τῶν Ὀμήρου φήμη . . . Διὸς
τε αὐτὸν διάκονον εἶναι καὶ ὑπὸ τὸν Ἀϊδὸν ἀγειν
τῶν ἀπογινωμένων τὰς ψυχὰς; *Anth. Pal.* 11,
124, 5-6: *κηρύκειον γὰρ ἔχων ξύλινον, καὶ πλα-
στὰ πέδιλα, / ὥς Ἑρμῆς, κατάγει τοὺς θερα-
πευμένους;* *Auson. Perioch. Od.* 24 (p. 405
Peiper): *Tartaream vocat in sedem Cyllenius
umbras;* *Roscher in Ausführ. Lex.* 2 (1890),
2373-2375; *Eitrem in P.-W.* 8 (1913), 789-
790; also *Spenser, Mother Hubbard's Tale*,
1291-1298.

Sparrow (in *Journ. of Roman Stud.* 21
(1931), 166) thinks *mittit* a wrong reading,
accepted on the authority of a majority of
MSS and through the influence of 6, 543:
ad impia Tartara mittit; 12, 14: *sub Tartara
mittam*. Yet Virgil is perhaps in the verb
mittere here recalling *πέμπειν* in the title of
Hermes *ψυχοπομπός*, which, though less fre-

quent than *ψυχαγωγός*, is nevertheless well
attested; cf. also Steiner, *Das Bedeutungsleh-
wort in Vergils Aeneis* (1921), 54-55.

244. somnos: cf. *Il.* 24, 343-344 (= *Od.*
5, 47-48 (quoted above); cf. 24, 2-4); *Il.* 24,
445: τοῖσι δ' ἔφ' ὕπνον ἔχευε διάκτορος ἀργεῖ-
φόντης; *Od.* 7, 137-138: σπένδοντας δεπᾶεσσιν
εὐσκόπῳ ἀργεῖφόντη, / ᾧ πυμάτων σπένδεσκον,
δτε μνησαίετο κοῖτου (cf. *Longus*, 4, 34; *Poll.*
6, 100); *Ov. M.* 1, 671-672: *virgamque
potenti / somniferam sumpsisse manu;* 1, 715-
716: *firmitque soporem / languida permulcens
medicata lumina virga;* 2, 735-736: *ut teres in
dextra, qua somnos ducit et arcel, virga sit;*
Cornut. N. D. 16 (on his sending dreams;
cf. *C. I. L.* VI, 520, quoted in 4, 356, n.
(*interpres divom*) below); *Stat. Theb.* 1, 306-
308: *tum dextrae virgam inseruit, qua pellere
dulces / aut suadere iterum somnos qua nigra
subire / Tartara et exsangues animare adue-
verat umbras;* *Heliod.* 3, 5: τὸν Ἑρμῆν ἐπὶ
πᾶσιν ἐπικαλούμενος, εὐόνειρόν τ' ἦται τὴν
νύκτα καὶ φανῆναι αὐτῷ τοὺς φιλάτους κατὰ
γοῦν τὸν ὕπνον ἰκέτευσεν; *Eitrem in P.-W.* 8
(1913), 788-789. The connection by analogy
between a god of sleep and one who brings
death is obvious.

244. adimit: used with *somnum* or *somnos*
in *Cic. Ad Att.* 2, 16, 1; *Hor. C.* 1, 25, 3;
Prop. 3, 10, 25; *Plin. N. H.* 35, 121; *Vida*,
Scacchia, 643-644: *delque adimatque oculis
somnos et funere in ipso / lumina Lethaeo
claudat perfusa sopore*. For the phrase cf.
Hor. S. 2, 3, 288: *Iuppiter ingentis qui das
adimisque dolores*.

244. resignat: *Serv.*: *claudit, perturbat.
est et aliud quod physici dicunt, pupillas, quas
in oculis videmus, morituros ante triduum non
habere; quibus non visis est summa desperatio.
hoc ergo dicit 'resignat,' hoc est, aufert signa
luminibus;* the *Schol. Dan.* add: *id est,
signorum quibus quaeque noscuntur intellectum
tollit. Cicero 'resignari' pro 'auferri' ait in pro*

Archia (9) . . . *alii tradunt 'resignare' veluste
ita dictum ut nos 'adsignare' dicimus pro
damno, ut est apud Calonem in Lucium
Furium, etc.* But these explanations seem
unlikely, and the phrase has been the sub-
ject of much discussion; cf. (in addition to
the various commentators *ad loc.*) *Hoegg, De
diffic. quibusdam Virgilii Locis* (1833), 7-10;
Henry, Aeneidea, 2 (1873), 663-671; *Schroe-
ter, Beiträge z. Krit. u. Erklär. von Vergils
Aeneis*, 2 (1875), 14-16; *Pöhlig, Beiträge z.
Erklär. von Vergils Aeneide*, 2 (1880), 13-16;
*Placek, Re in den Compositis in Vergils
Aeneis* (1882), 34; van Wageningen in
Mnemosyne, 32 (1904), 43-48; *Eitrem,
Hermes u. die Toten* (1909), 49; *Bell, The
Latin Dual* (1923), 334-335; and, for the
meaning of *re-*, *Fehrlé in Wiener Stud.* 49
(1932), 102-107 (and works there cited).

Discussion hinges upon whether *resignat*
means 'unseal' or something else, and the
two obvious ways of approach are by in-
quiring (a) what *resignare* elsewhere means
and (b) what ancient customs were in regard
to the eyes of the dead. Virgil does not else-
where use *resignare*. In other authors several
legal instances (= 'assign' or 'transfer')
seem hardly in point, despite the attempt of
the *Scholia Danielis* to connect them with
this case. Other instances fall under the
meanings of 'unseal,' either literally, as of
letters and documents (*Hor. Ep.* 1, 7, 9), or
figuratively, in the senses of 'destroy' (cf.
Servius's third suggestion; *Hier. Comm. in
Ez.* 9, p. 331 Vall.; etc.), 'cancel,' or 'reveal'
(*Ov. F.* 6, 535; *Pers.* 5, 28). I find no good
parallel to *Servius's* explanation (followed by
Jahn and others) of *resignare* = *claudere*;
that idea is rather expressed by *signare*, as
in *Stat. Theb.* 3, 129: *hae pressant in tabe
comas, hae lumina signant*.

Illustrating customs at death in regard to
the eyes of the dead man may be cited *Od.*
11, 424-426, where the shade of Agamemnon
says of Clytemnestra: ἡ δὲ κυνώπις / νοσφι-
σας· οὐδὲ μοι ἔτλη ἰόντι περ εἰς Αἴδαο /
χερσὶ κατ' ὀφθαλμοῖς ἔλεεν σὺν τε στόμῳ· ἐρεί-
σαι; 24, 294-295: οὐδ' ἄλοχος . . . Πηνελό-
πεια / κῶκυς· ἐν λεχέεσσιν ἔον πόσιν, ὥς ἐπει-
κει, / ὀφθαλμοῖς καθελούσας· τὸ γὰρ γέρας ἐστὶ
θανόντων; *Plat. Phaed.* p. 118: ὀλίγον χρόνον
διαλιπὼν ἐκνήθη τε καὶ ὁ ἄνθρωπος ἐξεκάλυψεν

αὐτόν, καὶ ὅς τὰ ὄμματα ἔστησεν· ἰδὼν δὲ ὁ
Κρίτων συνέλαβε τὸ στόμα καὶ τοὺς ὀφθαλμοῖς;
Aen. 9, 486-487: *nec te tua funera mater /
produxi pressive oculos aut vulnera lavi;* *Ov.
Tr.* 3, 3, 43-44: *nec mandata dabo, nec cum
clamore supremo / labentes oculos condet amica
manus* (cf. *Aen.* 11, 818-819: *labuntur frigida
leto / lumina*); 4, 3, 43-44: *supremoque die
notum spectantia caelum / texissent digiti
lumina nostra tui;* *Plin. N. H.* 11, 150:
*morientibus illos (i.e., oculos) operire rursusque
in rogo patefacere Quiritium magno ritu sacro-
rum est, ita more condito ut neque ab homine
supremum eos spectari fas sit, et caelo non
ostendi nefas* (cf. *Caland in Museum*, 10
(1902), 37); *Samter, Volkskunde im alt-
sprachlichen Unterricht*, 1 (1923), 111-115.

Most editors have been troubled because,
after Mercury has been said to lead souls
from or to Orcus and then has been described
as the god who brings or ends sleep, Virgil,
in the word *morte*, seems to return to the
notion of his escorting the dead (for other
cases — e.g., 4, 173-189 — in which the poet
returns to the idea with which a discussion
has begun cf. *Kvřcala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d.
Aeneis* (1881), 94). *Henry* would avoid this
by explaining *morte* as figuratively used for
somno, but while sleep and death are often
compared and poets speak of the sleep of
death (cf. *Ogle in Mem. Am. Acad. in Rome*,
11 (1933), 81-117), the reverse figure, of the
death of sleep, furnishes only unsatisfactory
parallels (such as the use of *somno sepultus*,
etc.). Nor is the interpretation of *Gossrau et al.*
that *morte resignat* = *resignat* (i.e., *liberat*)
a *morte* proved by the comparison of 4, 375
and 5, 476, for we lack evidence that *re-
signare* = *reducere* or *revocare*. *Pöhlig's* view
of *resignare* as = *λύνειν* = *solvere* = 'relax'
disregards too much its literal uses and its
relation to *signare* (cf. *Stat. Theb.* 3, 129,
quoted above).

A more probable explanation seems this.
Relatives close the eyes of the dead; at some
moment, however, perhaps on the pyre (ac-
cording to *Pliny*, quoted above), the eyes are
opened again by a friend or are thought of
as opened by Mercury. In the underworld
the shades (whose form corresponds to that
of their earthly bodies) have the use of their
eyes (e.g., 6, 469), and doubtless on the

245. illa fretus agit ventos et turbida tranat
nubila. iamque volans apicem et latera ardua cernit

Versum 245 ima p. add. F¹, inter lineas add. cod. a. turbina P (turbida P²). t(ranat) F.
nam a¹b¹. uolens p. apice(m . . . cernit) F.

[238*] 245. agit ventos: Donat. in Ter. Ad. 319. 245. tranat: Gl. Ansil. 568, 101; q.v.
[238]

journey to Hades they needed to use them (for their physical activities on the way no examples need be cited); cf. van Wageningen, l.c. This explanation admits the somewhat awkward tautology by which the phrase becomes almost a doublet of *alias sub Tartara tristia mittit* (though in the unfinished condition of the poem this is not serious enough to disturb us), and it is consistent, I think, both with the other uses of *resignare* and with the customs obtaining at death, as shown in the passages cited. Prudentius seems to imitate our lines: Adv. Symm. 1, 90-92: *traditur extinctas sumptae moderamine virgae / in lucem revocasse animas, Cocytia leti / iura resignasse sursum revolantibus umbris*.

245. illa: Mackail (*ad loc.*) notes the awkwardness of this word, as though referring to something different from *hac* in line 242; and points out other signs in lines 245-258 of early or unfinished work; see notes below.

245. fretus: cf. 6, 120: *fretus cithara fidibusque canoris*; and the Homeric use of *περιούβως*.

245. agit ventos: Schol. Dan.: *non vocat aut transit, nam sequitur 'et turbida tranat.' an ergo ducit alque moderatur, ut (G. 4, 510) 'mulcentem tigris et agentem'; unde et paedagogos dicimus? an excludit ac pellit . . . an insequitur . . . an ante se agit, ne reflectant, ut equos agit, quia illis defertur? nam dixit 'rapido pariter cum flamine portant.' an 'agit' in actu est? In 10, 634 we find Juno agens hiemem. La Cerda (*ad loc.*) and Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 671-675) well compare Mercury to a rider, the clouds to his steed, and the *virga* to his directing whip. For other cases of this verb (or a compound) used with winds or clouds borne by the wind cf. Ov. M. 7, 207: *ventos abigique vocoque*; Sil. 3, 489-490: *illa undique nubes / huc atras agit et mixtos cum grandine nimbos*.*

245. turbida . . . nubila: cf. *turbidus imber* (5, 696; 12, 685); contrast 7, 699: *liquida . . . nubila*; and cf. the use of *nubila* in 4, 177, above.

245. tranat: Serv.: *transvolat*; cf. 10, 265: *grues . . . aethera tranant*; Enn. Ann. 21: *transnavit cita per teneras caliginis auras*; Lucr. 4, 177-178: *quae mobilitas ollis (i.e., simulacris) tranantibus auras / reddita sit*; Mart. Cap. 2, 126, 15-16: *cum superna tranat / frela*; Ennod. Carm. 1, 4, 97: *ille (i.e., Cupido) volat celeri tranans per nubila vento*. The alliteration should be noted.

246. apicem: Serv.: *bene ei quae sunt hominis dat, nam rex fuit. qui cum audisset oraculo cavendum esse a Iovis filio et timore nullum susciperet, a Perseo in montem conversus est viso Gorgonis capite, eo quod illum noluit suscipere*; on this transformation cf. Stoll in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1884), 707; Wernicke in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 2124-2125; and for this use of *apex* for a mountain summit cf. Ov. M. 13, 910; F. 1, 308: *Peliacus sidera tangat apex*; Juv. 12, 72; Solin. 24, 12 (of Atlas): *apex Perseo et Herculi pervius, ceteris inaccessus*.

246. latera: Lünzner, *Ueber Personificationen in Vergils Gedichten* (1876), 14-15, discusses Virgil's personifications of mountains; in the present case various features should be noted: *latera* (246), *vertice* (247), *caput* (249), *umeros* (250), *mento* (250), *senis* (251), and *barba* (251), most of them paralleled in other ancient and modern metaphors concerned with mountains (Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 315). Cf. Ov. M. 4, 657-660 (describing the transformation of Atlas): *quantus erat mons factus Atlas, nam barba comaeque / in silvas abeunt, iuga sunt umerique manusque; / quod caput ante fuit summo est in monte cacumen; / ossa lapidis fiunt*; also Val. Fl. 5, 411-413; Sil. 1, 201-

247. Atlantis duri, caelum qui vertice fulcit,

adlantis γ, athlantis c. ue(r)rice fulcit) F. fulgit M (fulcit M¹), fucit (corr. in fulcit) a.

247. caelum . . . fulcit: Non. p. 263 M. (p. 402 L.).

210. The whole subject of these metaphors is elaborated by Donatus in a long note. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 137, condemns the passage for baroque style, but Cartault (l.c.) finds the total impression grand and picturesque. Donatus further remarks: *Mercurius igitur ad partis Carthaginiensis tendens hic primum constitit, nec mirum; non debuit enim praeterire montem qui avi sui nomine consecratus esset et qui ex occasione urgentis transitus necessarius fuerat et oportunus*, from which Georgii, *Die antike Aneiskritik im Komm. d. Tib. Cl. Donatus* (1893), 19, infers that the following description had been censured by critics as an inapposite intrusion at this point. On Virgil's interest in mountains cf. 4, 147, n. (*iugis Cynthi*). With the verse-ending cf. Cypr. *Hept. Exod.* 749: (*montis*) *latera ardua fumant*.

246. ardua: cf. Stat. *Theb.* 1, 98-99: *arduis Atlans / horruit*.

247. Atlantis: which summit of the great mountain system known as the Atlas Virgil here has in mind is uncertain; the group extends for 1500 miles through northwestern Africa, rising to about 15,000 feet above the sea at its highest point, Tizi n' Tagharat or Tinzár, south of Morocco. The natives, according to Strab. 17, 3, called it *Δρύς* (it is unlikely that *duri* here is a pun upon this) or *Addiris* (Plin. N. H. 5, 13, where the MSS vary greatly, some reading *Dyrin*; Solin. 24, 15; Mart. Cap. 6, 667), which has been connected with the Berber term *Adrar n' Deren* for parts of the high Atlas. On the history and the Roman knowledge of the range cf. Ruge in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 2118-2119; much additional information will be found in Bérard, *Les Phéniciens et l'Odyssee*, 1 (1902), 240-263.

Paus. 1, 33, 6, remarks: *ὁ δὲ Ἀτλας ὑψηλὸν μὲν ἔστιν, οὕτως ὥστε καὶ λέγεται ταῖς κορυφαῖς ψάβειν τοῦ οὐρανοῦ, ἄβατον δὲ ἀπὸ ὕδατος καὶ δένδρων ἃ διὰ παντὸς πέφυκε*, and hence arose the common tradition that the

mountain, or a person transformed into a mountain or a pillar — *κλών* (cf. Meltzer, *Gesch. der Karthager*, 1 (1879), 453; Stoll in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1884), 707; Wernicke in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 2124) —, or even a person himself, bore, upon his head and hands, his shoulders, or his back, the weight of the heavens; Stoll. *op. cit.*, 705; Wernicke, *op. cit.*, 2122-2124; to the references cited by the latter add: Aesch. *Frag.* 312 Sidgwick; Eur. *Herc.* 403-407; Hdt. 4, 184; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2, 5, 11; Cic. *Pro Sest.* 19; Philodem. *De Piet.* 37 Gomperz; Aen. 8, 137-141; Vitruv. 6, 7, 6; Ov. F. 5, 83: *caelifero Atlante*; Germ. *Arat.* 264-265; Mela, 3, 101: *caelum et sidera non tangere modo vertice sed sustinere quoque dictus est*; Sen. H. O. 12; 1907-1908 (cf. *Dial.* 2, 2); Cornut. N. D. 26; Stat. *Theb.* 5, 430; Sil. 1, 1, 160; 4, 2, 19-20; Sil. 1, 201-210; 15, 142; Arnob. 2, 69; Avien. 2, 574-575; *Append. Planud.* 303, 5; Auson. *Ep.* 31, 228 (p. 302 Peiper); Sidon. *Carm.* 7, 3-5; Nonn. 2, 260-265; Procl. in *Tim.* 1, p. 53 (*Frag. Philos. Gr.* 1, 182); Priscian, *Carm.* 2, 74 (*Poet. Lat. min.* 5, 277); in Greek the idea was proverbial in the form *Ἀτλας τὸν οὐρανὸν* (*Paroem. Gr.* 1, 207, no. 67; 2, 149, no. 57; 2, 315, no. 23; Arsen. *Violet.* p. 83 Walz); for a photograph of the peak known as the Mont aux Singes apparently supporting a bank of clouds cf. Bérard, *op. cit.*, 1, 244, fig. 34. Virgil himself alludes to this story in 6, 796-797 (cf. 4, 481-482): *ubi caelifer Atlas / axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum*; 8, 136-137: *Electram maximus Atlas / edidit, aetherios umero qui sustinet orbes*; 8, 141: *Atlas . . . caeli qui sidera tollit*. For other parallels cf. Frazer on Ov. F. 5, 169; Weiser in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, 1 (1927), 1054-1055; and for the pedigree of Atlas Schol. Dan.: *Aetheris et Diei filius, cui poenae gratia caelum inpositum dicitur, quod ut quidam volunt, cum Titanibus steterit*; Stoll and Wernicke, *opp. cit.*

248. Atlantis, cinctum adsidue cui nubibus atris

adlantis γ, athlantis c. cinctum et γ, cinctum *disting.* Donat. assidue ac. cu(i... atris) F.

248–251. Atlantis... barba: Beda, *De Schem. et Trop. S. Script.* (1533 ed.), p. 80 — Athlantis; assidue cum; pinniferumque caput uento quassatur; humeros —. 248–249. Atlantis... imbri: *Pomp. Comm.* (G. L. K. 5, 305) — pinniferum BCSP; uentus quassauit P; uento quassatur cell. —. 248–249. Atlantis... caput: Donat. *Ars gram.* 3, 6 (G. L. K. 4, 399) — assidue; pinniferum (corr. in piniferum) S; caput uento quassatur et imbri P, caput et cetera L —; *Iulian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris*, 6, 7 — atlantem —.

The name *Atlas* itself implies the bearing of a burden (τληναι), and is to be compared with the words *Tantalus* and *Telamon(es)*; cf. Vitruv. 6, 8, 6; Mayer, *Die Giganten u. Titanen in der ant. Sage u. Kunst* (1887), 88–89; 146; Bérard, *op. cit.*, 1, 244; Waser in *P.-W.* 3 Supplbd. (1918), 740; 758; Terzaghi, *Le Credenze relig. degli Antichi* (1927), 53.

According to a rationalizing explanation frequent in ancient times the bearing of the heavens by Atlas merely typifies poetically that he was a distinguished astronomer (or even the inventor of astronomy) who carried in his head a great weight of knowledge relative to the stars; cf. Wernicke, *op. cit.*, 2125, to which add: Herodorus ap. Clem. *Strom.* 1, 15; Cic. *Tusc.* 5, 8; Heraclitus, *De Incredib. (Myth. Gr.* 3, 2, p. 74 Festa); Alex. Polyhistor ap. Euseb. *Pr. ev.* 9, 17, p. 419 d; Plin. *N. H.* 7, 203; Sidon. *Ep.* 4, 3, 5; Hier. *Chron.* ann. Abr. 380; Syncell. p. 283 Dindorf; Aug. *C. D.* 18, 8; Isid. *Etym.* 5, 39, 9; 14, 8, 17; Eustath. in Dionys. *Orb. Descr.* 66 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* 2, 229 Müller); Bouché-Leclercq, *L'Astrologie grecque* (1899), 576, n. 1; Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 2. Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 136) notes Virgil's inconsistency in representing Atlas (1, 741) as a 'professor of astronomy' who instructed Iopas, while here and elsewhere he makes Atlas a mountain; this results, Cartault thinks, from the use of various sources not completely reconciled.

247. duri: Schol. Dan.: *laboriosi; et merito, qui caelum sustinet; unde ait 'fulcit,' hoc est, sustinet, propter altitudinem; nam altus est nimis.* The word may also refer to the rocky character of the range. Kvíčala

(*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 97) compares 3, 94; 5, 730; 9, 468; 9, 603; and the Homeric τλημων; cf. also Knight in *Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 202, n. 16.

247. fulcit: Ov. *H.* 9, 18: *sidera fulsit Atlans*; cf. Sil. 1, 201–204: *nec patitur nomen proferri longius Athlas, / Athlas subducto tracturus vertice caelum. / sidera nubiferum fulcit caput, aetheriasque / erigit aeternum compages ardua cervix*, etc.; Avien. 2, 1265–1266: *persistit pectore celso / cornipedis species et caelum vertice fulcit* (of Aquarius); 3, 100–102; 3, 110–111: *sic caelum vertice fulcit / Maura Abila* (opposite Gibraltar); 3, 250–252: *hic ardua Taurus / in iuga consurgit, caelumque cacumine fulcit / verticis, et celsis late caput inserit astris*; Claud. *Carm. min.* 53, 23–24: *hinc Atlantis apex flammantia pondera fulcit / et per canitiem glacies asperima durat*; von Andrian-Werburg, *Der Höhengultus asiatischer u. europ. Völker* (1891), xv; Capelle, *Berges- u. Wolkenhöhen bei gr. Physikern* (1916), 32.

248. Atlantis: Schol. Dan.: *repetitio cum emendatione et auctu*; so *Atlas* is repeated in 8, 140–141 and Sil. 1, 201–202. Cf. *Ecl.* 10, 72–73; *Aen.* 4, 25–26; 4, 173–174; 4, 182, n. (*lot, etc.*); 4, 345–346; Demetr. *De Eloc.* 61 (who cites the repetition of Νυπεύς in *Il.* 2, 671–673); Stat. *Silv.* 1, 2, 198 and Vollmer's n. Mackail (ed. of *Aen.* (1930), 130) thinks lines 248–251 look "like an early draft meant to be struck out and replaced by the line *Atlantis... fulcit.*"

248. cinctum, etc.: Drexel, *Des Prudent. Verhältnis z. Vergil* (1907), 1, well compares the similar phraseology in Prud. *Hamartig.* 130–131: *cinctum cui nubibus atris / anguiferum caput et fumo stipatur et*

249. piniferum caput et vento pulsatur et imbri, nix umeros infusa tegit; tum flumina mento

pinniferum b¹, pinni. ferum (f erasa) γ. capud a¹. pul(satur... imbri) F, pulsantur (corr. in pulsatur) π.

umeros ac, umheros (umh m. 2 in ras., o corr. ex u) γ. infussa γ¹. (flumina mento) F. fulmina (flumina m. rec.) M.

[248*] 249. piniferum: *Gl. Ansil.* 444, 155 — iniferum —. 249. pulsatur: *Gl. Ansil.* 473, 209; q.v.

[248*] 250. mento: *Gl. Ansil.* 366, 385; q.v.

igni. Voss (in *Cl. Journ.* 29 (1933), 41–42) contrasts the picture of Olympus in *Od.* 6, 43–45.

248. nubibus: Plin. *N. H.* 5, 7, describes the top of Atlas as *elati super nubila atque in vicina lunaris circuli*; cf. Solin. 24, 8; Avien. 3, 102: *hic (sc. Atlas) circumfusus vestitur nubibus axis.*

248. atris: cf. *G.* 2, 308–309: *atram / ... nubem*; *Aen.* 3, 572: *atram... nubem*; 10, 264: *sub nubibus atris*; 10, 664: *nubi... atrae*; Lucr. 6, 180; Hor. *C.* 2, 16, 2; 3, 29, 43–44; Sen. *Phoen.* 394: *atra nubes*; 422; *Oed.* 1000: *atra nube*; Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 32, 249: *nubibus intonat atris.*

249. piniferum: cf. *Ecl.* 10, 14–15: *pinifer... Maenalus*; *Aen.* 10, 708: *Vesulus... pinifer*; Sil. 1, 205–206 (of Atlas): *frontemque immanibus umbris / pinea silva premit*; Auson. *Ep.* 22, 21 (p. 262 Peiper): *pinifer Atlas*. Plin. *N. H.* 5, 14 (cf. Solin. 24, 8) speaks of forests of tall trees with leaves like those of cypresses, growing on the lower slopes of Atlas, and some editors have felt that Virgil here merely employs a traditional epithet of mountains in general (as in the cases cited and in Ov. *F.* 3, 84: *pinigerum Fauni Maenalis ora caput*; Stat. *Silv.* 3, 4, 12: *pinifera... Ida*; Val. Fl. 6, 392–393: *Othrys / piniger*), and have even doubted whether pines were found in the Atlas ranges. Mackail (*Cl. Studies* (1925), 111) remarks that Virgil's "Carthaginian landscapes, coast and inland, so far as not conventional, are merely those of Italy copied, and his Mount Atlas is like an Alpine mountain range, with pine-clad peaks and rivers fed from snow-fields or glaciers." But the *Encycl. Brit.* 11 ed., 2 (1910), 858 speaks of the Moroccan

Atlas as covered on the north side and on the top of the lower heights with dense forests of oak, cork, pine, cedar, and other trees; cf. Hooker and Ball, *Journ. of a Tour in Morocco* (1878), 256; Engler, *Die Pflanzenwelt Afrikas*, 1 (1910), 12, who remarks that Aleppo Pine — *Pinus halepensis* Mill. — is locally common in Morocco up to ca. 5500 feet, and is found on the north side of the Great Atlas; *Juniperus oxycedrus* L. and *J. phoenicea* L. are also found there, and *Cedrus atlantica* Manetti up to 4200 feet, while *Abies pinsapo* Boiss., var. *baborensis* Coss. occurs as high as 6500 feet. See Baedeker, *The Mediterranean* (1911), 210–211 for the large forests of *Cedrus atlantica* Manetti, particularly at Teniet el-Haâd, about 100 miles southwest of Algiers; he also states (*op. cit.*, 94) that the chief peaks of the Great and Lesser Atlas are covered with perpetual snow. While these descriptions apply to parts of the Atlas far removed from Carthage they may yet indicate that Virgil had heard reports of climatic and vegetative conditions which he here reproduced with some justification; cf. 4, 154, n. (*cervi*); Hardy, *Geogr. of Plants* (1920), 200, for Aleppo Pines in the Tell valley, and (p. 202) Cedar reaching a much higher elevation.

249. vento, etc.: cf. Ermoldus, *In Hon. Hludowici*, 3, 15 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 41): *vento pulsatus et imbri.*

249. imbri: on the ablative form cf. *G.* 1, 393; Wotke in *Wiener Stud.* 8 (1886), 135.

250. nix: cf. Ov. *M.* 4, 772: *gelido sub Atlante*; Plin. *N. H.* 5, 14: *verticem (sc. Atlantis) altis etiam aestate operiri nivibus* (Solin. 24, 10: *vertex semper nivalis*); Stat. *Silv.* 4, 3, 157: *nives Atlantis*; Sil. 1, 205 (of

251. praecipitant senis, et glacie riget horrida barba.
hic primum paribus nitens Cyllenius alis

precipitant γ. reget P (riget P²), regit γ¹. glaci(e . . . barba) F.
(hic . . . paribus) F. cylleni F (cyllenius F¹), cylenius (corr. in cyllenius) γ, cylenius α¹π.

251. et . . . barba: Non. p. 422 M. (p. 683 L.). 251. praecipitant: Gl. Ansil. 455, 222 — precipitant —; q.v. 251. riget: Gl. Ansil. 498, 33–36; q.v.
252–253. hic . . . constitit: Non. p. 272 M. (p. 418 L.); p. 353 M. (p. 560 L.) — cyllenos L¹A¹ —; Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 1, 124. 252. paribus . . . alis: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 262 — sylleinius F —. 252. nitens: Gl. Ansil. 392, 164; q.v.

Atlas): *canet barba gelu*; Dio Cass. 76, 13, 4 (of Atlas): *χιόνος τε οὖν αἰ διὰ ταῦτα πεπλήρωται, καὶ τὸ ὕδωρ ἐξ αὐτῆς παμπληθὲς ὑπὸ τὸ θέρος ἀφίησιν*; Opp. *Halieut.* 1, 622: *Ἀτλαντος νιφόντα πάγον*; Claud. *Carm. min.* 53, 24: *per canitiem glacies asperissima durat*; Baedeker, *The Mediterranean* (1911), 94, who states that the Greater and the Lesser Atlas are covered, on their chief peaks, with perpetual snow; but also cf. Hooker and Ball, *Journ. of a Tour in Morocco* (1878), 290–291.

250. *tum*: in an enumeration of items; cf. *Ecl.* 6, 61–62; *G.* 2, 296; *Aen.* 1, 164; 2, 697; 6, 577; 10, 445.

250. *flumina*: giving the effect of a white beard; cf. 6, 299–300 (of Charon): *cui plurima mento / canities inculta iacet*.

250. *mento*: cf. Soph. *Trach.* 13–14: *ἐκ δὲ δασκίου γενεάδος / κρονιοὶ διεπραίνοντο κρηναίου ποτοῦ*. Some editors condemn the introduction of such human features as the chin, yet we must remember (1) that this is no ordinary mountain but one metamorphosed, as Ovid describes, from a person; and (2) that such terms as 'head,' 'arm,' 'shoulder,' 'knee,' and even 'nose' and 'chin' (as on Mt. Mansfield, Vermont) are even today used of parts of mountains, especially as seen in profile; for such terms in antiquity cf. Plin. *N. H.* 2, 115. Bignone (ap. Buscaroli *ad loc.*) suggests that Virgil is probably here recalling artistic representations he had seen of personified mountains. One might also compare Dante, *Inf.* 14, 94–120. For the omission of *de* with *mento*, when used in connection with the verb *praecipitare*, cf. 2, 8–9: *nox umida caelo / praecipitat*.

251. *praecipitant*: sc. *se*; cf. 2, 8–9 (quoted above); 4, 565; 6, 351; 9, 670; 11, 617.

251. *senis*: Donat.: *senem vero recte appellavit vel quod mons esset antiquus vel quod Mercuri avus esse diceretur vel quod semper canus esset ex nivibus*; cf. Serv., who cites *G.* 1, 43–44: *gelidus canis cum montibus umor / liquitur*. Claud. *De Cons. Stil.* 1, 146–147 speaks of the *senex* . . . Atlas.

251. *riget*, etc.: Schol. Dan.: *aut frigida est, aut recta est, unde et rigorem dicimus directionem*. Lact. Plac. *ad Stat. Theb.* 3, 264 cites *riget horrida tergo palla*, probably in reminiscence of this line. Cf. also *G.* 3, 366: *impexis induruit horrida barbis*; Petron. 122, 150: *glacie concreta rigent*; Mart. 7, 95, 1: *riget horridus December*; Wandalbertus Prumiensis, *De Mens. XII Nomin.* 24 (Poet. *Aevi Carol.* 2, 605): *glacies riget horrida campis*.

251. *horrida barba*: cf. Cic. *Pro Cael.* 33: *non hac barbula qua ista delectatur sed illa horrida*, etc.

252. *paribus . . . alis*: Serv.: *leni volatu, ut* (9, 14) *'dixit et in caelum paribus se sustulit alis'* (cf. 5, 657; *Ov. M.* 2, 708: *hinc se sustulerat paribus caduceifer alis*); Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 1, 14, 8: *e si librò sull' adeguate penne*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 680–682) contrasts at length the equally balanced motion of wings, used in pairs, with the alternating motion of arms or legs.

252. *nitens*: Schol. Dan.: *quidam pro 'volans' accipiunt*; cf. *G.* 2, 427–428: *ad sidera raptim / vi propria nituntur*; *Hor. C.* 4, 2, 2–3: *ceratis ope Daedalea / nititur pennis*; *Ov. Ex Pont.* 2, 7, 27: *quot aves motis nitantur in aëre pennis*; the participle may here = 'poising' or still 'winging his way,' or, as Mackail (*ad loc.*) suggests, "putting on pressure with equal wings," i.e. checking his flight and bringing himself up standing.

253. constitit; hinc toto praeceps se corpore ad undas
misit avi similis, quae circum litora, circum

(constitit . . . p)raecept F. hic Donat.
(misit . . . qua)e F.

[252]

254–255. *misit* . . . *iuxta*: *Asper*, p. 538 *Hagen* — quae c. l. c. p. s. h. v. a. i. —. 254–255. *avi* . . . *iuxta*: *Quintil. Inst.* 8, 3, 72 — *similes*; *piscos* *A¹(?)b* —. 254–255. *quae* . . . *scopulos*: *Quintil. Inst.* 1, 5, 25. 254. *avi similis*: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 262.

252. *Cyllenius*: cf. *G.* 1, 337 (of the planet Mercury); *Aen.* 4, 258; 4, 276; *Cir.* 108; *Ov. M.* 2, 720: *agilis Cyllenius*; 2, 818: *velox Cyllenius*; 14, 291: *pacifer . . . Cyllenius*; *Stat. Theb.* 2, 89: *volucer Cyllenius*; *Arnob.* 3, 32: *caduceator ille Cyllenius*; Claud. *De Rapt. Pros.* 1, 77: *Cyllenius adstitit ales*; cf. *Carm. min. Append.* 11, 5 (p. 306 Koch): *Cyllenius ales*; Carter, *Epitheta Deorum* (1902), 69. For the birth of Mercury on Mt. Cyllene cf. Serv.: *aut ab avia . . . aut a Cyllene, Arcadiae monte, ubi dicitur esse nutritus*; *Aen.* 8, 138–141: *vobis Mercurius pater est, quem candida Maia / Cyllenae gelido conceptum vertice fudit; / at Maïam, auditis si quicquam credimus, Atlas, / idem Atlas generat caeli qui sidera tollit*; also Hes. *frag.* 276 *Rzach*: *Κυλλήνης ἐν ὄρεσσι θεῶν κήρυκα τέχ' Ἑρμῆν*; *Mythogr. Vat.* I, 119.

253. *constitit*: cf. I, 226.

253. *hinc*, etc.: with this bird-like swoop and subsequent flying near the surface of the water cf. *Od.* 5, 50–54: *Πιερίην δ' ἐπιβάς ἐξ αἰθέρος ἔμπεσε πόντιν' / σέβας' ἔπειτ' ἐπὶ κύμα λάρῃ ὄρνιθι ἑοικώς, / ὅς τε κατὰ δεινὸς κόλπους ἄλός ἀτρυγέτοιο / ἰχθύας ἀγρώσων πυκινὰ πτερὰ δέεται ἄλμυρ' / τῷ ἔκελος πολέεσσιν ὀχῆσατο κύμασιν Ἑρμῆς*; *Juvenc.* 3, 406: *praecipitemque maris sese iaculetur in undas*; Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 1, 15, 1–2: *e ver le piagge di Tortosa poi / drizzò precipitando il volo in giuso*. In *Ov. M.* 2, 714–721 Mercury (called *Cyllenius*) is again compared to a bird in flight. Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) would explain *hinc* as temporal, following *primum* in the line above, and compares *Ecl.* 4, 37; etc., but a parallelism with *hic* seems quite as probable, and I should treat the word as local.

253. *toto . . . corpore*: cf. 5, 683; 6, 494; 7, 459; 9, 410; 9, 812; 10, 127; 11, 87; 11,

313; 11, 828–829; 12, 728; 12, 920 (in several cases the phrase denotes, as here, the use of all one's physical strength); *Lucr.* 4, 1021: *qui praecipitent ad terram corpore toto*.

253. *se . . . misit*: cf. 9, 644–645: *ab alto / aethere se mittit*; 10, 633–634: *caelo se protinus alto / misit*; *Ov. M.* 8, 251: *praecipitem misit*; 11, 340: *cum se . . . misisset*.

254. *avi similis*: for this simile cf. Hornbostel, *Die Gleichnisse bei Vergil* (1870), 6; 12; Houben, *De Comparat. Vergilianis* (1876), 4; Kopetsch, *De Comparat. Vergilianis* (1879), 5; Caspers, *De Comparat. Vergilianis* (1883), 7; Mackail, ed. of *Aeneid* (1930), 130, who thinks that "the doubled simile of the sea-bird in ll. 254–5 and 256–8 can hardly have been intended to stand" (of this I am not convinced; Mackail is arguing against lines 248–264 in general, and seems unnecessarily severe). Micalella (in *Boll. di Filol. class.* 9 (1902), 14–17) would place a period after *misit* and a lesser pause after *iuxta*, making *haud aliter* introduce the second member of the comparison, and supposing that Mercury coming from Olympus sees the mass of Atlas reaching from opposite Sicily to the Atlantic, and that he alights upon a high peak, perhaps Zaghuan, whence he swoops down to the east coast near Cape Bon (in a sandy region) and along the coast to Carthage. This presupposes a rather exact knowledge on Virgil's part of the local topography, though perhaps not more than we have a right to expect. The comparison of the motion of a god to that of a bird is found in Homer (e.g., *Il.* 15, 237–238 (Apollo); *Od.* 1, 320 (Athena); 5, 52–54 (Hermes); 22, 240 (Athena)), while the bird as the type of swiftness in general is frequent; e.g., *Il.* 2, 764 (horses); *Od.* 7, 36 (ships); etc. Servius

255. piscosos scopulos humilis volat aequora iuxta.
haud aliter terras inter caelumque volabat

(piscosos . . . hum)ilis F. umilis a.

256–258 recentiore atramento scripti in b. haut Mp. (haud . . . int)er F.

[254*] 255. humilis . . . iuxta: Non. p. 321 M. (p. 504 L.); p. 414 M. (p. 668 L.).
255. volat . . . iuxta: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 262. 255. aequora iuxta: Gl. Ansil. 37, 236.
256. terras . . . volabat: Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 2, 59 — om. M —.

remarks: *incongruum heroo credidit carmini si mergum diceret, ut alibi ciconiam per periphrasin posuit* (G. 2, 320) 'candida venit avis,' etc. The attempt of some editors to identify the kind of bird (e.g., the *mergus*) is unprofitable, nor is it likely that Virgil, who does not hesitate to introduce similes drawn from bees (1, 430–436) and ants (4, 402–407) and to write a fourth book of the *Georgics* and a *Culex* (whether or not ours is by him), was unwilling to name the species of a sea-bird had he so desired, lest the dignity of the poem might be impaired.

254. *circum* . . . *circum*: the repetition of this word finely reproduces the repeated swoopings of the bird, like the repeated phrases in G. 1, 406–409 (= Cir. 538–541); cf. Irvine (*ad loc.*) on the effective rhythm. Krafft, *Zur Wortstellung Vergils* (1887), 30, notes that only disyllabic prepositions are placed by Virgil at the end of one line governing a noun in the next; such examples of *circum* are 1, 667–668: *circum / litora* (= 7, 763–764); 9, 584–585: *circum / flumina*; 12, 476–477: *circum / stagna*.

255. *piscosos*: cf. 11, 457; 12, 518. Schol. Dan.: *pisculentos; causa cur volet*; which Homer states (*Od.* 5, 53) in the words *ἰχθύας ἀγρώσσων*.

255. *humilis*: Schol. Dan.: *humiliter; et tractum est ab humo*, comparing G. 3, 8–9; cf. also Val. Fl. 4, 515: *humili . . . volatu*.

255. *iuxta*: cf. 4, 240: *aequora supra*. Virgil usually places this preposition after its noun; cf. 3, 506; 4, 480; 4, 517; 6, 430; 6, 815; Moret. 56; Tac. Ann. 2, 41, 1.

256. *haud aliter*: beginning a line in 1, 399; 9, 65; 9, 554; 9, 797; 10, 360; 10, 714; 11, 757; the phrase here corresponds to τῷ ἱκελός in *Od.* 5, 54. The reasons for rejecting this line and the next (chiefly because of a

supposed awkwardness in the first half of line 257, the threefold repetition of *ter* in 256, and the repetition of the adjective *Cyllenius*) seem inadequate; cf. Belling, *Stud. ii. d. Compositiōnskunst Vergils i. d. Aeneide* (1899), 201–202. We perhaps have here a trace of two versions by Virgil himself of which he would eventually have suppressed one, or we may see the expansion of a simple theme; cf. Sikes, *Roman Poetry* (1923), 21–22.

256. *terras inter caelumque*: cf. 4, 184, and n. (*caeli medio*); Il. 5, 769 (= 8, 46): (*περίσθην*) μεσσηγὺς γαλῆς τε καὶ οὐρανοῦ ἀστερόεντος; Alc. frag. 58 Hiller: γαλῆς καὶ νηόεντος ὀππᾶνω μέσοι; Luc. 9, 6: *terras inter lunaeque meatus*; also, for the position of the preposition, G. 1, 33: *Erigonen inter chelasque*; Aen. 2, 632: *flammam inter et hostis*; 2, 681: *manus inter maestorumque ora*; 4, 480: *Oceani finem iuxta solemque*; 5, 152: *turbam inter fremitumque*; 5, 663: *transtra per et remos*; 6, 114: *viris ultra sortemque*; 9, 202: *terrorem inter Troiaequae labores*; 10, 778: *latus inter et ilia*; Caes. B. G. 6, 36, 2; Tac. Ann. 12, 32, 1 (other cases in Schmaus, *Tacitus ein Nachahmer Vergils* (1887), 31); Paul. Nol. Carm. 19, 423; 23, 124; von Boltenstern, *Bemerk ii. d. Wortstellung . . . in Vergils Aeneis* (1880), 16; Krafft, *Zur Wortstellung Vergils* (1887), 31. A popular etymology derived *Mercurius* from *medius currens*; cf. Aug. C. D. 7, 14; Mythogr. Vat. III, 9, 1; Isid. Etym. 8, 11, 45: *Mercurius quasi medius currens dicitur appellatus, quod sermo currat inter homines medius*.

256. *volabat*: on the rhyme in this line and the next cf. 4, 54, n. (*amore*), above. Note also an internal rhyme between *aliter* and *inter*.

257. litus harenosum ad Libyaе ventosque secabat
materno veniens ab avo Cyllenia proles.
ut primum alatis tetigit magalia plantis,

257–258 *inverso ordine c, dell.* (litus . . . lib)yaе F. habenosum M (harenosum M²), arenosum (corr. in harenosum) c, arenosum ab. ao P (ad P²), ad p^γ1 dell., at M (ac m. rec.; cf. Fairclough in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 63 (1932), 220), at abc, ac (corr. ex ad) π, ac. Schol. Veron. uentosque secabat per parenthesesim disting. Sabbadini. lybyae M, lybiae γ, libie a, libiae π.

258–285: MP. cillenia a, cylenia π.

257. *litus . . . Libyaе*: Schol. Dan. G. 2, 105 — om. ad; arenosum libiae V —; Schol. Veron. G. 2, 105 — ac (*fortasse legendum at?*) V —; Anth. Lat. no. 12, 1 (1, p. 47 Riese) — arenosum A; ad om.; libiae A —. 257. *harenosum*: Gl. Ansil. 274, 86; q.v. 257. *ventosque secabat*: Serv. Aen. 4, 223.

[257*] 258. *materno ab avo*: Gl. Ansil. 360, 883. 258. *Cyllenia proles*: Anth. Lat. no. 15, 157 (1, p. 55 Riese).

259. *magalia*: Gl. Ansil. 352, 157; q.v.

257. *harenosum*: Serv.: bene 'arenosum,' addidit; nam in Libya erat, sed non in arenosa; Mauretania enim aspera et silvestris est; cf. Ov. M. 4, 617: *cumque super Libycas victor penderet harenas*.

257. *ad*: von Boltenstern (*op. cit.*, 16) cites as parallels for this position 4, 671: *culmina per . . . hominum*; 6, 58: *corpus in Aeacidae*; 7, 234: *fata per Aeneae*; 9, 643: *gente sub Assaraci*. Some editors omit *ad* and make *volabat* govern *litus*, on the analogy of 3, 191: *currimus aequor*; 5, 235: *aequora curro*. This seems less probable.

257. *secabat*: cf. G. 1, 406 (= 1, 409 = Cir. 538; 541): *secat aethera pennis* (suggesting Cic. Arat. 48: *geminis secat aethera pinnis*); Aen. 5, 658 (= 9, 15): *secuit sub nubibus arcum*; 12, 267–268: *cornus . . . auras / certa secat*. Greek parallels are Hom. Hymn. Cer. 383: *βαθὺν ἄερα τέμνον ἰόντες*; Eur. ap. Athen. 2, p. 61 b: *ὦ τὸν ἀγῆρατον πόλον αἰθέρος, Ἥλιε, τέμνων*; Ar. Av. 1400: *αἰθέρος αὐλακα τέμνων*; Callistr. Descr. 3: *τὸν ἄερα τέμνειν πτέρυγι*; 6: *τὴν αἰέριον λήξιν τέμνειν . . . ταῖς πτέρυξι*; 7: *τὸν αἰθέρα τέμνουσαι*; Tasso, Ger. lib. 1, 14, 3: *fende i venti e le nubi*; Steiner, *Das Bedeutungslehnewort in Vergils Aeneis* (1921), 37.

258. *avo*: Serv.: per Maiam, Atlantis filiam — a genealogy attested by many authors, e.g., Hom. Hymn. 18, 3–5; Eur. Ion, 1–4; Apollod. Bibl. 3, 10, 2; Aug. C. D. 18,

8; Serv. Aen. 8, 134. La Cerda compares Sidon. Carm. 7, 20–22: *iamque ut conveniant superi, Tegeaticus ales / nunc plantis, nunc fronte volat; vix contigit arva; / et toto descendit avo*.

258. *Cyllenia proles*: cf. 4, 252, n. (*Cyllenius*). This phrase occurs in Ov. Ars am. 3, 725; Petron. 124, 269; Stat. Theb. 1, 293; 7, 74; Sil. 13, 630; and, in reversed order, in Val. Fl. 1, 436; Stat. Silv. 2, 1, 189; cf. Carter, *Epitheta Deorum* (1902), 69; for similar ones cf. 4, 236, n. (*prolem Ausoniam*), above; Sen. H. F. 268: *Cadmea proles*; Oct. 278: *Claudia proles*; Arnob. 1, 36: *Dioneia . . . proles*; Hier. Ep. 54, 4, 2: *proles Furi-ana*; C. I. L. VIII, 4635, 17: *Saturnia pro(les)*. Quintil. 8, 3, 26 regards *proles* as an archaism retained in verse. This whole line is rather Alexandrian in quality, by reason of its indirect and frigid allusiveness.

259. *alatis*: cf. Ov. F. 5, 666: *alato qui pede carpis iler*; Min. Fel. 22, 5: *pedibus Mercurius alatis*; Avien. 2, 564; Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 1, 304.

259. *tetigit, etc.*: cf. Sedulius, Carm. 2, 66, 29 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 220): *alatis volitare plantis*; Carm. de S. Cassiano, 384 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 4, 191): *ut vero sacris tetigit magalia plantis*.

259. *magalia*: two similar words must be noted, *māgālia* and *māpālia*. The former, which the metre shows to be the form here

260. Aenean fundantem arces ac tecta novantem

tecta (c ex corr.) γ.

260. tecta novantem: Schol. Dan. Aen. 8, 189. 260. novantem: Gl. Ansil. 396, 305; q.v.

intended, is found in 1, 421: *miratur molem Aeneas, magalia quondam*, where Servius remarks: 'magalia' vero antistoechon est; nam debuit 'magaria' dicere, quia 'magar,' non 'magal,' Poenorum lingua villam significat; and the Schol. Dan. add: *Cato Originum* quarto (frag. 2 Jordan; but Fest. p. 146 M. (p. 132 Lindsay) has the same citation from Cato with the form *mapalia*) 'magalia aedificia quasi cohortes rotundas' dicit. alii magalia casas Poenorum pastorales dicunt. †de his Sallustius (see below) *quae mapalia sunt circumiecta civitati suburbana aedificia magalia. †et alii Cassius Hemina* (frag. 38 Peter) †docet ita 'Sinuessae magalia addenda murumque circum ea'; Serv. Aen. 4, 259: 'magalia' Afrorum casas; et 'mapalia' idem significant; sed 'magalia' 'ma' producit, 'mapalia' vero corripit, ut (G. 3, 340) 'et raris habitata mapalia tectis.' Cf. also Isid. Etym. 15, 12, 4: *magalia aedificia Numidarum agrestium oblonga, incurvis lateribus tecta, quasi navium carinae sunt* (thus far copying the description of *mapalia* in Sall. Iug. 18, 8), *sive rotunda in modum furnorum. et 'magalia' dicta quasi 'magaria,' quia 'magar' Punici novam villam dicunt, una littera commutata, L pro R, magalia, magaria.*

From these huts or 'shacks' one of the suburbs of Carthage derived its name; cf. Plaut. Poen. 86: *cum nutrice una periere a Magaribus*; App. Lib. 117: *χωριον δ' ἐστὶν εὐμέγεθες ἐν τῇ πόλει τὰ Μέγαρα, τῷ τείχει παρεγγυμένον*; Zonar. 9, 29: *ὁ μόντος Σκιπίων τὰ μὲν Μεγάλια τὸν Μαγκίνον φρουρεῖν κατέλιπεν*; etc.; Oehler in P.-W. 10 (1917), 2194-2195. Some identify this suburb with that NW of the city, known as *La Malga*; cf. Baedeker, *The Mediterranean* (1911), 345. On the derivation of the word cf. Müller-Graupa in *Philologus*, 73 (1914), 314; *id.*, in *Philologus*, 85 (1930), 311-312; whether it is the same as *mapalia* he is uncertain.

The word *mapalia* is more frequent, and is defined by Festus (p. 146 M. (p. 132 Lind-

say)): 'mapalia' casae Poenicae appellantur; in quibus quia nihil est secreti solet solute viventibus obici id vocabulum (so Petron. 58, 13). Other cases are Sall. Iug. 18, 8; 46, 5; Liv. 29, 31, 8; 41, 27, 11; Mela, 1, 41; Calpurn. 5, 90; 7, 42; Sen. Apocol. 9, 1; Luc. 2, 89; 4, 684-685; 9, 945; Val. Fl. 2, 460 (in the singular); Frontin. Strat. 4, 1, 14; Plin. N. H. 5, 22; 16, 178 (who describes them as thatched); Sil. 2, 85; 3, 287; 14, 7; 15, 418; 17, 89; Mart. 8, 55, 3; 10, 20, 7; Tac. Ann. 3, 74, 5; 4, 25, 1; H. 4, 50; Paul. Nol. Ep. 10, 245; Auson. Perioch. Od. 16 (in the singular); Serv. Aen. 4, 40; Hier. Ep. 130, 6, 3; In Amos, prol. pp. 219-220 Vall.: *agrestes quidem casae et furnorum similes, quas Afri appellant mapalia*; Prud. Psych. praef. 46 (of the hut of Abram and Sarah); Claud. De Bell. Gild. 1, 360; De Cons. Stil. 3, 344; Sidon. Ep. 2, 2, 7; Carm. 5, 591; Ennod. Carm. 1, 8, praef.; Schol. Dan. G. 3, 340: *mapalia casae Maurorum, qui in eremo habitare dicuntur*, etc.; Philargyr. in Ecl. 2, 29 (who thinks them underground huts); Prob. in G. 3, 339. Müller-Graupa (in *Philologus*, 73 (1914), 302-317) believes that the word means (1) a tent of hides; (2) a covered wagon used by nomads; or (3) a nomadic encampment; cf. *id.*, in *Philologus*, 85 (1930), 303-312. Like *magalia* this word is applied to certain localities in Africa; cf. Müller-Graupa in *Philologus*, 73 (1914), 308, n. 15; *id.*, in *Philologus*, 85 (1930), 312; Dessau in P.-W. 14 (1930), 1403; to which add the *Via Mappaliensis* at Carthage (*Acta procons. S. Cypr.* 5, in *Patr. Lat.* 3, 1565).

These two words, then, constantly confused in MSS, perhaps separate in etymology and prosody rather than in meaning (cf. Sabbadini, preface to 1930 edition, 1, x), used of North African huts, of lowly and temporary character, here at Carthage describe the first rude and hasty dwellings of the immigrants, not yet replaced by the

261. conspicit. atque illi stellatus iaspide fulva

tellatus γ¹. fulue c¹.

261-262. atque . . . erat: Asper, p. 538 Hagen — adque codd.; iaspide f. e. e. —. 261-262. stellatus ensis: Gl. Ansil. 516, 232 — sellatus —; Gl. Abol. 167, 24 — sellatus —. 261. iaspide fulva: Serv. Aen. 5, 309 — fulva NH —. 261. iaspide fulva: Gl. Ansil. 600, 11 — iaspides —.

newer houses which are in the next line represented as under construction. For this contrast of the temporary and the permanent styles of building cf. 1, 421, quoted above.

260. fundantem: cf. 1, 428: *fundamenta locant alii*; 4, 266: *fundamenta locas*. We need not press the slight inconsistency with 4, 86-89, where the infatuation of Dido is represented as stopping all work on the town. It is significant, as Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 488) notes, that Aeneas is here building the city which is later to harbor the mortal enemy of his country; cf. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 77.

260. arces: plural, though probably only one is meant; cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 11, who cites several Virgilian parallels. *Arces* and *tecta* include the public and the private buildings of the city; cf. 4, 186, n. (*culmine tecti*), above.

260. novantem: here evidently of making new houses, perhaps by replacing *mapalia* by *tecta*; cf. Sil. 15, 416-418: *dies . . . / . . . quo, primum orsi Carthaginis altae / fundamenta, novam coepere mapalibus urbem*. With the internal rhyme cf. Ecl. 8, 80; etc.

261. conspicit: Donat.: *vidit, inquit, non oculis sed animo, existimans ipsum esse novorum operum conditorem; ceterum noctis fuerat tempus, quo ille dormiebat*. This is probably wrong, for this theophany, unlike the night dream in 4, 553-570, occurs by day; cf. 4, 358-359: *ipse deum manifesto in lumine vidi / intrantem muros*.

261. atque: Voss (*Anmerk. u. Randglossen z. Gr. u. Römerm* (1839), 209) thought this = 'but', comparing 6, 162; others think that it, almost like *ecce*, introduces a sudden or unexpected thought (cf. 1, 227; 4, 663; 6, 162; 6, 494; 7, 29; also Ecl. 7, 7; Knapp in *Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 199, n. 8); Heyne, fol-

lowed by Gercke (*Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 69, n. 1), objected to the presence of the word here; while Mackail (ed. of the *Aeneid* (1930), 130) thinks 4, 261-264 an infelicitous parenthesis which later polishing would have excised.

261. stellatus: Schol. Dan.: *Gaius Memmius de triumpho Luculli Syriaci calceoli gemmarum stellati coloribus*; cf. Plin. N. H. 37, 118: *iasponyx . . . stellata rutilis punctis*; 37, 179: *Ponticarum plura sunt genera; est stellata nunc sanguineis, nunc auratis guttis . . . alia pro stellis eiusdem coloris lineas habet*; Amm. Marc. 19, 1, 2: *armis stellantibus coruscabant*. Juvenal, in parody (Gehlen, *De Iuvenale Vergilii Imitatore* (1886), 41), recalls this passage in 5, 42-45: *da veniam, praeclara illi laudatur iaspis; / nam Virro, ut multi, gemmas ad pocula transfert / a digitis, quas in vaginae fronte solebat / ponere zelotypo iuvenis praelatus Iarbae* (cf. schol.); see also Vida, *Christias*, 5, 593: *stellantique procul micat ensis iaspide fulgens*. This sword, probably a present from Dido (though Page on 4, 647 denies this) in exchange for one given by him to her (4, 647 and n.), typifies, like the purple cloak (4, 134, n. (*ostro*)). Whether merely the hilt — a part often decorated — the scabbard (as Juvenal (*l. c.*) and Serv. (on 4, 262) understood; cf. Sen. Ep. 76, 14: *gladium . . . cuius vagina gemmis distinguitur*), or, as La Cerdà thought, the whole sword is studded with gems we need not inquire; cf., however, Val. Fl. 5, 514: *accinctum gemmis fulgentibus ensem*. The appearance of Aeneas is all Tyrian, not at all Trojan (or Roman); cf. Irvine *ad loc.*

261. iaspide: quadrisyllabic, as in Mart. 5, 11, 1; 9, 60, 20. In Latin the word first occurs here. Fronto (ap. Gell. 2, 26, 11) has

262. ensis erat, Tyrioque ardebat murice laena
demissa ex umeris, dives quae munera Dido

Versum 262 abras. *M* rursusque scr. *M*¹. enses *M*, ensys γ. tirio *M* (tyrio *M*²). myricae *a*.
lena *Py*.
humeris *a*.

[261*] 262. Tyrioque . . . laena: *Schol. Iuv.* 3, 283 — uarioque —; *II*, 155 (ed. Heinrich); *Non.* p. 240 *M.* (p. 359 *L.*); p. 541 *M.* (p. 868 *L.*); p. 549 *M.* (p. 881 *L.*) — ardebant *A*²; lene *B*² —; [*Acro*] in *Hor. Epod.* 12, 21 — tirioque *AV*; lena *A* —; *Donat. Aen.* 9, 580; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 5, 438 — tyrioque *om. Pb*; muriceque *MPa* —.

263. demissa ex umeris: *Gl. Ansil.* 168, 729 — humeris —. 263. dives . . . Dido: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 9, 26; 9, 641 (p. 366 *Thilo*); *II*, 74 — didiues *F*, didues *G* —.

this passage in mind when he says: *sic poeta verborum diligentissimus fulvum aquilam* (*Aen.* 11, 751–752) *dicat et iaspidem*, etc. Servius comments: *iaspide fulva pro viridi, ut* (5, 309; where Virgil really reads *flavaque*) *fulvaeque caput nectentur oliva. dicat etiam Plinius in naturali historia multa esse iaspidum genera, in quibus etiam fulvum commemorat*; and the *Schol. Dan.* add: *alii tradunt iaspidem in zmaragdum saepe transire*. Pliny's account of jasper is found in *N. H.* 37, 115–118; though he mentions many colors and compares some types to the *zmaragdus*, he seems not to use the adjective *fulvus* of any of them (cf. Dessau in *Hermes*, 49 (1914), 524). Jasper was not a peculiarly Phoenician or Punic gem; Pliny mentions as sources India, Persia, the regions of the Caspian and the Black Seas, Phrygia, Cappadocia, and Cyprus. For a possible parallel to this passage in the *Niebelungenlied* cf. Zappert, *Virgil's Fortleben im Mittelalter* (1851), 42. With the use of the singular *iaspide*, with a collective or plural force, Conington (*ad loc.*) compares *Juv.* 5, 38–39: *inaequales berullo / . . . phialas*. The *Scholia Danielis* discuss at length the use of jasper in amulets (cf. Olbrich in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 4 (1932), 634), but that Virgil had such an idea in mind is doubtful.

262. Tyrioque: cf. 4, 75, n. (*Sidonias*). With the phrase *Tyrio . . . murice* cf. *Ov. Ars am.* 3, 170; *Remed.* 708; and with the whole clause *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 721–723: *αὐτὰρ ὅγ' ἀμφ' ὤμοισι θεᾶς Τριτωνίδος ἔργον / δὶ πλάκα πορφύρεην περονήσατο, τὴν οἱ ὅπασσεν /*

Παλλὰς. Aeneas is here described as having adopted foreign garb, as Antony had done in Egypt (cf. *App. B. C.* 5, 11; *Dio Cass.* 50, 5, 3; *Plut. Ant.* 33, 4; 54, 5; *Flor.* 2, 21, 3) and as Romans held especially unbecoming; cf. *Hor. C.* 3, 5, 10–11; *Liv.* 29, 19, 12; Herrmann in *Aus Unterricht u. Forschung*, 1 (1929), 124 and n. 121. *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* compares the way in which Rinaldo in the gardens of Armida (*Tasso, Ger. lib.*, Book XVI) wears apparel more befitting a woman than a hero.

262. ardebat: cf. 9, 614: *fulgenti murice*; *Val. Fl.* 3, 340: *ardentes murice vestes*; 6, 526: *barbarica chlamys ardet acu*; *Sil.* 4, 324–325: *aurato praefulgens murice ductor / Sidonius*; 15, 676: *ardebat gemma Garamantide caerula vestis*; *Stat. Theb.* 5, 438: *chlamys huic, chlamys ardet et illi*; *Juv.* 11, 155: *quos ardens purpura vestit*; *Prud. Cathem.* 7, 156–157: *Coos aestuantem murices / laenam*.

262. murice: on purple and gold (4, 264) cf. 4, 134, n. (*ostro*). Virgil uses *murex* as the word for purple in *Ecl.* 4, 44; *Aen.* 9, 614: *fulgenti murice vestis*; cf. Price in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 4 (1883), 15.

262. laena: described by Servius as *toga duplex* (cf. *Fest.* p. 117 *M.*) *amictus auguralis*, and the *Scholia Danielis* attempt at great length to find in the details of this passage subtle allusions to Roman pontifical rites. *Laena* is related to the Greek *χλαῖνα*, and applies to a thick (*Mart.* 14, 136) woolen cloak, of varying size, for winter wear (for its appropriateness here cf. 4, 52; 4, 193; 4, 309), described by Nonius (p. 541 *M.* = p. 868 *Lindsay*) as *vestimentum militare quod*

264. fecerat et tenui telas discreverat auro.
continuo invadit: 'tu nunc Karthaginis altae

carthaginis *Pc*, chartaginis γb, cartaginis *a*.

265–266. tu . . . locas: *Donat. in Ter. Ad.* 256 — nunc c. a. f. l. —. 265. continuo invadit: *Cento Probae*, 213. 265. tu . . . altae: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 576 — muros (*pro nunc*) *T*; *carthaginis* —; *Donat. Aen.* 6, 575 — *carthaginis* —.

supra omnia vestimenta sumitur. In it Roman poets sometimes dressed their heroes; so Hannibal in *Sil.* 15, 421–424 (modelled on the present passage): *fraternal laena nilebat / demissa ex humeris donum, quam foederis arti / Trinacrius Libyco rex inter munera pignus / miserat* (cf. 2, 166). On its forms and uses cf. Lange in *P.-W.* 12 (1924), 419–420; also Zwicker, *De Vocab. et Rebus Gallicis sive Transpadanis apud Verg.* (1905), 51. The luxury of a purple or a scarlet *laena* is noted by *Pers.* 1, 32; *Juv.* 3, 283–284; yet cf. *Il.* 10, 133 (of Nestor): *ἀμφὶ δ' ἄρα χλαῖναν περονήσατο φοινικέσσων*.

263. demissa ex umeris: so *Sil.* 15, 422 (quoted in the last note). Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 684) compares 8, 460: *demissa ab laeva pantherae terga retorquens*; *Stat. Silv.* 1, 1, 43: *it tergo demissa chlamys*; *Apul. Met.* 11, 24: *et umeris dependebat pone tergum talorum tenuis pretiosa chlamida*. The phrase seems to mean 'hanging from the shoulders' rather than 'let down off his shoulders' (as Henry at first suggested); cf. 6, 301: *sordidus ex umeris nodo dependet amictus*.

263. dives . . . Dido: cf. 4, 75, n. (*opes*), above. It is no serious objection which the *Scholia Danielis* raise that Virgil does not here specify, as he commonly does elsewhere, in what particular Dido is rich; Mackail, who raises the same objection as the *scholia*, compares, however, 7, 11: *dives . . . Solis filia*; 11, 213: *praedivitis . . . Latini*; *Stat. Silv.* 3, 1, 74: *dives Elissa*.

263. munera: cf. 11, 72–75: *tum geminas vestes auroque ostroque rigentis / extulit Aeneas, quas illi laeta laborum / ipsa suis quondam manibus Sidonia Dido / fecerat, et tenui telas discreverat auro* (when Aeneas placed this robe over the bier of Pallas he contributed, as emphasized by Ogle in *Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 270, one of the things most

precious to him); *Val. Fl.* 3, 9–11: *oneratque superbis / muneribus primas coniunx Perccosia vestes / quas dabat et picto Clyte variaverat auro*. Other references to the exchange of gifts between Dido and Aeneas are found in 1, 647–655; 1, 659; 4, 646–647; 5, 571–572; 9, 266; 11, 72–75. Whether *munera* here applies only to the *laena*, as Braumüller (*Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 12) supposes, who cites analogous uses of *dona* and *dotes* for a single gift, or whether it should include the sword, as seems more likely, can hardly be proved; cf. Hahn, *Coordination of non-coordinate Elements in Vergil* (1930), 7, n. 30. With the elaborate equipment of Aeneas Guillemin (*L'Originalité de Virgile* (1931), 95) contrasts the humble dress of Evander (8, 459–460).

264. fecerat et . . . discreverat: our line is repeated at 11, 75. Of the coordinate clauses in classical prose one would probably have been subordinated. Dido apparently interwove with the wool fine threads of gold; cf. 3, 483: *picturatas auri sublemine vestes*; *Val. Fl.* 1, 427–429: *illis Taenario pariter tremat ignea fuco / purpura; quod gemina mater spectabile tela / duxit opus*; *Stat. Theb.* 11, 401–402: *Maeoniis Argia modis ac pollice docto / stamina purpureae sociaverat aurea telae*.

265. continuo: introducing speeches also in 7, 68 and 7, 120; here, coupled with *invadit*, it gives the effect of brusqueness (cf. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 64–65). Servius remarks of *invadit*: *habitu futurae orationis ostendit*; cf. *Donat.*: *invektivam fore dictionem poeta ipse pronuntiavit dicendo 'continuo,' dicendo 'invadit'; nam impatientia commotionem mentis ostendit, ideo quae animo gerebat differre non potuit*; etc.; also 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*), above. For this use of *invadit*

266. fundamenta locas pulchramque uxori urbem
exstruis, heu, regni rerumque oblite tuarum?
ipse deum tibi me claro demittit Olympo

pulcrum (*corr. in pulchram*) a, pulcrum c. uxori M (*uxorius M*).
extruis *MPp.* eu (*corr. in heu*) b. ignare P (*oblite P*); cf. 3, 382.
demittit *Pγ'cφπ.*

[265*] 266–267. pulchramque . . . exstruis: *Non. p. 105 M. (p. 150 L.)* — pulcrum;
extruis —; [*Acro*] in *Hor. C. 1, 2, 20* — pulchramque A; extruis (*extruit c, construit v*) —.
266. locas: *Gl. Ansil. 344, 11; q.v.* 266. uxorius: *Gl. Ansil. 599, 3–4.*

[266*] 267. heu regni: *Donat. Aen. 4, 191 (p. 377 Georgii)*. 267. oblite: *Gl. Ansil. 402, 249; q.v.*

268–269. ipse . . . regnator: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 5, 726* — timet (*corr. in tibimet*) N, timet
LH, tibimet M; dimittit FN, d. LHM; olimpho F; regnatur F —. 268. ipse . . . Olympo:
Serv. Aen. 4, 356 — dimittit FNLH —. 268. claro Olympo: *Gl. Ansil. 121, 83.* 268. de-
mittit: *Gl. Ansil. 178, 477* — dimittit —; q.v.

(= 'accost'), suggesting *adgreditur* in 4, 92, cf. Tac. *Ann. 6, 4: Halitus Agrippa consules . . . invasit cur . . . silerent; Hist. 1, 33: Vinium Laco minaciter invasit; 2, 53.* The theophany, in which Virgil, a former Epicurean, can hardly be supposed to have believed too implicitly (cf. Glover in *Cl. Journ. 26* (1930), 35), is less used by Virgil than by Homer (Pfister in *P.-W. 4 Supplbd.* (1924), 286), but may here poetically represent, in its words, the articulate expression of what the mind of Aeneas had already been shaping to itself; cf. Glover, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 195; also the famous incident in 2, 588–620, where the conclusions to which conscience is leading Aeneas are described by the poet as the utterances of his divine mother in a supernatural appearance. For a list of theophanies in Virgil, in human form when seen by several, in divine form when seen by the hero alone, cf. Ladewig, *Ueber einige Stellen des Vergil* (1853), 12, n.

265. tu nunc: *Schol. Dan.: 'tu' invectione est, et 'nunc,' id est, hoc tempore, quo tibi navigandum vel pro tua spe laborandum est.* In this speech Billmeyer (*Rhet. Stud. z. d. Reden in Vergils Aeneis* (1932), 22) recognizes four arguments, based upon καλόν (265–267; 272), ἀναγκαῖον (268–270), συμφέρον (271–273), and δίκαιον (274–276).

265. Karthaginis altae: cf. 4, 97, n. (*Karthaginis altae*); *Schol. Dan.: quam altam*

vis fieri; also the force of *pulchram . . . urbem* in the next line.

266. fundamenta locas: cf. 1, 428: *fundamenta locant*; 4, 260: *fundantem*; *Plin. N. H. 36, 95.*

266. pulchram: elsewhere of towns, e.g., *G. 2, 534: pulcherrima Roma; Aen. 11, 270: pulchram Calydonia*; doubtless here sarcastic, as in 4, 432.

266. uxorius: *Schol. Dan.: nimium uxori deditus vel serviens, ut Horatius (C. 1, 2, 19–20): uxorius amnis*; cf. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 17, n. 17, who points out that Virgil and Horace were using the word in this sense at about the same time; cf. Quintil. *Decl. 388: maritus nimium uxorius*; *Sen. Rhet. Controv. 1, 6, 7: ego contra refugio uxorem quia uxorius sum*; *Claud. De Nupt. Hon. Aug. 59.* Aeneas, though not Dido's husband, here acts as if he were; cf. Guillemin, *L'Originalité de Virgile* (1931), 94.

267. regni: cf. 4, 194: *regnum immemores*; also, for the political implications in Virgil's own day, Georgii, *Die polit. Tendenz der Aeneide Vergils* (1880), 29.

267. oblite: perhaps a vocative standing for a nominative, as in 2, 283: *expectate venis*; 12, 947: *tunc hinc spoliis indute meorum, etc.* With the forgetfulness of one's land and its interests in absorption by a foreign infatuation cf. *Hor. C. 3, 5, 10–11: anciliorum et nominis et togae / oblitus aeter-*

269. regnator, caelum et terras qui numine torquet,
ipse haec ferre iubet celeris mandata per auras:
'quid struis, aut qua spe Libycis teris otia terris?'

ac *Pγa*, et *Mbcφ.* terram *Pγ.*

quid *Pγ¹.* lybycis *M.* oeris (*corr. in teris*) *P.* . otia γ, ocia π.

[268*] 269. caelum . . . numine: *Cento Probae, 214* — ac (et π); lumine *PL*, nominae (*corr. in numine m. 2*) *S*; numine firmat (*lumine format in marg. m. 2 π*) —.

270. ipse . . . auras: *Anth. Lat. no. 719a, 126 (2, p. 193 Riese)* — haec manifesta fides celeris (*ex v. praeced.*) *P* —.

271. quid . . . spe: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 178 (1, p. 68 Riese)* — quid stabis *A* —. 271. Libycis . . . terris: *Schol. Lucan. 2, 488* — ripis *G¹* —.

naeque Vestae. With the whole line cf. *Stat. Theb. 7, 547: heu, nimium militis nimiumque oblite tuorum.*

268. ipse deum, etc.: cf. 7, 306: *ipse deum . . . genitor*; *Stat. Theb. 2, 115–116: ipse deum genitor tibi me miseratus ab alto / mittit.* In 5, 726 the shade of Anchises says: *imperio Iovis huc venio*; cf. *Iris in Il. 11, 201: Ζεὺς με πατήρ προέηκε τέῃν τὰδε μυθήσασθαι.* *Ipse*, repeated in 4, 270, is very emphatic.

268. claro . . . Olympo: cf. *Il. 1, 532: ἀπ' ἀγλῆεντος Ὀλύμπου* (= *Od. 20, 103*); *Mar. Victor, Aleth. 1, 134: claro radiabat Olympo.*

268. demittit Olympo: cf. 4, 694: *Irim demisit Olympo*; 9, 2: *Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno*; 12, 634–635: *Olympo / demissam*; *Sil. 9, 551: Irim propere demittit Olympo.* *Servius* says: *sive mons sit Macedoniae, qui dicitur esse diversorium deorum, sive caelum*; but surely Virgil here means the latter, which would be especially appropriate with the epithet *claro*, elsewhere applied to the heavens (cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat. 3* (1912), 1272, 20–21; so *Od. 6, 42–45* emphasizes the λευκή . . . ἀγλή of Olympus); cf. Braumüller, *Über Trophen u. Figuren in Vergils Aeneis*, 2 (1882), 16.

269. regnator: cf. 2, 799: *superi regnator Olympi*; 7, 558: *summi regnator Olympi*; 10, 437: *magni regnator Olympi*; *Plaut. Amphit. 45: deorum regnator*; *Stat. Theb. 5, 688: deum regnator*; *Mart. 14, 175, 1: regnator Olympi*; *Carter, Epitheta Deorum* (1902), 54–55.

269. caelum, etc.: cf. 6, 724: *caelum ac*

terras; these words Virgil commonly uses in the reverse order.

269. numine: cf. 12, 180: *cuncta tuo qui bella, pater, sub numine torques*; *Hor. C. 3, 1, 8: (Iovis) cuncta supercilio moventis*; *Fabrianus, De Iove et Fato in P. V. M. Aeneide* (1896), 7.

269. torquet: *Schol. Dan.: utrum quia mundus volubilis est? an 'torquet' regit, sustinet?* Ihm (*Vergilstudien*, 1 (1902), 8) remarks that the phrase fits Atlas (4, 482 (= 6, 797): *axem umero torquet*) better than Jupiter; cf. also 9, 93: *filius huic contra, torquet qui sidera mundi*; *Ov. M. 2, 70–71: assidua rapitur vertigine caelum / sideraque alta trahit celerique volumine torquet*; *Stat. Theb. 8, 82–83: non fortius aethera vultu / torquet et astriferos inclinat Iuppiter axes.* There may be a physical sense, as some editors have thought, in *torquet* as used with *caelum*, and an administrative one as used with *terras* (for such Zeugma in Virgil cf. McCartney in *Philol. Quart. 8* (1929), 84; 86, n. 26), for presumably Jupiter is thought of by Virgil either as turning the heavens around the earth (the older astronomical view) or as revolving the earth itself, rather than as doing both.

270. haec: *Serv.: quae dicturus est; nam supra dicta ex se dixerat.*

270. iubet, etc.: cf. 4, 226 and n. (*celeris . . . auras*); 4, 357–358: *celeris mandata per auras / delulit*; also *Il. 11, 201: Ζεὺς με πατήρ προέηκε τέῃν τὰδε μυθήσασθαι.*

271. quid struis, etc.: cf. 4, 235: *quid struit, aut qua spe inimica in gente moratur*

272. si te nulla movet tantarum gloria rerum,
[nec super ipse tua moliris laude laborem,]
Ascanium surgentem et spes heredis Iuli

Versum 273 (cf. 4, 233) om. *MPp^γab, Serv., Donat., Lamprid. Ant. Diadum.* 8, 7; *habet in textu c, ima pag. add. dein abras. m. rec. M, add. in marg. γ, m. rec. in ras. b, m. rec. inter lin. add. a.*
heredes γ¹, haeredi b¹, heredi a¹.

272. quid . . . rerum: *Lamprid. Ant. Diadum.* 8, 7; *Macrob. Sat.* 6, 6, 13; *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 238* (1, p. 70 Riese).

274–276. Ascanium . . . debentur: *Lamprid. Ant. Diadum.* 8, 7 — Iulii BP¹; debetur —. 274–275. Ascanium . . . respice: *Non. p. 397 M.* (p. 637 L.). 274. Ascanium surgentem: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 556.

(and my n. on *inimica*); 12, 796: *quid struis, aut qua spe gelidis in nubibus haeres*. The message, in epic style, is based on the words of Jupiter, yet with considerable changes, perhaps for variety.

271. *teris otia*: cf. *Liv.* 1, 57, 5: *otium . . . inter se terebant*; *Luc.* 2, 488: *lentus terat otia*; *Stat. Silv.* 3, 5, 61: *otia iam pulchrae lerit infecunda iuventutis*; 4, 6, 2: *cum . . . lererem . . . otia*; *Rut. Nam.* 1, 621: *otia vicinis terimus navalia silvis*; the phrase is analogous to *tempus terere*, and the *Schol. Dan.* say of *teris*: *est verbum ad ignaviam positum*. Elsewhere we have *otia agunt* (*G.* 3, 377), *otia . . . degentem* (*Cul.* 73), and, in general, the plural form is that commonly used by Virgil, doubtless for metrical reasons; cf. also Spitta, *Quaest. Vergilianae* (1867), 37; Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 1 (1928), 42.

271. *terris*: *Schol. Dan.*: ‘*terra*’ totum orbem significat, ‘*terrae*’ autem partes sunt. The jingle (*teris . . . terris*) would have been less striking to a Roman, who pronounced his double consonants as such, than to races which do not. Conington (*ad loc.*) compares 2, 494: *via vi*; 4, 238: *parere parabat*; 10, 191–192: *canit . . . canentem*; 10, 417–418: *canens . . . canentia*.

272. *si te nulla movet*: = 6, 405; cf. *Cir.* 378: *verum ubi nulla movet*; *Dracont. Rom.* 5, 306: *si ratio te nulla movet*. Our line echoes 4, 232: *si nulla accendit tantarum gloria rerum*. Dante, *Ep.* 7, 4, quotes lines 272–276 (*si te . . . debentur*, including line 273.)

272. *tantarum . . . rerum*: what these

are is rather inadequately explained by the *rerum . . . luarum* of line 267. With the phrase cf. *Juvenc.* 1, 400: *cernis, ait, quae sit tantarum gloria rerum?*

273. *nec, etc.*: the evidence against this line, made up from 4, 233 (*nec super ipse sua molitur laude laborem*), with mere changes from the third to the second person, seems convincing. On the tendency of MSS to interpolate lines from parallel passages cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 93, n. 2 (who cites various instances from the *Aeneid*, including 4, 528); Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 111–154. The defence of the line by Wagner (*in Philologus*, Supplbd. 1 (1860), 383) and by Terzaghi (*Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 64–65, n. 110) is fair in general principle but unconvincing in the face of the evidence cited above.

274. *Ascanium . . . Iuli*: on lines beginning and ending with different words for the same person or thing cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 362; another case in this book is 4, 634: *Annam . . . sororem*. Cf. 1, 267, where Ascanius and Iulus are identified; 4, 140, n. (*Iulus*).

274. *surgentem*: *Serv.*: *crescentem, ut* (10, 725) ‘*surgentem in cornua cervum*,’ et (1, 366) ‘*surgentemque novae Carthaginis arcem*’; cf. 6, 364 (= 10, 524): *per spes surgentis Iuli*; *Sil.* 1, 112: *te surgente, puer*; *Politian, Manto*, 230. Similarly *Ov. M.* 14, 583 (= *Anth. Lat.* no. 83, 92 (1, p. 117 Riese)): *crescentis Iuli*. The verb probably has here both a physical meaning, of bodily growth,

275. respice, cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus
debentur.’ tali Cyllenius ore locutus
mortalis visus medio sermone reliquit

debentur *MPp, Serv.*, debetur *M²P²γabc, Donat., Lamprid. Ant. Diadum.* 8, 7. *cullenius P* (*cyllenius P²*), *cylenius γ*, *cillenius a*, *cilenius π*. *mortalis* (*corr. in mortalis*) *P*. *reliquid bc*.

[274] 275–276. cui . . . debentur: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 678; 10, 47. 275. *Romana tellus*: *Gl. Ansil.* 500, 112.

[274*, 275]

277. *mortalis . . . reliquit*: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 388; *Anth. Lat. no. 15, 68* (1, p. 52 Riese) — *uisos A*; *reliquit* (n *supra iq manu antiqua*) *A* —; *Cento Probae*, 684 — *mortales*; *me diu* (*corr. m. 3*) *P*; in *sermone* (in *π add. m. 2*); *relinquit P* —. 277. *mortalis visus*: *Anth. Lat. no. 719, 10* (2, p. 185 Riese).

and a political one, of increase of princely powers.

274. *spes . . . Iuli*: cf. 1, 556: *nec spes iam restat Iuli*. Does *spes . . . Iuli* mean the hopes which Iulus may fairly have of being his father's successor (possessive genitive; cf. 4, 354–355) or the hopes others have of him (objective genitive, like 12, 168: *magnae spes altera Romae*)? Editors differ, but the context, with its emphasis upon *heredis* and *debentur*, favors the former view. With this line cf. 4, 236, n. (*prolem Ausoniam*), above.

275. *respice*: the run-over position of this word and *debentur* in the next line are especially emphatic. On the figurative use of *respicere* cf. 12, 43: *respice res bello varias*; *Ov. H.* 1, 113; 3, 137; 12, 187: *communis respice natos*.

275. *regnum Italiae*: cf. 11, 219: *regnum Italiae*; *Ov. H.* 7, 10: *quaeque ubi sint nescis, Itala regna sequi*; also *Juvenc.* 1, 456–457: *miles . . . / quorum debetur iuri pulcherrima tellus*. Mackail (*ad loc.*) remarks: “The union and consubstantiation of Italy and Rome which is the key-note of the whole *Aeneid* is here fully declared as the ordinance of destiny,” and on this principle he would justify the reading *debetur* in the next line; cf. MacInnes in *Cl. Rev.* 26 (1912), 5–8; 4, 276, n. (*debentur*), below.

275. *Romana*: cf. 4, 234, n. (*Romanas*).

276. *debentur*: cf. 4, 275, n. (*regnum Italiae*). *Servius* remarks: *honestius plurali numero respondit*; but various modern editors defend the singular on the ground that

Italy and Rome constitute a unified idea. This word is used for the ordinances of fate in 3, 184; 6, 714; 7, 120; 7, 145; 11, 166; 11, 759; 12, 795; etc.

276. *tali, etc.*: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*).

276. *Cyllenius*: cf. 4, 252, n. (*Cyllenius*).

276. *locutus*: cf. *G.* 4, 444: *tandem ore locutus*; *Aen.* 1, 614: *sic ore locuta est*; 9, 5: *ore locuta est*; 9, 319: *sic ore locutus*; *Serv. Aen.* 1, 695: *neque festinantibus personis neque minoribus est respondendi facultas, ut hoc loco Cupidini, Mercurio supra, item in quarto, ut in septimo Furiae*.

277. *mortalis visus*: cf. 2, 605: *mortalis hebetat visus*; 9, 657–658: *mortalis medio adspectus sermone reliquit / et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram*; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 6, 132: *dixerat et visus pariter terrasque reliquit*. *Servius* comments: *aut oculis se Aeneae sustulit; aut humanam reliquit effigiem, quam sumpserat, ut ab Aenea posset videri; quod melius est*. So in 1, 402–406 *Venus* is revealed as a goddess only as she disappears from view. The sight of a deity was considered as disturbing or dangerous for mortal eyes; cf. *Il.* 20, 131: *χαλεποί δὲ θεοὶ φαίεσθαι ἐναργές*; *Hor. C.* 2, 19, 1–8; also *Exod.* 33, 20.

277. *medio sermone*: cf. 4, 388: *his medium dictis sermonem abruptum*; *Val. Fl.* 6, 679: *haec fantem medio in sermone reliquit*; *Stat. Achill.* 1, 737: *medio sermone intercipit ille*; *Cypr. Hept. Iudic.* 285: *virum medio sermone reliquit*; *Mar. Victor, Aleth.* 3, 681: *in medio famulum sermone reliquit*; *Dracont. Romul.* 8, 505–506: *medio sermone Lacaena /*

278. et procul in tenuem ex oculis evanuit auram.
At vero Aeneas aspectu obmutuit amens

(et p)rocul P. n P (in P¹). oculi M (oculis M¹).
ad P, tum Donat. ommutuit MP (obmutuit M²).

278. et . . . auram: Non. p. 417 M. (p. 672 L.). 278. evanuit: Gl. Ansil. 213, 15; q.v.
279. aspectu: Gl. Ansil. 68, 117; q.v.

iam tacet; Serv.: atqui exsecutus est omnia quae Iuppiter dixerat; sed sermo est consertio orationis et confabulatio duorum vel plurium; medius ergo est sermo, cum persona cum qua quis loquitur non respondet, ut nunc fecit Aeneas; and Donatus develops the thought at length: non expectavit responsum Mercurius, sed finem suis verbis inponens ante discessit. medius sermo dividitur, qui exoriri potest inter duos vel plures, cum sibi invicem proponunt invicemque respondent. hoc fieri Mercurius non passus est; non enim ad hoc fuerat missus ut peractis mandatis referret etiam ipse responsum. quod igitur esse medium potuit dimisit et abscessit, vel maxime quia, si aliquid ab Aenea vellet audire, vigilantis vox fuerat necessaria, quam mortali non licuit habere cum deo; etc. Conington well remarks that here, as in 4, 388, there is no incompleteness in the speech, medio merely showing the abruptness of its ending.

278. et, etc.: this line = 9, 658.

278. tenuem, etc.: on vanishing at the end of a speech cf. G. 4, 499–500 (Eurydice): dixit et ex oculis subito ceu fumus in auras / commixtus tenuis fugit diversa; Aen. 2, 791 (Creusa): deseruit tenuisque recessit in auras; 4, 570: sic fatus nocti se immiscuit atrae; 5, 740 (the shade of Anchises): dixerat, et tenuis fugit ceu fumus in auras; also Hdt. 7, 13: τὸν μὲν ταῦτα εἰπόντα ἐδόκει ὁ Ἑρμῆς ἀποπτάσθαι; Ov. F. 2, 509: iussit, et in tenues oculis evanuit auras; Sil. 8, 184: sic fata in tenuem Phoenissa evanuit auram; Juven. 1, 42: haec ait et sese teneris immiscuit auris; 1, 79: nuntius abscedens vacuis se condidit auris; Marin. Vit. Procli, 7: ἀφανὴς ἀντὶ ἐγένετο; Paul. Nol. Carm. 6, 84: haec ait et tenues elabatur ales in auras; Deubner, De Incubatione (1900), 13; 74; 83; Gerhard of Soissons, Vit. S. Romani, 500 (cited by Manitius, Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters, 2 (1923),

496, n. 2): evanuit umbra per auras; Vida, Christias, 3, 446; sic fatus subito in tenues evanuit auras; Milton, P. L. 1, 497–499: “Satan, bowing low / His gray dissimulation, disappear’d, / Into thin air diffus’d.” The phrase tenuis (-es) aura(e) is a stock one; e.g., G. 4, 311; Aen. 5, 861; 7, 646; Lucr. 1, 1087; 3, 232; Manil. 1, 152; 1, 157; Ov. H. 1, 79: tenues vanescat in auras; Rem. Am. 653: in tenues evanidus exeat auras; M. 14, 432: inque leves paulatim evanuit auras; Val. Fl. 7, 157; Sil. 6, 39; Il. Lat. 114; Stat. Theb. 1, 309; Mart. 5, 79, 4; Hier. Ep. 84, 5, 1; Comm. in Ezech. 3, p. 120 Vall.; Rufin. Apol. 1, 4; Thes. Ling. Lat. 2 (1906), 1478, 62–66; Shakesp. Tempest, Act 4, Sc. 1, 150: “Are melted into air, into thin air”; Macbeth, Act 1, Sc. 3, 79–82.

278. ex oculis: cf. 4, 389, n. (ex oculis), below.

279. at: cf. 4, 1, n. (at). This clause is perhaps contrasted with 4, 296, beginning at regina, but more likely with 4, 571 (after Mercury’s second appearance): tum vero Aeneas. Terzaghi, however (Virgilio ed Enea (1928), 70–73), notes the similarities and differences between this line and 4, 393.

279. obmutuit: cf. 6, 155: pressoque obmutuit ore. Heinze (Virgil’s epische Technik, 3 ed. (1915), 327) discusses Virgil’s descriptions of the surprise caused by theophanies, and Pfister (in P.-W. 4 Supplbd. (1924), 318) calls attention to speechlessness as an occasional result of such appearances, comparing Od. 19, 42–43; Eur. Bacch. 1084–1085; Apul. Met. 11, 14: at ego stupore nimio defixus lacitus haerebam, etc.; Luke, 1, 20–22; etc.; cf. also Il. 11, 545: στή δὲ ταφών.

279. amens: bewildered rather than frenzied, as noted by Conington; cf. Panthus (2, 321), Nisus (9, 424), and Turnus (12, 776: amens formidine).

280. arrectaeque horrore comae et vox faucibus haesit.
ardet abire fuga dulcisque relinquere terras,

arrecte γρ. horrore (o post. m. 2) γ. paucibus P (faucibus P²).
ab ira (corr. in ab ire) p.

280. arrectaeque . . . haesit: Anth. Lat. no. 17, 316 (1, p. 73 Riese). 280. arrectae: Gl. Ansil. 62, 269; q.v. 280. vox . . . haesit: Anth. Lat. no. 17, 172 (1, p. 67 Riese). 281. ardet . . . fuga: Sacerd. Art. gram. 3 (G. L. K. 6, 498); Schol. Dan. Aen. 1, 423.

280. arrectae, etc.: this line = 12, 868; cf. also 2, 774 (= 3, 48): obstipui steteruntque comae et vox faucibus haesit. Hair standing on end is a commonplace; the cause is usually fear, but sometimes other emotional excitement; e.g., Il. 24, 359: ὀρθαὶ δὲ τρίχες ἔσταν; Hes. Op. 539–540 (from cold); Aesch. Sept. 564: τριχὸς δ’ ὀρθίας πλόκαμος ἴστανται; Choeph. 32: τοῖος γὰρ ὀρθότριξ φόβος; Soph. O. C. 1464–1465: ἐς δ’ ἄκραν / δέμ’ ὑπῆλθε κρατὸς φόβαν; 1624–1625: ὥστε πάντας ὀρθίας / στήσαι φόβῳ δέσαντας ἐξαίφνης τρίχας; Frag. 875 Pearson (with his note, and Shewan in Cl. Philol. 22 (1927), 174–175): ὀρθόκερων φόκρον; Eur. Hel. 632–633 (from surprise); Ov. H. 7, 67: obstipui, gelidusque comas crexerat horror; M. 3, 100: gelidoque comae terrore rigeabant; 7, 630–631: pavido mihi membra timore / horruerant stabantque comae; Sen. Dial. 3, 1, 4 (from anger); 4, 2, 1 (at bad news); Agam. 712: mollis horrescit coma; H. O. 707: erectus horret crinis; Luc. 1, 192–193: tum percussit horror / membra ducis, riguerunt comae; Petron. 63, 1: mihi pili inhorruerunt; Pers. 3, 115: cum excussit membris timor albus aristas; Stat. Theb. 5, 238: riguerunt comae; 8, 389: galeaeque tremunt horrore comarum; 10, 606: stant tristes horrore comae; Pastor Hermae, Vis. 3, 1, 5: τρόμος με ἔλαβεν καὶ αἱ τρίχες μου ὀρθαί; Philostr. Vit. Soph. p. 536 Ol. (of anger); Eunap. Vit. Philos. p. 502 Boiss. (of excitement): τῆς τε τριχὸς ὑποφριττοῦσης ἀντὶ; Vida, Christias, 5, 332–333: surrectaeque comae steterunt gelidusque per ossa / horror iit; genua aegra labant; vox faucibus haesit; Shakesp. 2 Hen. VI, Act 3, Sc. 2: “Mine hair be fixed on end”; Rich. III, Act 1, Sc. 3: “My hair doth stand on end to hear her curses”; Hamlet, Act 1, Sc. 5: “Each particular hair to stand on end, / Like quills upon the fretful porpentine”;

Act 3, Sc. 4; Keats, Lamia, 2: “And not a man but felt the terror in his hair.” For such awe (horrore) Buscaroli (ad loc.) compares Lucr. 3, 29; Liv. 1, 16, 6; Ov. Ep. 15, 67; Val. Fl. 2, 433; Stat. Theb. 5, 505.

280. vox faucibus haesit: = 2, 774; 3, 48; 12, 868; cf. Od. 4, 705: θαλερὴ δὲ οἱ ἔσχετο φωνή; Sen. Ep. 82, 21: non haesit in faucibus; Stat. Theb. 10, 688: vox haesit utrimque; Hier. Ep. 130, 5, 5: haesit vox faucibus; Anon. Vita Leudegarii, 1, 621–622 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 3, 22): vox faucibus haesit, / ereclae steterantque comae; also Sappho, 2, 9 Bergk: ἀλλὰ καὶ μὲν γλῶσσα φέαγε; Aug. Ep. 140, 37: lingua mea adhaesit faucibus meis . . . eius faucibus adhaerent (cf. Ps. 22, 15; 137, 6); Dante, Purg. 31, 7–9; Leopardi, Il Sogno, 85–86: nelle fauci stava / la voce.

281. ardet abire: for the infinitive with ardere cf. 1, 515; 1, 581; 2, 105; 2, 315–316; 8, 163; 11, 895; Ov. M. 5, 166; Val. Fl. 6, 46; C. I. L. IX, 952, 4 (Carm. Lat. epigr. no. 1340, 4): ardet adire; Preuss, Die metaphor. Kunst Vergils in der Aeneis (1894), 10; Thes. Ling. Lat. 2 (1906), 486, 61–71.

281. dulcis, etc.: Schol. Dan.: minus est ‘quamquam.’ per quod intellegi vult Aeneae animum, unde est (6, 460) ‘invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi.’ et ne videatur ingratus, deorum excusatur imperio; sic ipse in sexto (461) ‘sed me iussa deum’; Donat.: non inanis deliberatio apud eum fuit quem constabat deorum esse cultorem. cuius rei contemplatione permotus tractabat non minus etiam aliam partem. occurrebant enim Didoni humanitas et ipsa qualiscumque coniunctio et terrae iam dulces ex mora. cumque uno ex latere metus divinae iussionis insisteret, ex altero pudor, quid facere deberet in tali negotio cogitabat; etc. Terzaghi (Virgilio ed Enea (1928), 70, n. 1) notes the striking contrast between dulcis

282. attonitus tanto monitu imperioque deorum.
heu, quid agat, quo nunc reginam ambire furem

munitu *M* (monitu *M*²). imperio (*corr. in* imperio) γ.
quit γ.

282. attonitus . . . deorum: *Prisc. Inst.* 11, 34 (G. L. K. 2, 571) — adtonitus (attonitu *BDHGr*); magno imperio monituque (imperio nominatuque *B*) —.

283–284. heu . . . adfatu: *Asper*, p. 534 *Hagen* — regin. a. f. a. a. —. 283–284. quo . . . sumat: *Non.* p. 30 *M.* (p. 44 *L.*) — quonam —. 283–284. quo . . . adfatu: *Non.* p. 242 *M.* (p. 363 *L.*) — quonam; audire *L ante corr.* —; *Donat. Aen.* 4, 290. 283. quid agat: *Gl. Ansil.* 479, 17.

and *ardet abire*, while Ogle (in *Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 268) points out that it expresses the conflict in the mind of Aeneas between love and duty. With the phrase *dulcis . . . terras* cf. *Ecl.* 1, 3: *dulcia linquimus arva*.

282. attonitus: cf. 3, 172: *talibus attonitus visis et voce deorum*; 5, 529: *attonitis haesere animis*; 5, 659; 7, 580; 12, 610; also *Schol. Dan.*: *proprie, iuxta quem deus missus a Iove stetit, a quo et fulmina iaciuntur quae attonitos faciunt; attonitus enim est proprie iuxta quem fulmen cadit*.

282. monitu . . . deorum: cf. 6, 533: *monitu divom*. The word applies particularly to warnings in dreams, and many inscriptions contain the phrase *somnio monitus*. Here *deorum* probably refers to Jupiter and Mercury rather than to the gods in general. Masera (*ad loc.*) finds in *-que* a force almost equal to *etiam*, “a warning and (even a positive) command of the gods.”

283. heu: cf. 4, 13, n. (*heu, etc.*), above; 12, 486: *heu, quid agat*; *Val. Fl.* 1, 71 (= 7, 309): *heu, quid agat*; *Claud. In Rufin.* 2, 14: *heu, quid agam*; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 18, 267: *heu quid agam nunc*; *Ov. F.* 3, 609: *quid agat*; also in 4, 534, below, the even more pathetic *en, quid ago*; and, for the form of question, *G.* 4, 504–505; *Aen.* 9, 399–400. As Dido started to speak to Aeneas of her love but stopped (cf. 4, 76, n. (*incipit, etc.*)), so Aeneas here hesitates to tell her of his departure, their friendship being one lacking in mutual confidence; cf. 4, 390–391. *Donat.*: *remanserat igitur consilii ratio, utrum sciente an inscia Didone discedi deberet aut posset*.

283. reginam: Valmaggi (in *Riv. di*

Filol. 25 (1897), 40) observes that it is not the lovesick woman but the queen who is uppermost in Aeneas's thoughts, and considers this a momentary flash of political feeling which discloses the elements on which the whole episode is founded.

283. ambire: *Schol. Dan.*: *blanditiis vel subdole circumvenire*. The verb denotes an indirect rather than a direct approach; cf. 7, 333; *Hor. C.* 1, 35, 5; *Val. Fl.* 7, 256: *dumque illam variis maerentem vocibus ambit*; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 1850, 29–43; *Rand, The magical Art of Virgil* (1931), 355, n. 1, who notes that it is used of a worshipper who implores.

283. furem: cf. 4, 8, n. (*male sana*).

284. adfatu: a word of poets and orators, first appearing here.

284. prima exordia: pleonastic as in 7, 40: *primae . . . exordia pugnae*; *Lucr.* 3, 380: *exordia prima*; *Auson. Ecl.* 15, 15: *exordia prima*. With *exordia sumat* cf. *Lucr.* 1, 149: *principium cuius hinc nobis exordia sumet*; 5, 331: *exordia cepit*; *Claud. De III Cons. Hon.* 1: *sumant exordia*; *Carm. de S. Cassiano*, 242 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 4, 187): *quae prima exordia sumat*; and for the plural cf. *Quintil.* 11, 3, 161; *Juvenc.* 2, 200; *Spitta, Quaest. Vergilianae* (1867), 35–36, who thinks that the plural *ostendit multas illas ambages, quae opus erant Aeneae, ut Didoni consilium proficiscendi pedelentim ac leniter insinuaret; variatur igitur id quod antea ambiendi verbo expresserat poeta*. Conington compares with this phrase *Eur. I. A.* 1124–1125: *τίν' ἄν λάβοιμε τῶν ἐμῶν ἀρχὴν κακῶν; / ἅπασι γὰρ πρῶτοισι χρῆσασθαι πάρα*. *Exordium* is de-

284. audeat adfatu, quae prima exordia sumat?
atque animum nunc huc celerem nunc dividit illuc

adfatu *MP*, adfatu *M¹ba¹p*, affatu *a² et* (f. *pr. ex corr.*) γ, afatum (m *erasa*) c. et quae *ap dell.* adque *b*, utque *Heinsius*; *vid. explic. infra*. uidit (*corr. in* diuidit) π.

[283*] 284. audeat . . . sumat: *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 74* (1, p. 44 *Riese*) — affari (effari q; *A*) —. 284. adfatu: *Gl. Ansil.* 26, 168; *q.v.*

285. atque . . . illuc: *Anth. Lat. no. 8, 66* (1, p. 36 *Riese*) — adque *A* —. 285. dividit: *Gl. Ansil.* 185, 1257; *q.v.*

finied by Auct. ad Herenn. 1, 3, 4, as *principium orationis, per quod animus auditoris constituitur ad audiendum*.

285. atque, etc.: this line and the next = 8, 20–21 and have been deleted by many editors (also by Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 143), because (1) they are here ignored by Servius (though not by Donatus); (2) they are thought more appropriate at 8, 20–21; (3) line 286 is omitted by *F¹P¹*; (4) *atque* is criticized as awkward (Heinsius conjectured *ulque*, removing the period after 286); (5) line 285, like 287, implies hesitation between two possible courses of action, while 286 (*in partis . . . varias* and *omnia*) suggests more. I do not find these objections conclusive, however, and it should be noted that there are, as remarked by Donatus, two main possibilities, to go away without or with the knowledge of Dido, either of which would imply various possible courses for carrying it into effect. The main contrast appears in *fuga* (281) and *adfatu* and *exordia* (284), but not so clearly that, if we should delete 285–286, *alternanti* would not appear rather awkward in 287. Cf. also the defence of the line by Wagner, *Lectionum Vergilianarum Libellus* (1859), 35–36; Gladstone, *De Vergilio ipsius Imitatore* (1921), 29. With the thought cf. *Il.* 1, 189 (= 8, 167; 13, 455): *διάνδιχα μερμήριζεν*; 14, 20–21: *δαῖδόμενος κατὰ θυμόν / διχθᾶδι*; *Od.* 22, 333: *διχθα δὲ φρεσὶ μερμήριζεν*; *Pind. Frag.* 197 (213), 4: *διχθα μοι νόος ἀτρέκειαν εἰπεῖν*; *Ca-tull.* 62, 15: *nos alio mentes, alio divisimus aures*; *Aen.* 4, 630: *partis animum versabat in omnis*; 5, 701–702: *nunc huc ingentis, nunc illuc pectore curas / mutabat versans*; 5, 720: *in curas animo diducitur omnis*; 10, 680: *haec memorans animo nunc huc, nunc fluctuat illuc*; *Sen. Ep.* 26, 6: *remove exi-*

stimationem hominum; dubia semper est et in partem utramque dividitur; *Stat. Achill.* 1, 200: *huc illuc divisa mente volutat*; *Gesta Apollonii*, 284 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 492): *cilo versantem late . . . divide mentem*; *Anon. Vita Leudegarii*, 1, 243 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 12): *huc animum celerem spargit seu dividit illuc*; *Ekkehard, Waltharius*, 383: *et nunc huc animum tristem nunc dividit illuc*; *Vida, Christias*, 5, 2; *huc mentem dividit atque huc*; *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 6, 81, 5–6: *mentre in varii pensier divide e parte / l'incerto animo suo, che non ha posa*; *Ariosto, Or. fur.* 8, 71, 2; *Tennyson, Morte d'Arthur*, 60 (= *Passing of Arthur*, 218): “This way and that dividing the swift mind.” *Mapheus Vegius, Aen.* 13, 499 reads: *nunc hac nunc voluitur illac*.

285. celerem: proverbial of the mind and its processes; cf. *Od.* 7, 36: *ὥκεια ὥς εἰ πτερὸν ἢ νόημα*; *Thales ap. Diog. L.* 1, 35: *τάχιστον νόος, διὰ παντὸς γὰρ τρέχει*; *Xen. Mem.* 4, 3, 13: *θᾶπτον δὲ νοήματος*; *Theocr.* 2, 7: *ταχὺν φρένας*; *Arist. De Lin. insec.* p. 968 a 25–26: *ταχίστη δ' ἡ τῆς διαβολῆς κίνησις*; *Lucr.* 3, 182–183: *nil adeo fieri celeri ratione videtur / quam sibi mens fieri proponit et inchoat ipsa*; *Cic. Tusc.* 1, 43: *nil est animo velocius*; *De Sen.* 78: *cum tanta celeritas animorum sit*; *Orat.* 200: *mens eadem qua nihil est celerius*; *Ov. Rem. Am.* 89: *celeri circumspice mente*; *Sen. De Benef.* 2, 29, 5: *animum . . . sideribus velociorem*; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 3 (1912), 750, 71–751, 3; *Shakesp. Hamlet*, Act 1, Sc. 5, 29–30: “With wings / As swift as meditation”; *Love's Labour's lost*, Act 5, Sc. 2, 261; *Henry V*, Act 3, prol.: “In motion of no less celerity / Than that of thought”; etc. The Scholia Danielis *Aen.* 8, 20 remark: “*celerem* autem ad corporis comparisonem, quod tardum est, ut (6, 720–721) ‘iterumque ad tarda reverti / corpora.’”

286. in partis que rapit varias perque omnia versat.
haec alternanti potior sententia visa est:

286-301: FMP. Versum 286 om. FPγ, add. maiusculis Carolinis F⁴, litteris saec. XV minusc. F⁵, in γ add. m. rec.; tradit M p, Donat.; tacet Serv. partes cp. que om. a p. alternanti M (alternanti M²). sentia (corr. in sententia m. 2) π.

286. in . . . varias: Anth. Lat. no. 11, 73 (1, p. 44 Riese).

287. alternanti: Gl. Ansil. 46, 325; q.v.; cf. 46, 326-327; Gl. Abol. 101, 22; Gl. Abstr. 8, 35; Gl. Affatim (C. G. L. 4, 475, 50). 287. potior . . . est: Cento Probae, 50 — sententiam (m exp. m. 2) S, setencia P —. 287. visa est: Gl. Ansil. 591, 373.

285. dividit: of the διαίρεσις of a logical genus into species; cf. Ar. Nub. 722: ὁρθῶς διαίρων. With the idea of uncertainty cf. Cyril. Alex. In Ionam, 8 (Patr. Gr. 71, 612): διαποροῦσι λοιπὸν καὶ μερίζονται τὰς γνώμας.

286. partis, etc.: cf. Ter. Andr. 260: tot me impediunt curae, quae meum animum divorsae trahunt; Ov. M. 8, 188: ignotas animum dimittit in artes; Amm. Marc. 20, 4, 6: perque varias curas animum versans; Carm. de S. Cassiano, 218 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 4, 187): in partis que rapit varias perque omnia versat; also the note on atque, etc. above.

286. omnia versat: also a verse-ending in Lucr. 2, 882; Ecl. 9, 5.

287. alternanti: Serv.: varia mente trahenti. et per hoc ostenditur cogitasse eum etiam amorem, sed praetulisse voluntatem deorum. From our passage, as noted by Thes. Ling. Lat. 1 (1900), 1753, 2, the grammarians derived a new signification for this verb; cf. the gloss: cogitanti, dubitanti, λογίζομαι ὁ ἔστω, ἐνθυμούμαι, σκέπτομαι; and Mart. Cap. 1, 6 says: cunctamento longae deliberationis alternat; cf. Ambros. De Abraham. 2, 87: cordi suo dixerit quasi alternanti secum; Carm. de S. Cassiano, 243 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 4, 187): sic alternanti potior sententia visa est. It is not certain whether haec is the object of alternanti or, as La Cerda and Conington hold, modifies sententia, but the Homeric parallels about to be cited favor the latter view.

287. potior, etc.: cf. Il. 2, 5 = 10, 17 = 14, 161 (cf. Od. 9, 318; 9, 424; 11, 230): ἡδὲ δὲ οἱ κατὰ θυμὸν ἀρίστη φαίνεται βουλή; 13, 458 (= 14, 23; 16, 652): ὥδε δὲ οἱ φρονέοντι δοάσσατο κέρδιον εἶναι; Apoll. Rh. 3, 399-

400: τὸ οἱ εἶσαρ' ἀρεῖον / φραζομένῳ; Aen. 11, 550-551: omnia secum / versanti, subito vix haec sententia sedit; Milton, P. L. 9, 87-88: "After long debate irresolute / Of thoughts revolv'd, his final sentence chose."

288. Mnesthea: this line is repeated at 12, 561; cf. the similar 1, 510: Anthea Sergestumque videt fortemque Cloanthum; Macphaeus Vegius, Aen. 13, 410: Sergestus fortisque Gyas fortisque Cloanthus. On the Greek declensional form cf. Quintil. 12, 10, 33: tanto est sermo Graecus Latino iucundior ut nostri poetae, quotiens dulce carmen esse voluerunt, illorum id nominibus exornant; Macrobi. Sat. 5, 17, 19: adeo autem et declinationibus Graecis delectatur ut 'Mnesthea' dixerit pro 'Mnestheum' sicut ipse alibi (10, 129) 'nec fratre Mnestheo.' Mnestheus is the most frequently mentioned of Aeneas's lieutenants (23 times as compared with 21 for Achates), but has the rather shadowy personality of all such satellites. He is called genus Assaraci (12, 127), the ancestor of the Memmii (5, 117), is mentioned with Serestus (9, 171; 9, 779-781; 12, 549; 12, 561), sometimes as a rector iuvenum (cf. 9, 306), being one of those left by Aeneas to command the camp during his absence, and is combined with Sergestus in 5, 184. In the regatta at the funeral games he commanded the ship *Pristis* (5, 116; 5, 189; 5, 194; 5, 210; 5, 218; 5, 493-494; 5, 507); elsewhere he appears in accounts of battles (9, 812; 10, 143; 12, 127; 12, 384; 12, 443; 12, 459). In general he is an energetic officer; cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 153-154.

On Virgil's complimentary purpose in presenting in the *Aeneid* as comrades of Aeneas the eponymous ancestors of prominent Ro-

288. Mnesthea Sergestumque vocat fortemque Serestum,
classem aptent taciti sociosque ad litora cogant,

mnesthea Mγabp. uacat M (uocat M¹). fortemque cloanthum π (cf. 1, 510). apten M (aptent M²). que om. Ppyc, plerique Pieriani, aliquot Heinsiani, Donat. cogat (corr. in cogant) a.

288. Mnesthea et Sergestum (sic): Gl. Ansil. 380, 6.

289-290. classem . . . parent: Schol. Veron. Aen. 1, 1 — verba classem . . . taciti evanida restituit Herrmann —. 289. aptent: Gl. Ansil. 19, 477; q.v.; Gl. Abba, 26, 32.

man families of his day — it should be noted that Mnestheus, Sergestus, and Serestus are not named by Homer — cf. Cauer, *Die römische Aeneassage* (1886), 142-144; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 152; Frank, *Vergil* (1922), 73-74. There were fifty such Trojan families, discussed in Varro's lost work *De Familiis Troianis* and in the work of Hyginus bearing the same title (cf. Serv. Aen. 5, 389), as possibly in the *De Familiis* of M. Valerius Messalla Rufus (cf. Norden in *Neue Jahrb. f. d. kl. Alt.* 7 (1901), 263-264; Schanz-Hosius, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* 1, 4 ed. (1927), 600), of which eleven are known to us, according to Cauer (*op. cit.*, 142): the Sulpicii, Memmii (from Mnestheus), Sergii (from Sergestus), Cluentii (Cloanthus), Cloelii (Clonius; cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 55 M. = p. 48 Lindsay), Caecilii (Caeculus?), Aemilii (from Aemylus, son of Iulus; cf. Paul. ex Fest. p. 23 M. = p. 22 Lindsay), Iunii, Nautii (Nautes), Geganii (Gyas), and Iulii (Iulus). To this number, however, should be added the Atii (Atys; cf. Aen. 5, 568). Other Roman gentes and stirpes not of Trojan but Italic origin Virgil also occasionally suggests or implies; e.g., the Claudii (Clausus; Aen. 7, 707-708); the Camilli (Camilla); the Lamiae (Lamus; Aen. 9, 334).

288. Sergestum: domus tenet a quo Sergia nomen (5, 121); a member of the deputation to Dido (1, 510), commander in the regatta of the ship *Centaurus* (5, 121-122), which ran aground (5, 204; 5, 221-222); cf. Cartault, *op. cit.*, 2, 153. As an ancestor of L. Sergius Catilina this figure would have interested Roman readers; cf. Heinze, *op. cit.*, 3 ed., 152.

288. vocat: rather than arouse suspicion

of the Carthaginians by undertaking the work himself Aeneas gives orders to his aides (cf. Donat. *ad loc.*), but we are hardly justified with DeWitt (*The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 50) in inferring that he had lodged in the royal palace since his arrival, nor does *revisit* in 4, 396 justify such a supposition.

288. fortem: 'stout'; a not infrequent adjective (e.g., 1, 222; 1, 510; 1, 612), the presence of which with one of the proper names helps to offset the fact that the other two remain without characterization.

288. Serestum: thrice (9, 171 = 9, 779 = 12, 549) described as *acer* and coupled with Mnestheus (with whom he is also linked here and in 12, 561). He participated in the deputation to Dido (1, 611), commanded a ship (5, 487), set up a trophy (10, 541), and occasionally appeared in other connections. The less well attested reading *Cloanthum* was perhaps suggested by the similar line, 1, 510: *Anthea Sergestumque videt fortemque Cloanthum*. Cloanthus also appears in eight other lines and was the eponymous ancestor of the Cluentii (5, 122-123). The arguments for *Cloanthum* by Kvěčala, *Vergil-Studien* (1878), 186-188 (cf. his *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 99), and Chatelain (in *Bibl. de l'École des hautes Études*, 73 (1887), 379) hardly outweigh the testimony of the best MSS.

289. classem aptent: Schol. Dan.: deest 'praecipit.' et 'aptent' modo 'parent,' alibi 'adnectere,' quoting 7, 731; see also Guillemin, *L'Originalité de Virgile* (1931), 29. Cf. 3, 471-472: *remigium supplet, socios simul instruit armis. / interea classem velis aptare iubebat*; 4, 299: *armari classem*; 5, 753: *aptant remosque rudentisque*; 8, 79-80: *legit de classe biremis / remigique aptet, socios*

290. arma parent et quae rebus sit causa novandis
dissimulent; sese interea, quando optima Dido
nesciat et tantos rumpi non speret amores,

parant *M* (parent *M*²). sit rebus *abm*π.
dissimulent (nt *m. 2 in ras.*) γ. optima γ.

[289] 290-291. quae . . . dissimulent: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 305. 290. novandis: *Gl. Ansil.* 396, 304; q.v.

[290] 291-294. sese . . . tempora: *Donat. Aen.* 4, 300. 291-292. sese . . . amores: *Prisc. Inst.* 18, 92 (*G. L. K.* 3, 248) — rumpit *P*; sperat *MD*; mores *M* —. 291. dissimulent: *Gl. Ansil.* 182, 888; q.v.

[291*] 292. rumpi: *Gl. Ansil.* 502, 138; q.v. 292. non speret: *Gl. Ansil.* 395, 196.

simul instructi armis; Segebade, *Vergil als Seefahrer* (1895), 3. At 1, 551-552 Ilioneus had asked for the Trojans permission *subducere classem / et silvis aptare trabes et stringere remos*, but apparently this work, like that upon the walls of Carthage (4, 86-89), had lagged from lack of superintendence.

The syntax of this sentence is "a sort of oratio obliqua depending on the sense rather than on the expression of the previous line," according to Conington, who compares 2, 652.

289. *taciti*: *Serv. sine strepitu celantes consilia*; cf. Dido's reproach in 4, 306: *tacitus . . . mea decedere terra*, and Aeneas's disavowal (4, 337-338): *neque ego hanc abscondere furto / speravi — ne finge — fugam* — perhaps not altogether candid, in view of 4, 281 and the present lines.

289. *socios*: for the size of Aeneas's force cf. *Solin.* 2, 14: *nec omissum sit Aenean aestate ab Illo capto secunda Italicis litoribus adpulsum, ut Hemina tradit, sociis non amplius sescentis, in agro Laurenti posuisse castra*; Jäkel, *Zur Aeneassage* (1879), 17-18; Cauer, *Die röm. Aeneassage* (1886), 110-111. Virgil himself furnishes no definite figures. With the phraseology cf. *Juvenc.* 2, 7: *populosque ad litora cogunt*.

290. *arma parent*: *Serv.*: *contra impetum iratae forte reginae*. Cf. 7, 468: *iubet arma parari*. *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* understands *arma* of the utensils, etc. necessary for the equipment of the ships and scoffs at the explanation of *Servius*. Lines 592-594, however, show that the danger of armed conflict was a real one.

290. *rebus . . . novandis*: *Schol. Dan.*:

Sallustius (Hist. Frag. inc. 58 Kr.) 'quae causa fuerit novandis rebus.' nos 'quae causa novandarum rerum' dicimus.

291. *dissimulent*: cf. 4, 305.

291. *interea*: on Virgil's use of this word cf. *Reinmuth in Am. Journ. of Philol.* 54 (1933), 333.

291. *quando*: causal; cf. 4, 315; 10, 366; *Serv.*: *non est temporis sed significat 'siquidem' et est coniunctio ratiocinantis*.

291. *optima*: not merely, as the *Scholia Danielis* say, *pro 'adhuc optima'*, for this superlative is a favorite epithet with Virgil; cf. *Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 519, who notes its application to Aeneas (1, 555; 5, 358; 9, 40-41), Anchises (3, 710), Latinus (11, 294; 11, 353; 12, 48), Evander (8, 127), Teuthras (10, 402), *et al.* The adjective here, as *Heinze* says (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 124, n. o), is used from the point of view of Aeneas himself, as the context shows. *Mackail*, like *La Cerda* and, apparently, *Hahn* (in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 56 (1925), 205, and n. 144), thinks it here means 'gracious' or 'benignant,' but whether Aeneas would just at this moment have emphasized that characteristic of Dido seems somewhat doubtful (though *Masera (ad loc.)* believes that it is intended to stress the difficulty of Aeneas in acting ungratefully toward her). Is it not, perhaps, in the (slightly disparaging) sense of "that excellent woman, Dido"? *Hahn* (in *Cl. Weekly*, 25 (1931), 19, n. 113) thinks the epithet "may be a wistful bit of retrospection to the days when she was still bearing herself with decorum."

293. temptaturum aditus et quae mollissima fandi
tempora, quis rebus dexter modus. ocus omnes
imperio laeti parent et iussa facessunt.

qui *Donat.*, qui (*corr. in quis*) a. quibus *F* (quis rebus *F*⁴). omnis *F*.
et *FMP*γacp, ac *M*⁴b, *Donat.* facessunt (scunt *m. rec. in ras.*) π.

[291] 293-294. et . . . tempora: *Non. p.* 346 *M.* (p. 549 *L.*); *Serv. Aen.* 4, 423. 293-294. mollissima . . . tempora: *Gl. Ansil.* 374, 201.

[291, 293] 294. dexter modus: *Gl. Arma*, 14, 65.

295. imperio . . . facessunt: *Non. p.* 306 *M.* (p. 477 *L.*) — ac; iusta *corr. E* —. 295. iussa facessunt: *Paul. ex Fest.* p. 86 *M.* (p. 77 *L.*).

292. *tantos . . . amores*: perhaps plural because implying a mutual relation of love on the part of both Dido and Aeneas (cf. *Knapp in Cl. Journ.* 26 (1930), 108), or, more likely (since this is said from the point of view of Aeneas), referring only to Dido's passion for him, the plural being poetically used for the singular; cf. 4, 28, n. (*amores*), above.

292. *rumpi*: the love-relation may be regarded as a contract (*coniugium vocat*, 4, 172), and as we have the phrase *foedera rumpere* (8, 540; 12, 202; 12, 582) so here the verb is used with *amores*. Cf. also *Lucr.* 3, 83-84: *vincula amicitiae / rumpere*.

292. *speret*: not 'hope' but 'anticipate'; cf. *ἐπιζέω* and its cognates; *Ecl.* 8, 26: *quid non speremus amantes*; *G.* 1, 36; *Aen.* 1, 543: *at sperate deos memores*; 4, 419: *tantum sperare dolerem* (and the note); 11, 275; etc. This use is especially common with a negative.

293. *temptaturum aditus*: cf. 4, 423: *sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noras*; 9, 67: *qua temptet ratione aditus*; *Macrob. Sat.* 1, 2, 1: *temptanti mihi . . . aditus tuos et mollissima consultant tempora*; *Vida, Christias*, 6, 639-640: *quaerendum quae tempora fandi, / quis modus aptus*; *Spitta, Quaestiones Vergilianae* (1867), 36 (on the plural).

293. *mollissima*: cf. 4, 423; from some lost work of Cato the *Scholia Danielis* quote: *qua mollissimum est adorianur*; cf. *Ov. Ex Pont.* 3, 3, 84: *et veniet votis mollior hora tuis*; *M.* 9, 611-612: *non adiit apte, nec legit idonea, credo, / tempora*; *Sil.* 4, 491: *mollis aditus*.

293. *fandi*: cf. *Val. Fl.* 3, 651: *dum iura dares, dum tempora fandi*; 5, 389: *ac tu prima*

doce fandi tempusque modumque. *Quintil.* 8, 3, 27 mentions *fari* as an archaism occasionally justifiable in poetry.

294. *tempora*: cf. *Hor. S.* 1, 9, 56-58: *difficilis aditus primos habet . . . / . . . tempora quaeram*.

294. *dexter*: *Schol. Dan.*: *quis sit optimus rebus eventus, ut* (8, 302) *'et tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo,' id est, bonus et per hoc propitius, ut 'laevum' pro malo, etc.*; also *Aen.* 2, 388: *quaque ostendit se dextra (sc. fortuna), sequamur*; 4, 578-579: *sidera caelo / dextra feras*; *Hor. S.* 2, 1, 18-19: *nisi dextro tempore, Flacci, / verba per attentam non ibunt Caesaris aurem*; *Wagner, Popular Associations of Right and Left in Roman Literature* (1912), 56, for other parallels.

294. *modus*: as *Conington* notes, = *ratio* (as in 12, 157: *si quis modus*) rather than *terminus*, as the *Scholia Danielis* assert, and as *Virgil* uses it in *Ecl.* 2, 68; 10, 28.

294. *ocus omnes*: a verse tag found in 5, 828; 8, 278; *Ov. M.* 12, 226; cf. *Aen.* 8, 444: *ocus incubuere omnes*. The comparative is possibly a shortening of *dicto ocus*; cf. 1, 142: *dicto citius*; *Otto, Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 112; *Hunziker, Die Figur der Hyperbel in d. Ged. Vergils* (1896), 89, and n. *Kvčala*, however (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 99-100) would explain *ocus* as meaning "more quickly than would otherwise have been the case," and compares certain Greek instances of *θασσορ*, used like a positive.

295. *imperio . . . parent*: cf. 3, 189; 4, 238-239; 4, 577; *Juvenc.* 2, 98: *imperio Christi paret gaudetque secutus*.

295. *laeti*: the joy of the Trojans con-

296. At regina dolos (quis fallere possit amantem?)
praesensit motusque excepit prima futuros,

quisquis *M* (quis *M*¹).

praesenssit *Fc*¹ (praesensit *F*¹), presensit *γ*, presenssit *p*. amotus *M* (motus *M*¹). excepit *FM* (excepit *M*¹).

296-297. at . . . praesensit: *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 466). 296. quis . . . amantem: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 352; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 2, 335 — qui *Pb*; posset *L* —.

[296] 297. praesensit . . . futuros: *Cento Probae*, 361 — pressensit *P*; futura (futuros *m.* 2) *S*. 297. praesensit: *Cento Probae*, 212 — presentisit (*corr. in presensit*) *Lb* —.

trasts with the perplexity of their leader, somewhat as the interests of Dido and those of her subjects run in different directions (4, 467; 4, 545); cf. Ogle in *Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 261. The adjective several times expresses the delight of the Trojans in making progress toward their goal, especially in starting again after a rest; cf. 1, 35; 1, 554; 4, 418; 5, 34; also Haeckermann, *Explicationum Vergilianarum Specimen* (1853), 3. Donatus remarks: *laeti autem hoc faciebant quia contra voluntatem apud Carthaginem tenebantur*. We may also see the joy of a force at getting to sea again after an interruption of their journey; cf. *Ov. M.* 16, 695.

295. *facessunt*: cf. *G.* 4, 548: *matris praecepta facessit*; *Aen.* 9, 45: *et praecepta facessunt*; also *Enn. Ann.* 59: *dicta facessunt*; Angilbertus, *Carm.* 6, 447 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 377): *iussa facessans*; Candidus, *De Vita Aegilii*, 2, 11, 20 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 103): *iussa facesso*; Walahfridus Strabo, *De Vita Mammae*, 6, 20 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 280): *iussa facessere*; Anon. *Vita Leudegarii*, 1, 82 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 8): *tum iussa facessit*; Albertus Stadensis, *Troilus*, 2, 486: *imperio laeti parent, ac iussa facessunt*; Vida, *Christias*, 1, 224; 4, 975; Maphaeus Vegius, *Aen.* 13, 28: *iussa facessere*. The verb is stronger than *facio* and refers to eager, hasty action.

296. *at regina*: cf. 4, 1, n. (*at*); 4, 279, n. (*at*). The following passage, containing the speech of Dido to Aeneas, with its fine psychological description, owes several details to the speech of Medea to Jason in *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 350-390; cf. Rütten, *De Vergilii Studiis Apollonianis* (1912), 70-72. E.g., with 4,

296-300 cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 350-352: *ἐπεὶ τὰ ἕκαστα νόφ πεμπάσσατο κόρη, / δὴ δὲ μιν ὀξεῖαι κραδίην ἐλέλιξαν ἀνταί / νωλεμές*. Val. Fl. 8, 410-411 imitates: *ac prior ipsa dolos et quamlibet intima sensit / non fidi iam signa viri*, etc. *At* contrasts the attitude of Dido with the indecision of Aeneas (Masera, *ad loc.*).

296. *quis*, etc.: cf. 4, 85: on the parenthesis cf. 4, 116, n. (*adverte*). The Scholia Danielis remark: *quamvis de Didone loquatur generalem sententiam posuit* — possibly a slight recognition of the intrusion into the usually impersonal epic of a subjective element; cf. 4, 65, n. (*heu*, etc.); 4, 90, n. (*quam*, etc.); Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 350. For the use of *fallere* cf. 4, 96; Dracont. *Romul.* 10, 343-344: *'quam, callide, fraudem / quodve nefas moliris?'* ait, *'non fallis amantem.'* *Ov. M.* 4, 68, has, also parenthetically, the phrase, *quid non sentit amor?* Cf. *H.* 4, 130: *unde hoc conpererim tam bene, quaeris? amo*.

297. *praesensit*: *Serv.*: *ac si diceret, ante quam ille moliretur. et nimia in hoc vis amantis exprimitur*. On rare compounds of *prae-* in Virgil, cf. Shipley in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 56 (1926), 183.

297. *excepit*: of catching wind of a secret, as Conington suggests; cf. *Cic. Pro Reg. Deiot.* 25: *mittebat qui rumores Africanos exciperent*; *Ov. Am.* 1, 4, 18: *excipe furtivas et refer ipsa notas*; *Liv.* 2, 4, 5: *sermonem eorum ex servis unus excepit*; *Juv.* 6, 408-409: *famam rumoresque illa recentis / excipit ad portas*; *Tac. H.* 2, 78: *has ambages et statim exceperat fama et tunc aperiebat*.

297. *prima*: 'at the very outset.'

298. omnia tuta timens. eadem impia Fama furenti
detulit armari classem cursumque parari

impia (*supr. lin. m*¹) *p*. *fama add. F*¹. *furentis M* (*furenti M*²). *classe F* (*classem F*¹).

298-299. *eadem* . . . *detulit*: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 195 — *aedem* (*pro eadem*) *F* —. 298. *omnia* . . . *timens*: *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 127* (1, p. 45 *Riese*) — *timmens A* —; *Donat. in Ter. Ad.* 702 — *omnia t. t.* —; *Gl. Ansil.* 411, 34.

[298] 299. *detulit*: *Gl. Ansil.* 173, 1227-1228; *q.v.* 299. *cursum parari*: *Gl. Arma*, 10, 161.

298. *omnia tuta timens*: cf. *Catull.* 30, 7-8: *certe tute iubebas animam tradere, inique, me / inducens in amorem, quasi tuta omnia mi forent*; *Ov. M.* 7, 47: *quin tuta times*; 7, 719: *cuncta timemus amantes*; *Ep.* 18, 109: *omnia sed vereor; quis enim securus amavit?* *Tr.* 4, 3, 13: *desine tuta vereri*; *Ex Pont.* 3, 6, 15: *dum tuta times*; *F.* 5, 133-134: *causa tamen posili fuerat cognominis illis* (sc. *Laribus Praestitiibus*) / *quod praestant oculis omnia tuta suis*; *Prop.* 2, 19, 16: *omnia ab extremo sint modo tuta viro*; *Tac. Ann.* 12, 17, 2: *nilhil tutum ratus*; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 18, 393: *tuta etiam timuit*; *Claud. In Rufin.* 2, 295: *omnia tuta ratus*; *Hier. Ep.* 7, 4, 1: *huic ego, ut ait gentilis poeta, omnia etiam tuta timeo*; 50, 1, 1: *amorem tuum, quo sedulo monens etiam quae tuta in nobis sunt, pertimescis*; 54, 13, 5: *pietatis affectu etiam quae tuta sunt pertimescam*; 130, 8, 1: *pavidus cautique monitoris officio ea quoque in te quae tuta sunt formidantis*; *Venant. Fort. Misc.* 3, 6, 36: *omnia tuta times*; *Joseph of Exeter* (*Iscanus*), *Bell. Troianum*, 5, 443 (cf. *Sedgwick in Speculum*, 5 (1930), 67): *omnia certa timet*; *Vida, Poet.* 3, 473: *omnia tuta times*; *Christias*, 3, 865: *animo timeo omnia tuta*; also *Publil. Sent.* 116 *Wölfflin*: *caret periculo qui etiam cum est tutus cavet*.

For the interpretation of the phrase cf. *Donat.*: *amans enim perpetuo ducitur metu, etiam si tuta sint omnia*; *Schol. Dan.*: *deest 'etiam'*; *nedum illa quae timebat. et est exaggeratio*. This explanation, with which agree several of the parallels just quoted, is well set forth by Conington: "fearing every safety, much more every danger; a natural exaggeration of the unquiet suspiciousness of love," and seems far preferable to the view

of Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 689-692; cf. also below, 4, 419, n. (*si potui*)) that "Dido's only ground of uneasiness is that things are too safe, going too smooth; she fears (*timens*) the perfect safety (*omnia tuta*) which she sees about her, viz., such perfect safety without even the slightest ground for suspicion as Aeneas, on the point of issuing from the cloud, sees about him, 1, 587: *omnia tuta vides*; the only difference between the two *omnia tuta*, the two perfect safeties, being that the one is the object of Aeneas's vision, and the other of Dido's fear." Henry's interpretation (with which cf. that of McCartney in *Cl. Weekly*, 13 (1920), 218) rests on a commonplace for which he easily adduces parallels, namely, uneasiness in a success or happiness which cannot be expected to endure indefinitely, but the traditional view is equally well reconciled with lines 419-420, upon which he lays some stress. Some editors (e.g., Irvine and Mackail) suggest that *tuta* might be a feminine nominative, but that explanation violates all the ancient understandings of the line and lacks appropriateness in the context.

298. *eadem* . . . *Fama*: cf. *Ov. M.* 12, 200: *eadem hoc quoque fama ferebat*; I should not accept the view of Kvičala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 102-103) that *eadem* is the object of *detulit*.

298. *impia*: so called because of her disregard of the truth (4, 188-195), though she here speaks truly. Cf. *Val. Fl.* 5, 82: *Fama per extremos quin iam volat improba manes*; *Sil.* 4, 5: *diros canit improba* (sc. *Fama*) *motus*.

298. *furenti*: cf. 4, 69, though there is also a possibility (cf. the Scholia Danielis)

300. saevit inops animi totamque incensa per urbem bacchatur, qualis commotis excita sacris

inops *FP*γa, inops *P*². totam *M* (que add. *M*¹). incensam *F* (incensa *F*¹). orbem *F* (urbem *F*¹).
bachatur *p*.

300-301. saevit... bacchatur: *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. 1, 25, 11.* 300. saevit... animi: *Prisc. Inst. 18, 18 (G. L. K. 3, 216)* — senit *DNS*; inops *S* —; *Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 480)*; *Donat. Aen. 9, 290; 12, 665; Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 203; Gl. Abba, 77, 242.* 300. inops animi: *Gl. Ansil. 306, 1166.* 300. incensa: *Gl. Ansil. 293, 128-129; q.v.*

[300] 301-303. qualis... orgia: *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. 1, 18, 12* — thyas; *Aldhelmus, De Septen. (Patr. Lat. 89, 213)* — thuias —. 301-302. bacchatur... Thyias: *Eutych. Ars, 2, 3 (G. L. K. 5, 470)* — thyas —. 301-302. qualis... Thyias: *Macrob. Sat. 4, 5, 7* — quales *P*¹; commotis; thyas (thiras *corr. in thias cod. Cantabr., thais P*) —. 301-302. commotis... Thyias: *Mythogr. Val. III, 6, 33* — thyas —. 301. bacchatur: *Gl. Aa, 186, 13.*

that this is proleptic, showing the effect of Rumor's message.

299. armari: cf. 4, 289, n. (*classem aptent*). The arma here implied are, as in *G. 1, 255 (armatas deducere classis)* and *Aen. 6, 353 (spoliata armis)*, not weapons but the steering-gear and rigging of the ships; cf. *Caes. B. G. 3, 13; 5, 1; Sil. 6, 365; Greek ὄπλα; Henry, Aeneidea, 3 (1889), 7.*

299. cursum: *Serv.: navigationem, ut (3, 686) 'ni teneant cursum.'*

300. saevit: a favorite word with Virgil, and often, as here, initial in the line or clause; cf. *Val. Fl. 4, 296: saevit inops Amycus; Carm. de S. Quintino, 90 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 4, 201): saevit inops animi furiis bacchatus acerbis; Vita Godofridi Capenberg. 68 (Acta Sanclorum, Jan. 1, 860): saevit inops animi.*

300. inops animi: for the construction cf. 4, 203, n. (*animi*); also *mentis inops (Ov. Rem. Am. 127; F. 4, 457; Sil. 5, 631; Vida, Poet. 2, 480); Liv. 26, 18, 6: inops consilii; Stat. Theb. 1, 373: rationis inops; 11, 152: ardet inops animi; Vida, Christianas, 2, 922: tristis, inops animi; further cf. Catull. 64, 197: cogor inops, ardens, amentis caeco furore; and the Greek ἀμύχανος, ἀμύχανάω; Donat.: inops animi est qui in adversis citius deficit nec stabili quo potest consilio subvenire. ecce Didoni duplicatum est malum, amanti quippe et insperato malo commotae accessit saevitia aliaque mentis agitatio; Serv.: sine animo, sine consilio.*

300. totamque, etc.: cf. 4, 67-68: totaque vagatur / urbe furens; 7, 377 (in a passage for which Mackail (ed. of Aeneid (1930), 130) would consider the present lines a first sketch): immensam sine more furit lymphata per urbem; *Cir. 167: infelix virgo tota bacchatur in urbe; Hier. Comm. in Is. 5, p. 224 Vall.: cuius scelera in tota civitate bacchantur; Vida, Poet. 2, 479-480: tota passim bacchabitur urbe / mentis inops; and, for the hyperbole, Hunziker, Die Figur der Hyperbel in d. Ged. Vergils (1896), 58; Heinze, Virgils epische Technik, 3 ed. (1915), 287, n. 1; also for Virgil's descriptions of frenzied women, Preuss, Die metaphorische Kunst Vergils in der Aeneis (1894), 12-13. Further cf. 4, 376: heu, furiis incensa feror!*

301. bacchatur: a metaphor closely followed by a more formally developed simile. *Serv.: furit more Bacchantum. et bene uno sermone praecoccupavit futuram comparisonem.* For Virgil's use of the word cf. *G. 2, 487; Aen. 3, 125; 4, 666; 6, 78; 10, 41 (and Serv., who renders it perfurit); also Cir. 167: infelix virgo tota bacchatur in urbe; 480; Cul. 113. Like its compound debacchari (e.g., Hor. C. 3, 3, 55) and the Greek βακχάω, βακχεύω, ἀναβακχεύω, and ἐκβακχεύω, it may be used, literally, of religious ecstasy, or, figuratively, of madness or excitement comparable to it (cf. Cic. Brut. 276: furere atque bacchari; Prob. G. 2, 2: bacchari est furere). In a figurative case similar to ours Henry (Aeneidea, 4 (1889), 14) well renders the*

302. Thyias, ubi audito stimulant trieterica Baccho

302-305: *AFMP.* thyias *F*, thyas *F*¹*M.* stimula *F* (stimulant *F*¹). trieterica *FM*, trietericha *a*¹, trieteri. a γ, triaterica *b*, trieteria (*corr. in triaterica*) π. bacchi *F* (baccho *F*¹), bacho γβρ.

[301*] 302-303. Thyias... Cithaeron: *Macrob. Sat. 5, 17, 16* — thyas (thias *P*); aubi *P*¹; stimulat *P*; bacho *P*; citheron *P* —. 302-303. trieterica... Cithaeron: *Malal. Chronogr. 12 (Corp. Script. Hist. Byz. 14 (1831), 285)* — τριετηρικὰ Βάκχῳ ὄργια νοκτοῦρνους κοῦε βοκάτ κλάμωρε Κιθαίων —. 302-303. trieterica... orgia: *Schol. Lucan. 5, 74* — triaterica *G*¹; bachia *G*¹ —. 302-303. Baccho... Cithaeron: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 1, 114* — bachi *M*, barchi *Pa*; clamore *om. P*; cithaeron *om. Pb* —. 302. Thyias... Baccho: *Vel. Long. De Orthogr. (G. L. K. 7, 55)* — thyas *R*; audito trepidant —. 302. Thyias... audito: *Consent. Ars (G. L. K. 5, 389)* — thias *M* —. 302. trieterica Baccho: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 299 (1, p. 73 Riese)* — bacco *A* —. 302. trieterica: *Gl. Verg. (C. G. L. 4, 467, 26)* — trieterica (trieterica *bfg*, trieteria *de*, triecaria *a*) —; cf. *Gl. Philox. 282, 112.*

word 'riots.' The Greek words in this passage are noteworthy: *bacchatur... Thyias... trieterica Baccho... orgia... Cithaeron*; cf. *Nettleship, Vergil (1897), 80; 91-92, on Virgil's predilection for Greek.*

301. qualis: cf. 4, 69, n. (*qualis*); Hornbostel, *Die Gleichnisse bei Vergil (1870), 8; Houben, De Comparationibus Vergilianis (1876), 11; Schuhardt, Die Gleichnisse in Vergils Aeneis (1904), 12.* The comparison of Dido to a Bacchic votary is closely paralleled by the raving of Amata (7, 373-405), with its orgiastic setting; cf. *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik, 3 ed. (1915), 182-187; 287, n. 1.* The poet does not, of course, assert that the Bacchic worship was already at Carthage in the heroic age, which would have been too serious an anachronism; cf. *Fowler, The Death of Turnus (1927), 114, n. 1.* From the time of the *Bacchae* of Euripides (e.g., 32-38; 115-119), however, such religious ecstasy was a favorite literary topic, and *Patin (Étude sur les Tragiques grecs. Euripide, 2 (1894), 239)* notes allusions to it in Latin poetry, including: *Catull. 63, 23; 64, 61; 64, 251-264; Hor. C. 2, 19, 1-16; 3, 25, 1-20; S. 2, 3, 303-304; Prop. 3, 17, 23-24; 3, 22, 33; Ov. M. 3, 511-576; 4, 1-30; 6, 587-600; Pers. 1, 100-102; Sen. Oed. 432-443; Stat. Theb. 4, 565-569; add also Val. Fl. 8, 447-448.* Respectable Roman sentiment was opposed to such ἀσχημοσύνη, and the *Senatus Consultum de Bacchanalibus* in 186 B. C. (*C. I. L. I, 196 = Dessau, Inscr. Lat. sel.*

no. 18) carefully restricts participation in Bacchic rites. In similes, however, these revels or their accompanying excitement are frequently mentioned, e.g., *Il. 22, 460 (of Andromache): ὡς φαιμένη μεγάροιο δίσσυντο μαινάδι ἴση; Aesch. Sept. 498: Βακχῆ πρὸς ἀλκὴν Θυιάς ὡς φόρον βλέπων; Eur. Hippol. 550; Pacuv. 422-423 Ribbeck: flexanima tamquam lymphata aut Bacchi sacris / commota; Aen. 6, 517-518: illa chorum simulans euhantis orgia circum / ducebat Phrygias; Hor. C. 3, 15, 10: pulso Thyias uti concila tympano; Ov. H. 10, 48 (of Ariadne): qualis ab Ogygio concila Baccha deo; Ars am. 1, 311-312: in nemus et saltus thalamo regina relicto / fertur, ut Aonio concila Baccha deo; 3, 709-710: per medias passis furibunda capillis / evolat, ut thyrsos concila Baccha, vias; M. 4, 521-523; 9, 641-645; F. 4, 457-458: mentis inops rapitur, quales audire solemus / Threicias fusis maenadas ire comis; Sen. Tr. 673-676: qualis deo / percussa Maenas entheo silvas gradu / armata thyrsos terret, etc.; Med. 382-386; Luc. 1, 674-676: qualis vertice Pindī / Edonis Ogygio decurrit plena Lyaeo, / talis et attonitam rapitur matrona per urbem, etc.; Stat. Theb. 5, 92-94: insano veluti Teumesia thyias / rapta deo, cum sacra vocant Idaeaeque suadet / buxus et a summis auditus montibus Euhā; 12, 791-792: quales Bacchea ad bella vocatae / Thyiades amentes; Val. Fl. 8, 444-449 (of Medea); Plut. Brut. 15, 4 (of Porcia): ὥσπερ αἱ κατὰσχετοῖς βακχικοῖς πάθεσιν ἐξέπτουσα, κτλ.; also Aug. C. D. 18,*

303. *orgia nocturnusque vocat clamore Cithaeron.*

nocturnos γ, nocturque β. cithero A, citheron F, chiteron M, cytheron M⁷γ, cyteron α, cythaeron β.

[301, 302*] 303. *orgia* . . . Cithaeron: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1, 329. 303. *nocturnusque* . . . Cithaeron: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 8, 346. 303. *orgia*: *Gl. Ansil.* 416, 185; q.v. 303. *nocturnus*: *Gl. Ansil.* 393, 63; q.v.

13: *feminas quae Bacchae appellatae sunt, non tam virtute nobiles quam furore*; cf. 6, 9.

301. *commotis* . . . *sacris*: Schol. Dan.: *verbo antiquo usum tradunt; moveri enim sacra dicebantur, cum sollemnibus diebus aperiebantur templa instaurandi sacrificii causa; cuius rei Plautus in Pseudolo* (109–110) *meminit 'scis tu profecto, mea si commovissem sacra, / quo pacto et quantas soleam turbas dare?' hoc vulgo apertiones appellant*; Serv.: *'commotis' autem 'sacris' ideo dixit quia in sacrorum renovatione commovebantur simulacra*; etc.; Val. Fl. 3, 231–232: *at barbara buxus / si vocet, et motis ululanti Dindyma sacris*; 3, 540: *thiasos et sacra moventem*; 5, 399; Sen. Med. 86; cf. Hor. C. 1, 18, 11–13: *non ego te, candide Bassareu, / invitum quatiā nec variis obsita frondibus / sub divum rapiam*.

301. *excita*: cf. 7, 376: *ingentibus excita monstribus*.

302. *Thyias*: Serv.: *Baccha; nam sicut a Baccho Bacchae, sic et a Thyoneo Thyiades dicuntur*; Schol. Dan.: *quidam ἀπὸ τοῦ θέν, quod est insane currere dictas volunt*; cf. Paus. 10, 6, 4; 10, 32, 7; etc. The term is used in Latin by Catull. 64, 392; Hor. C. 2, 19, 9; 3, 15, 10; Ov. F. 6, 514; Stat. Theb. 5, 92; 12, 792; Sen. Oed. 442. A fragmentary but remarkable mosaic from Sousse, now in the Bardo Museum in Tunis (cf. Gauckler in *Mon. et Mem. (Monum. Piot)*, 4 (1897), 233–244, especially 241–244 and fig. 2; Engelmann in *Berl. philol. Woch.* 26 (1906), 381; Ussani in *Atti del II Congresso nazionale di Studi Romani*, 3 (1931), 162), shows Aeneas and Dido at their parting, while behind the figure of Anna, who accompanies them, stands a Bacchant with a tympanon, suggestive of the present passage.

302. *audito* . . . *Baccho*: probably not

hearing 'the voice of Bacchus' but the Bacchic cry 'Io Bacche,' or 'euhoe Bacche' (7, 389); cf. Lehrs, *Kl. Schr.* (1902), 340–341: *amant veteres ubi forma tantum vocabuli respicitur, non, ut nos solemus, facere in vocibus citandi, extra constructionem illud ponere sed cum oratione connectunt*; he cites also Cic. Tusc. 3, 8: *nomen insaniae significat*; Calp. 4, 97: *audito Caesare*; Longus, 1, 28: *μέγα Κλόην καλοῦντα*; Xen. Eph. 5, 13: *βοῶν "Ανθεια*; etc.; cf. Hahn in *Cl. Weekly*, 22 (1929), 132. Note the interlocked order: *audito* . . . *trieterica Baccho / orgia*.

302. *trieterica* . . . *orgia*: as noted by Kern (in *P.-W.* 5 (1905), 1018), women who constituted a college of Thyiades, in the early winter, in alternate years, celebrated on the top of Parnassus the birth of Dionysus, the local *ἱερός λόγος* representing the god as born every third (according to our reckoning, every second) year. To these *trieterica sacra* there are many allusions, and though not a part of Attic ritual they appear at Thebes, Delphi, in Crete (Davis, *The Asiatic Dionysos* (1914), 218), and elsewhere; cf. Farnell, *Cults of the Greek States*, 5 (1909), 307–308. Various explanations have been offered for the celebration in alternate years; e.g., (a) that Dionysus is a vegetation-spirit and that this period corresponds to some natural one; (b) that it may be connected with the practice of letting land lie fallow in alternate years (Farnell, *op. cit.*, 5 (1909), 181); (c) that it represents the trip of Dionysus to India (Diod. 4, 3, 1–2; Hygin. *Fab.* 131), at the end of which he appears again in the West; (d) that it corresponds to his absence in the underworld.

On the whole subject cf. also Hom. *Hymn.* 1, 11–12: *σοί (sc. Διονύσω) πάντως τριετηρίσιν αἰεὶ / ἄνθρωποι μέζουσι τελέσσας ἑκατόμβας*; Orph. *Hymn.* 30, 5, where the

god is called *τριετής*; 44, 7; 45 (*τριετηρικὸς* as an epithet of Dionysus; cf. *Anth. Lat.* no. 751, 2 (2, p. 233 Riese)); 52 (title: *τριετηρικοῦ θυμίαμα*); 52, 8: *βακχεῶν ἀγίας τριετηρίδας*; 53, 4–5: *κοιμίζει τριετήρα χρόνον Βακχίῳ ἀνδρῶν. / αὐτὸς δ' ἠνίκα τὸν τριετὴ πάλι κῶμον ἐγείρη, κτλ.*; 54, 3; Eur. *Bacch.* 132–134: *ἐς δὲ χορεύματα / συνῆψαν τριετηρίδων, / αἷς χαίρει Διόνυσος*; Aristonous, *Paeon in Apoll.* 37 (*Collectanea Alexand.* 163 Powell): *τριετέσιν φαναῖς Βρόμιος*; Cic. *N. D.* 3, 58: *quintum (sc. Dionysum) a quo trieterides constitutae putantur*; Censorin. 18, 2: *idque tempus trieterida appellabant, quod tertio quoque anno intercalabatur, quamvis biennii circuitus et re vera dieteris esset; unde mysteria quae Libero alternis fiunt annis trieterica a poetis dicuntur*; Ov. *Rem. Am.* 593: *Edono referens trieterica Baccho*; M. 6, 587–588: *tempus erat quo sacra solent trieterica Bacchi / Silhoniae celebrare nurus; nox conscia sacris*; 9, 642: *Ismariae celebrant repetita triennia Bacchae*; F. 1, 393–394: *festa corymbiferi celebrabas, Graecia, Bacchi, / tertia quae solito tempore bruma refert*; Luc. 5, 74: *Delphica Thebanae referunt trieterica Bacchae*; Val. Fl. 2, 624–625: *Ogygii quam nec trieterica Bacchi / sacra, etc.*; Opp. *Cyneg.* 1, 24: *οὐκ ἐθέλω τριετὴ σε τὰ νῦν Ὀπίβακχον δεῖδεν*; Sil. 4, 776–777: *Edonis ut Pangaea super trieteride mota / it iuga, etc.*; Stat. *Theb.* 2, 661; 9, 479–480: *cum Bacchica mugit / buxus et insane maculant trieterida matres*; Achill. 1, 593–596: *lucus Agenorei sublimis ad orgia Bacchi / stabat et admissum caelo nemus; huius in umbra / alternam renovare piae trieterida matres / consuevant*; Artemid. *Oniocr.* 4, 39: *τῷ θεῷ (sc. Διονύσω) τριετηρίδες ἄγονται ἱερταί*; Ael. V. H. 13, 2; Plut. *Quaest. conv.* 4, 6, 1; Auson. *Grph. tern. Num.* 35 (p. 202 Peiper): *trieterica Baccho*; Sidon. *Carm.* 9, 207–209: *non Bacchum trieterica exerentem / describam et tremulas furore festo / ire in Bassaridas, etc.*; Amm. Marc. 22, 8, 23: *superatis post triennium Indici nationibus ad eos tractus Liber reversus . . . orgia pristina reparavit et choros; trieterica huius modi sacra quidam existimant appellari*; Weniger, *Ueber das Collegium der Thyiaden von Delphi* (1876), 6–8; Farnell, *Il. cc.*; Cook, *Zeus*, 1 (1914), 690 (and works there cited); 2 (1925), 242–243. That the

festival here described is pictured as at Thebes appears from the allusion to Mt. Cithaeron.

302–303. *Baccho orgia*: on this type of hiatus, when one line ends with a vowel with which the next begins, cf. Gell. 6, 20, 3–5; also 4, 665–666 *infra*.

303. *orgia*: Serv.: *sane sciendum 'orgia' apud Graecos dici sacra omnia, sicut apud Latinos 'caerimoniae' dicuntur. sed iam abusive sacra Liberi 'orgia' vocantur, vel ἀπὸ τῆς ὀργῆς, id est, a furore, vel ἀπὸ τῶν ὀρέων* (a more probable etymology derives the word from *ἐργον*; cf. *ἐρδew*); cf. G. 4, 521: *inter sacra deum nocturnique orgia Bacchi*; Aen. 6, 517–518: *orgia circum / ducebat*; 7, 403: *capite orgia mecum*; etc. Florus Lugdun. *Carm.* 29, 21 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 565) imitates: *orgia Tebanus vel agit nocturna Cithaeron*.

303. *nocturnus*: cf. *παννύχιος, πάννυχος*, etc. On the transfer of the epithet from the adverbial phrase to the subject cf. 4, 143, n. (*hibernam*); Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 319; also G. 3, 538: *nec gregibus nocturnus obambulat*; Aen. 4, 490; 4, 609; 6, 252; Hor. S. 1, 3, 17: *qui nocturnus sacra divom legerit*; and many similar Greek and Latin examples with other adjectives of time collected by Forbiger and Buscaroli *ad loc.*

For such nocturnal dances cf. Soph. *Ant.* 1150–1152: *προφάνηθ', ὦναξ, σαῖς ἅμα περιπόλοις / Θυῖαισιν, αἶ σε μαινόμεναι πάννυχαι χορεύουσι / τὸν ταμίαν Ἰακχόν*; Eur. *Ion.* 718: *νυκτιπόλοις ἅμα σὺν Βάκχαις*; *Bacch.* 485–486: *τὰ δ' ἱερὰ νύκτωρ ἢ μεθ' ἡμέραν τελεῖς; / νύκτωρ τὰ πολλὰ σεμνότερη' ἐχει σκότος*; Liv. 39, 15, 9 (of Bacchic rites at Rome in 186 B.C.): *vigiliis vino strepibus clamoribusque nocturnis adtoniti*. Serv. (*ad loc.*) remarks: *'nocturnusque' nocte celebratus; unde ipsa sacra nyctelia dicebantur; quae populus Romanus exclusit causa turpitudinis*.

303. *vocat*: Lünzner, *Ueber Personificationen in Vergils Gedichten* (1876), 15, compares Ecl. 5, 62–63: *voces ad sidera iactant / intonsi montes*, etc.; G. 3, 43: *vocat ingenti clamore Cithaeron*; Aen. 3, 566: *scopuli clamorem . . . dedere*; 7, 590; 12, 591; to which add 3, 70: *vocat auster in altum*.

303. *Cithaeron*: a traditional site for Bacchic revels from the time of Pentheus

304. tandem his Aenean compellat vocibus ultro:

aeneam c. compellat *Ab*, compellet *c*, compellit *a*.

304. Aenean . . . compellat: *Anon. De dub. Nomin. (G. L. K. 5, 573)* — erican *L*; uocibus compellat —.

(Eur. *Bacch.* 62–63; 661; etc.); cf. Ar. *Thesm.* 995–996: ἀμφὶ δὲ σοὶ κυπείται / Κιθαιρώνιος ἡχώ; Apollod. *Bibl.* 3, 5, 2 (of Pentheus spying on the Bacchanals on Cithaeron); Stat. *Theb.* 4, 371: *te, bacchate Cithaeron*. Such orgies were often associated with mountains and wild country (cf. Strab. 10, p. 474; Cornut. *N. D.* 30: ὁρεῖται δ' εἰσὶ καὶ φιλέρημοι αἱ βάκχαι διὰ τὸ μὴ ἐν ταῖς πόλεσιν ἀλλ' ἐπὶ τῶν χωρίων γεννᾶσθαι τὸν οἶνον; Plut. *De E apud Delphos*, 9; 4, 147, n. (*iugis Cynthi*), above) and with Cithaeron in particular; cf. Stark, *Niobe u. d. Niobiden* (1863), 364–365; Beer, *Heilige Höhen d. alten Gr. u. Römer* (1891), 18; 46–47; Albers, *De Diis in Locis editis cultis apud Graecos* (1901), 54. They seem to have constituted one of the ways in which a classic people found a romantic outlet for its life. The whole allusion, which would suggest to the educated reader the story of Pentheus, is one of those in which this book so strongly shows the influence of Greek tragedy.

304. tandem: Donat.: 'tandem' pertinet ad furorem, qui Didonis vocem distulerat; 'ultro' ad impatientiam doloris; 'vocum' vero commemoratio exclamationem futuram significat progressuram in ingratum; nesciebat enim facti causas Mercurium peperisse.

304. his, etc.: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*), above. As noted by Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 318), the hour and place of this interview are not explicitly stated by Virgil, attention being, in true classic manner, concentrated upon the thing said rather than on its setting. From 4, 388–389 (*auras / aegra fugit*), however, we might perhaps infer that the colloquy took place out of doors. Rütten (*De Vergilii Studiis Apollonianis* (1912), 70) compares Apoll. Rh. 4, 352–354: αἴψα δὲ νόσφιν Ἰήσωνα μῶνον ἑταίρων / ἐκπροκαλεσσαμένη ἄγεν ἄλλυδις, ὅφρ' ἐλίσσεν / πολλὸν ἐκάς, στονόεντα δ' ἐνωπαδὶς ἐκφατο μῦθον.

304. compellat: cf. 2, 279–280; 2, 372:

ultro verbis compellat amicis; 5, 161: *compellat voce Menoeten*; 6, 499: *compellat vocibus ultro*; 10, 606: *compellat Iuppiter ultro*; 11, 534; Venant. Fort. *Vit. S. Mart.* 1, 306: *compellant vocibus ultro*; 1, 416: *compellens vocibus iisdem*. These are perhaps suggested by Enn. *Ann.* 44: *exim compellare pater me voce videtur*; cf. Bowra in *Cl. Quart.* 23 (1929), 72.

304. ultro: i.e., without being previously addressed; cf. Wagner, *Quaest. Virgilianae*, no. 27 (in the Heyne-Wagner ed., 4, 503–505).

305. dissimulare, etc.: cf. 4, 291: *dissimulens*. The exchange of speeches in lines 305–387 is one of the most oratorical as well as one of the most famous parts of the *Aeneid*, and belongs in a tradition which includes *Il.* 6, 343–368; Eur. *Med.* 446–626 (with the present line cf. especially 586–587); Apoll. Rh. 4, 355–420; Catull. 64, 132–201; *Cir.* 404–458; Ov. *H.* 7, 1–195; 10, 1–152; 12, 1–212; *M.* 8, 108–142; *F.* 3, 471–514. Other detailed reminiscences will be found in Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 134, n. 1; cf. also Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 693. As noted by Heinze (*op. cit.*, 425), this speech falls into two main divisions: (a) *indignatio* (305–313) and (b) *miseratio* (314–330), the second in turn divided into appeals based on the past (315–318), the present (320–323), and the future (324–326). Heinze (*op. cit.*, 433, n. 2) and Terzaghi (*Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 44, n. 64) properly reject the view of Penquitt (*De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 10) that this speech is essentially a *suasoria*, the form of its beginning not favoring that explanation; cf. Gross, *Krit. u. exeget. z. Vergils Aeneis* (1883), 23, who contrasts the two speeches, thinking the first, despite many sharp reproaches, to be in a begging but affectionate tone, the second in bitterness and rage. Cf. rather the Schol. Dan.: *hic quasi reus Aeneas a Didone accusatur . . . et quasi ab actu criminis coepit; nam qui dissimulat aliquo-*

305. 'dissimulare etiam sperasti, perfide, tantum

305–306. dissimulare . . . terra: *Albericus Casin. Flores rhet. (cf. Willard in Anniv. Essays . . . by Students of C. H. Haskins (1929), 363)*. 305. dissimulare . . . perfide: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 366; *Cento Probae*, 448 — dissimulare (*corr. in dissimulare m. 2*) π. 305. dissimulare . . . sperasti: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 337 — desimulare *F*; speranti *F* —.

tiens cogitat; et, quasi non sit dubium, cum proficiscendo Didonem laedat Aeneas, ita incipit: dissimulare, id est, non tantum proficisci, quod est per se malum, sed ut me falleres. On this speech cf. also Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 318.

Virgil does not explain, here or elsewhere, through what medium of language the Semite Dido and the Trojan Aeneas conversed. Justin, 20, 5, 13 states that in the time of Hanno Carthage decreed that no Carthaginian should study Greek, so that they might not be able to deal with an enemy without an interpreter. We cannot, of course, imagine any interpreter as attending at the present scene, though in actual life such must often have been employed (cf. 4, 78, n. (*audire*), above). In Homer, however, Trojans and Greeks are mutually intelligible (as in *Aen.* 2, 423), though differences of dialect might be observed; in Apoll. Rh. 4, 731, Medea addresses Circe in Colchian, but everywhere else she is readily understood by Greeks; in the latter part of the *Aeneid* the Trojans confer easily with the various Italian peoples, though 12, 825 recognizes their fundamental linguistic difference; cf. Zaubghin, *Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital.* 2 (1923), 22; 59–60, n. 152. In the convention of the epic, as in that of the beast-fable (with dialogues between animals of different species), the fundamental linguistic barrier is quietly disregarded.

305. etiam: i.e., not only to do the deed but to conceal it; cf. Donat. *ad loc.*; Schol. Dan. quoted above.

305. sperasti: answered by *neque . . . / speravi* in lines 337–338. Cf. 9, 560–561: *nostrasne evadere demens / sperasti te posse manus?*

305. perfide: Schol. Dan.: *muliebre verbum; hoc enim frequenter utitur*, quoting 4, 421; cf. also 4, 366; 4, 542; 4, 597; 7, 362, where Amata calls Aeneas *perfidus* . . . *praedo*. The terms *perfidus* and *periurus* are

commonly used by ladies in addressing or apostrophizing absconding lovers (especially by Ariadne to Theseus; cf. Alciph. 2, 4, 10; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 231); e.g., Catull. 30, 3: *iam non dubitas fallere, perfide*; 64, 132–135: *sicine me patriis aveclam, perfide, ab aris, / perfide, deserto liquisti in litore, Theseu? / sicine discedens neglecto numine divum, / immemor, ah, devota domum periuria portas?* (cf. 64, 174); *Ecl.* 8, 91; Ov. *H.* 7, 67: *falsae periuria linguae*; 7, 79: *quae mihi, perfide, iactas*; 7, 118: *quod tibi donavi, perfide, litus emo*; 11, 37, where Medea calls Jason *perfide*; *F.* 3, 473: *periure et perfide Theseu; Aetna*, 582: *perfide Theseu*.

Deceit sometimes appears as inherent in the Trojan race from the time of Laomedon; cf. 4, 542: *Laomedontae sentis periuria gentis*; Hor. *C.* 3, 3, 21–24: *ex quo destituit deos / mercede pacta Laomedon, mihi / castaeque damnatum Minervae / cum populo et duce fraudulentis*; 3, 3, 26–27: *Priami domus / periura*. Roman faith was, to the Romans themselves, a matter of boast, despite some disgraceful incidents like those in Val. Max. 9, 6, 1–4; cf. Mackail, *Cl. Studies* (1925), 182–183. Gellius (6, 18) recites examples of Roman good faith in relations with the Carthaginians, of which the case of Regulus is, of course, the great type.

On the other hand, 'Punic faith' was proverbial (Addison, *Cato*, 1034–1035: "Our Punic faith / Is infamous, and branded to a proverb") among the Romans; cf. 1, 661: *Tyrios . . . bilinguis*; 4, 105, n. (*simulata mente*), above; the many instances in Otto, *Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 291; Wölflin in *Archiv f. lat. Lexikog.* 7 (1890), 136; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 10, n. 2; Canter in *Cl. Journ.* 24 (1929), 568, n. 4; 573–575; Kroll, *Die Kultur d. ciceron. Zeit.* 1 (1933), 127, n. 60; also Sall. *Iug.* 108, 3; Val. Max. 9, 6, Ext. 1, who calls the Carthaginians *ipsum fontem*

306. posse nefas tacitusque mea decedere terra?
nec te noster amor nec te data dextera quondam

306-310: FMP. facitus *M* (tacitus *M*¹).

[305]

307. nec . . . amor: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 399* (1, p. 77 Riese); *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 347*.
307. noster amor: *Gl. Ansil. 395, 231*. 307. nec te data . . . quondam: *Donat. Aen. 4, 315*; *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 305*. 307. data dextera: *Gl. Ansil. 161, 150*.

perfidiae; *Sil. 11, 596-597*; *Justin, 18, 6, 2*. Virgil would perhaps have considered that charge made by the Romans against Punic faith in general and that of Hannibal in particular (cf. *Hor. C. 4, 4, 49: perfidus Hannibal*) as offset in poetic justice to Dido's accusation against Aeneas, which he answers by a strong asseveration in 6, 458-460: *per sidera turo, / per superos et si qua fides tellure sub ima est: / invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi*. Cf. also 4, 311, n. (*crudelis*). Eitrem (in *Festschrift til H. Koht* (1933), 30) thinks we should not overlook Dido's own duplicity in 4, 476; 4, 500; 4, 552; 4, 675. Cf. also Kowalski, *De Didone Graeca et Latina* (1929), 5; 12.

306. *tacitus*: cf. 4, 289: *taciti*; *Donat.: nec saltem, inquit, sic discedere ut gratiam vel verbis referres meritis meis. nam quid erat abire tacitum nisi beneficiorum inmemorem confiteri*; etc. For the nominative in the predicate with the infinitive, as in Greek, cf. 2, 377: *sensit medios delapsus in hostis*; 6, 313: *orantes primi transmittere cursum*; 11, 503-504: *promitto occurrere turmae / solaque Tyrrhenos equites ire obvia contra*; 12, 568: *ni frenum accipere et victi parere fatentur*; *Catal. 9, 24: altera non fama dixerit esse prior*; 10, 2 (after *Catull. 4, 2*): *ait fuisse multo celerrimus*; *Krause, De Vergilii Usurpatione Infinitivi* (1878), 91-92; *Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2, 1* (1912), 679; *Lohmann, De Graecismorum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 87-88.

306. *mea*: *Schol. Dan.: dicendo 'mea' stultum ostendit, qui putavit quod amanti se possit subripere*. I should rather explain it by suggesting that her sense of injured dignity leads her to stress, as women often do, the importance of her own rights of possession. Lejay (*ad loc.*) remarks that *perfidie* is the

word of the woman and *mea . . . terra* that of the queen.

306. *decedere*: a more dignified term (like *procedere* in 4, 587, and *cessi* of 6, 460, which is perhaps a reminiscence of the present line) than the *flight* of which Dido presently speaks (4, 314; 4, 328; 4, 430; 4, 543), and which Aeneas adopts as a term used by Dido (4, 338) and later in real earnest (4, 575). Cf. *Catull. 64, 134: sicine discedens*, etc.

307. *nec te . . . nec te*: cf. *Otto, De Anaphora* (1907), 50. Here the anaphora is (a) of a group of two words within a line and (b) of single initial words of two successive lines. Cf. also *Anth. Lat. no. 83, 32-33* (1, p. 114 Riese): *non ille torus, non conscia lecti / sacramenta tenent?*

307. *noster*: *Donat.: aut de suo solo dixit 'noster,' ut plerumque fit cum unus plurali numero se appellat* (instancing *Ecl. 3, 108*) . . . *et hoc magis probandum est, quia sola amaverat; aut 'noster' dixit ut amor mutuus videretur ex coniunctione intervenisse perindeque quod unius fuit duobus factum esse commune*. I prefer the second explanation; Dido wishes to represent their love as something in which Aeneas, and not she alone, participated, otherwise she might have appealed to his pity but not to his sense of justice.

307. *amor*: often of illicit passion, as frequently in Plautus; cf. *Knapp in Cl. Journ. 19* (1924), 207, n. 10. But here, in the mouth of Dido, of her own love, it can hardly have this meaning (4, 532, which *Knapp* also cites, is quite a different case).

307. *data dextera*: *Serv.: foedus amicitiarum*. Virgil here and in 4, 314 and 4, 597 refers to this pledge exchanged between Dido and Aeneas, though he has not previously alluded to it, either at 1, 627-630 (a natural

308. nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido?

Hunc vers. in marg. add. c.

308. nec . . . Dido: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 323*. 308. crudeli funere: *Gl. Arma, 10, 163*. 308. funere: *Gl. Ansil. 259, 194*; *q.v.*; cf. 570, 246.

place, if it refers to a pledge of hospitality or friendship, as *Servius* understands it — and probably rightly), or later, in the cave scene (if it means the plighting of troth, though, as we have seen, Aeneas recognized in that incident nothing implying a marriage rite). Other cases in Virgil seem to suggest a pledge of hospitality or friendship rather than one of troth; e.g., 3, 83; 3, 610; 6, 613; 7, 366; 8, 467; 9, 289; 10, 517; 11, 178; for many other classical instances cf. *Wagener, Popular Associations of Right and Left in Roman Lit.* (1912), 14-17. Despite *Mackail* and others I should not refer *dextera* here to any nuptial rite, but think that the line expresses two distinct claims of Dido upon Aeneas: (1) love; (2) gratitude due for her hospitality to him and his fleet. A third, in the next line, is the ruin which he would bring upon his benefactress. Two Greek sources for this line are cited, but can hardly decide for us the type of pledge here meant: *Eur. Med. 21-23: βοᾷ (sc. Μήδεια) μὲν ὄρκους, ἀνακαλεῖ δὲ δεξιᾶς, / πλάττω μερίστην, καὶ θεοὺς μαρτυρεῖται / οἷας ἀμοιβῆς ἔξ 'Ιάσονος κυρεῖ*; *Apoll. Rh. 4, 99-100: ὧς ἡῦδα, καὶ χεῖρα παρασχεδὼν ἤραρε χεὶρὶ / δεξιτερῇν*; cf. also 4, 358-359: *ποῦ τοι Διὸς Ἰκεσίου / ὄρκια, ποῦ δὲ μελιχραὶ ὑποσχεσίαι βεβᾶσιν*;

307. *quondam*: the varying times described by this word, relative to the mood of the speaker, are illustrated by *Friedrich* on *Catull. 96, 4*.

308. *nec*, etc.: cf. *G. 3, 263: nec moritura super crudeli funere virgo*; *Schol. Dan.: secundus locus accusationis est; magis enim augere iniuriam non potuit quam si se (morituram) ostenderet*. This is the first mention by Dido of her own death, and Virgil probably thinks of it as regarded by Aeneas as merely a bit of feminine hyperbole, perhaps an allusion to dying of a broken heart (*Terzaghi, Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 55, n. 84, to the contrary), perhaps as subject to destruction

from enemies round about (4, 320-326; *Kvičala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 117), though at 6, 458 he came to see the truth, at least in part: *funeris, heu, tibi causa fui* (which most editors follow by an interrogation mark, but *Janell* treats as a statement). Whether Dido here and in 4, 323 (*moribundam*) means more than hyperbole may be queried, but Virgil interestingly shows how the thought, once introduced, develops and comes to possess her mind; cf. lines 385 (*mors* — which Aeneas might interpret of her natural death, whenever it might occur), 415 (*moritura* — probably the word of the poet), 436 (*morte*), 451 (*mortem orat*), 475 (*decrevitque mori*), 519 (*moritura*), 604 (*moritura*), 639 (*finemque imponere curis* — a double entendre), 652-658; cf. *Penquitt, De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 68; *Mackail, edition of the Aeneid* (1930), 129-130: "One instance [of the artifice of repetition], which can hardly fail to be felt even if it is not expressly noticed, is the fourfold repetition at intervals of a hundred lines (ll. 308, 415, 519, 604) of the single bell-stroke of *moritura*."

308. *tenet*: cf. *Ecl. 1, 31: dum me Gala-tea tenebat*; *Ov. Ars am. 2, 12*; *H. 2, 103*; 3, 114; a technical term of amatory writing. The verbal resemblance noted by *Nettleship* (*Suggestions introd. to a Study of the Aen.* (1875), 36, n. 2) in 12, 55: *ardentem generum moritura tenebat*, is hardly a parallel in thought; *tenebat* is there more likely literal.

308. *crudeli funere*: cf. *Ecl. 5, 20: extinctum . . . crudeli funere Daphnim*; *G. 3, 263* (quoted above); *Aen. 1, 221-222: crudelia . . . fata Lyci*; 10, 386: *crudeli morte*; 11, 53: *infelix nati funus crudele videbis*; 12, 636: *letum . . . crudele*; *Cir. 292: exitium crudele*; also *crudeli funere* in *Carm. Lat. epigr. no. 588, 6*; 1218, 5; 1440, 3 *Bücheler*; contrast the *funere felici* of *Aen. 7, 599*. The cruelty of Dido's death probably

309. quin etiam hiberno moliris sidere classem
et mediis properas aquilonibus ire per altum,
crudelis? quid, si non arva aliena domosque

moliri *FPa*, post moliri una litt. eras. *p*.
mediis (corr. ex medius) *π*. properes *b*¹.
311-442: *MP*.

309. quin . . . classem: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 279; *Schol. Lucan.* 5, 408. 309. hiberno sidere: *Gl. Ansil.* 286, 10 — iberno —; *Gl. Abstr.* 45, 11; *Gl. Affatim* (C. G. L. 4, 524, 23) — sidero —.
309. moliris: *Gl. Ansil.* 374, 189 — moliri —; *q.v.*

310. et . . . altum: *Diomed. Art. gram.* 3 (G. L. K. 1, 516) — per aequora —; *Non. p.* 441 *M.* (p. 709 *L.*); *Serv. Aen.* 5, 2. 310. et . . . ire: *Donat. Aen.* 5, praef. — prosperas *LR* (corr. *r*) —. 310. et . . . aquilonibus: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 3, 30, 3. 310. mediis aquilonibus: *Gl. Ansil.* 362, 102. 310. ire . . . altum: *Anth. Lat. no.* 719a, 24 (2, p. 190 *Riese*); *Gl. Ansil.* 318, 20.

311-312. crudelis . . . peteres: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 20-21 (1, p. 62 *Riese*) — peteret —. 311-312. quid . . . peteres: *Donat. Aen.* 4, 350 — quid *om.* *R add.* *r* = *L* —; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 349 — quid *son F* —. 311-312. domosque . . . peteres: *Gl. Ansil.* 187, 127. 311. arva aliena: *Gl. Aa*, 181, 1215.

lies, not in its manner, which she has not yet planned, but in the fact that it will be untimely; cf. 4, 68, n. (*infelix*), above; 4, 687, n. (*ante diem*), below. She refers, probably, to a natural death by which the slighted lover dies — or is supposed to die —, but the reader knows the meaning of this tragic irony; cf. *Rand, The magical Art of Virgil* (1931), 357. 308. Dido: on the pathetic effect of the use of the third person cf. *Kvičala, Vergil-Studien* (1878), 17-20, where many parallels are collected, including 4, 383.

309. quin etiam: nine times in Virgil, seven of them at the beginning of lines; cf. *Vessereau on Aetna*, 123.

309. hiberno: *Schol. Dan.*: *et bene tempestatis eum admonet, qui naufragus venerat; et hic agit quasi non sua causa eum remanere velit, sed etiam utilitatis Aeneae*. On the season cf. 4, 52, n. (*hiems*); for the phrase *Ov. Ex Pont.* 2, 4, 25: *brumali sidere*; *Tac. Ann.* 1, 70, 2: *sidere aequinoctii*.

309. moliris: *Schol. Dan.*: *aut moves aut paras*; cf. 3, 5-6: *classemque . . . / . . . molimur*. On the rhythmic effect of this line and the next cf. *Norden*, 2 ed. of *Aen. VI* (1916), 424. With the appeal of Dido *La Cerda* (*ad loc.*) compares *Prop.* 1, 8, 1-6. That she shows real concern for Aeneas's safety is perhaps shown by the repetition of

the same request at 4, 429-430; cf. *Rébeliau, De Verg. in inform. muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 81, n. 2.

310. mediis: *Schol. Dan.*: *media hieme, ut per aquilones hiemem significet. aut quod aquilones ex Africa navigantibus adversi sunt*; cf. *G.* 2, 334; *Aen.* 1, 102; 1, 391 (and *Serv.*); 3, 285: *et glacialis hiems aquilonibus asperat undas*. When Aeneas sails, at 5, 2: *fluctus . . . atros aquilone secabat*; yet cf. 4, 562: *nec zephyros audis spirare secundos*; *Mayor in Journ. of Philol.* 7 (1877), 8. *Seneca* remarks (*N. Q.* 5, 18, 2): *in Italiam auster impellit, aquilo in Africam reicit*. On the general character of these two winds cf. *Plin. N. H.* 2, 127; *Gell.* 2, 30; *McCartney in Cl. Weekly*, 24 (1930), 13-14. *Veget. Epit.* 4, 39, explains why *ex die . . . tertio idus Novembres usque in diem sextum idus Martias maria clauduntur*.

310. ire per altum: a verse-ending from *Lucr.* 3, 1030; *Aen.* 3, 374; cf. *G.* 1, 456-457: *per altum / ire*; *Cul.* 342: *ibat in altum*; *Prud. Cathem.* 7, 108: *itur per altum*. The *Scholia Danielis* remark: *exacerbavit sententiam 'per altum' dicendo; quamvis notum esset Aeneam per altum navigaturum*.

311. crudelis: cf. *Ecl.* 2, 6; *Aen.* 1, 407; 9, 482-483: *potuisti linquere solam, / crudelis*; *Catull.* 64, 136-137: *nullane res potuit, crudelis, flectere mentis / consilium*; *Ov. M.*

312. ignotas peteres et Troia antiqua maneret,
Troia per undosum peteretur classibus aequor?

peterere *M* (peteres *M*¹). et *MP*²*γabc*, *Donat.*, sed *P*, se *p*, si *m*.

[311*] 312. maneret: *Gl. Ansil.* 356, 599; *q.v.*

313. Troia . . . aequor: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 347. 313. per undosum mare: *Gl. Ansil.* 440, 1199.

8, 110 (*Scylla to Minos*): *quo fugis, inmitis*; *Pichon, De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 117. Virgil probably here imitates *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 388-389: *μάλα γὰρ μέγαν ὄρκον, / νηλεές*, where, as in occasional Homeric cases of *νήπιος* and *σχέτλιος*, the similar emphatic 'run-over' position in the line should be noted. The cruelty of Hannibal is sometimes described by Latin writers (e.g., *Cic. De Sen.* 75; *Liv.* 21, 4, 9), and there may be here the same poetic contrast which we have seen above; cf. 4, 305, n. (*perfidie*). Yet note also the view of Landor, *Imaginary Conversations*, The Abbé Delille and Landor: "The passion of Dido is always true to Nature. Other women have called their lovers cruel; she calls Aeneas so, not chiefly for betraying and deserting her, but for hazarding his life by encountering the tempests of a wintry sea."

311. quid si, etc.: cf. *Ov. H.* 7, 143-144: *Pergama vix tanto tibi erant repetenda labore, / Hectori si vivo quanta fuere forent*.

311. arva aliena: *Schol. Dan.*: *blande, quasi: haec iam tua sunt. domusque ignotas: ac si diceret: Carthago iam tibi nota est, licet et hic aliena sint arva*; but Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 694), more wisely, considers the *arva aliena* and *ignotas domos* as opposed to those of Troy rather than of Carthage. Cf. also *Ov. H.* 7, 16: *quis sua non notis arva tenenda dabit?*

312. Troia, etc.: cf. 2, 56: *Troiaque nunc staret, Priamique arx alta maneres*; 4, 343: *Priami lecta alta manerent*; *Ov. Ars am.* 3, 439: *Troia maneret*; *Dracont. Romul.* 8, 332: *non sic, si Troia maneret*, etc. The phrase *Troia antiqua* appears also in 1, 375 (where *Serv.* says *nobili, venerabili, more suo*); in the present line the *Scholia Danielis* explain: *vel nobilis, vel illa tua patria quam doles amissam*.

313. Troia . . . peteretur: cf. 10, 378: *pelagus Troiamne pelamus*. On the previous

line the *Scholia Danielis* comment: *et deest 'si'*; *et quasi per interrogationem intellegendum est: etiamsi Troia staret, per hiemem Troia peteretur?* *Palmer* (on *Ov. H.* 7, 53) suggests that *si* should be supplied before the second *Troia*, rendering: "How could you be in a greater hurry to sail, if Troy were standing, if it was [*sic*] Troy that you were making for across the sea?" But while *et* in 312 aptly unites the *peteres* and *maneret* clauses it would be very awkward to have a third clause in the protasis follow with asyndeton combined with the omission of *si*. I should, then, consider this line as the apodosis, and with the thought compare *Ov. H.* 7, 143-144; 13, 100: *non est, quo properes, terra paterna tibi*. On the repetition of the noun *Troia* instead of a pronoun cf. *Kvičala, Vergil-Studien* (1878), 68; also *Aen.* 1, 553-554.

313. undosum: cf. Landor, *Imaginary Conversations* (The Abbé Delille and Landor), for the emendation of this word to *hibernum* — not to be taken too seriously. The adjective *undosus* is rather rare, in Latin first in 3, 693: *Plemyrum undosum*; cf. *Sil.* 5, 21; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 17, 177: *undosum pelimus per aequor*; *Sedul. Pasch. Carm.* 3, 223: *undosum petiere solum*; *Dracont. Romul.* 10, 37: *ire per undosum proscissis fluctibus aequor*; etc. With the thought cf. 7, 810-811: *vel mare per medium fluctu suspensa tument / ferret iter*.

313. peteretur: an awkward yet not unpermissible repetition after *peteres* in the line before.

313. classibus: for *navibus*; cf. 4, 537; 4, 582; and nine other cases in the *Aeneid* cited by *Braumüller, Ueber Trophen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 22. *Buscaroli* (*ad loc.*) finds echoes of this line in *Ov. H.* 13, 127-128: *quis velut in patriam vento prohibente reverti? / a patria pelago vela*

314. mene fugis? per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam te

haste *P* (has *P*²). lacrimas . . . *a*. tuam te *m*. 2 *add. c*, tua te *p*.

314. mene . . . lacrimas: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 210* (1, p. 69 Riese); *Consent. Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 403). 314. mene fugis: *Donat. in Ter. Eun. 179*; *Marl. Cap. 5, 494*; *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 205* (1, p. 69 Riese); *Gl. Ansil. 364, 312*. 314. per . . . te: *Charis. Inst. gram. 2* (G. L. K. 1, 233); *Eugraph. in Ter. Andr. 289* — per has te lacrimas ego (egomet *a*) —; *Iul. Rufin. p. 43 Halm*. 314. per has lacrimas: *Gl. Ansil. 434, 497, qui interp.*: 'per has lacrimas et dexteram tuam ego te oro.'

vetante datis; Val. Fl. 2, 405–406: sic portus fugeret ratis, aspera si te / Plias in adversae tenuisset litore Thraces.

314. mene fugis: cf. 4, 675: *me* (and *n*.); 9, 199–200: *mene* . . . / *Nise*, fugis; also *Ecl. 2, 60*: quem fugis, *a*, demens; *Aen. 5, 742*: quem fugis; 6, 466: quem fugis (in poetic justice Dido there withdraws from Aeneas as he here leaves her); *Ov. H. 7, 46* (Dido to Aeneas): dum me per frela longa fugis; 13, 4 (Laodamia to Protesilaus): a me cum fugeres (where Palmer understands *a* as an interjection); *Stat. Theb. 12, 383*: mene times; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 156–157. Note the contrasted positions of *me* and *te* at the two ends of the line. On fugis cf. 4, 306, *n*. (*decidere*), above. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 695) well summarizes: "Is it from me you are flying? From me who have sacrificed everything for you (315), from your wedded wife (316), from me to whom you owe such a debt of gratitude (317), from me of whom you were once so fond (317–318), from me who will go to ruin as soon as you leave me (318), from me whose preference for you has brought on me the enmity not merely of neighboring nations but of my own people (320–321), from me who have through you lost that fair fame and spotless reputation for which I was celebrated to the stars of heaven (321–323)?" With this line cf. *Carm. de S. Cassiano*, 460 (*Poet. Aevi Carol. 4, 193*): mene fugis? per ego has lacrimas vitamque clientis.

314. per ego has: a word-order frequent in adjurations, by which, as in Greek (e.g., *Soph. Philoct. 468–470*; *Eur. Med. 324*; *Phoen. 1665*; *Alex. Aet. ap. Parthen. Erol. 14, 31*), the preposition is separated from its noun by a pronoun or some other word, or

the noun is itself resolved into a clause; cf. 2, 142–143: per si qua est quae restet adhuc mortalibus usquam / intemerata fides; 10, 597: per qui te talem genuere parentes; 10, 903: per si qua est victis venia; 12, 56: per has ego te lacrimas; also 4, 233, *n*. (*super*), above. To the numerous cases noted by Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2, 1, 2 ed.* (1912), 584–585, add: *Plaut. Rud. 627*; *Ter. Andr. 289*: per ego te dextram hanc oro; *Enn. Scaen. 10*; *Liv. 23, 9, 2*; *Ov. M. 3, 658*; 10, 29; *Stat. Theb. 6, 171*; 9, 632; 10, 360; 11, 367; 11, 708; *Achill. 1, 267*; *Sil. 11, 332*; *Apul. Met. 6, 2*: per ego te frugiferam tuam dextram istam deprecor; *Vida, Christias, 3, 297*: per ego has lacrymas; *v. Boltenstern, Bemerk. ü. d. Wortstellung . . . d. Präpositionen in Vergils Aeneis* (1880), 5. These illogical but natural collocations express strong emotion which causes the speaker to utter his words regardless of logical order or of grammatical rules. It may be noted that the calmer Aeneas in his adjuration (4, 357: testor utrumque caput) remains perfectly logical, as in the first part of his speech (4, 333–336) he is thoroughly rhetorical. For the ὅρκος as a literary figure cf. 4, 24, *n*. (*sed, etc.*), above.

314. lacrimas: so *Ovid* (*H. 7, 185*) makes Dido appeal to Aeneas by her tears.

314. dextram: *Schol. Dan.*: bene virum fortem per dextram adiurat; but rather cf. 4, 307, and *n*. (*data dextera*); 4, 597: en dextra fidesque; *Eur. Med. 496*: φεῦ δεξιὰ χεῖρ, ἥς σὺ πόλλ' ἐλαμβάνου; *I. T. 1068–1069*: ἀλλὰ πρὸς σε δεξιὰς / σὲ καὶ σὲ ἰκνούμαι; *Hipp. 605*: ναὶ πρὸς σε τῆς σῆς δεξιὰς εὐωλόνω; *Hec. 752–753*: ἰκετέω σε . . . / . . . καὶ σοῦ γενείου δεξιὰς τ' εὐδαίμονος; *Ar. Thesm. 936*: πρὸς

315. (quando aliud mihi iam miserae nihil ipsa reliqui), per conubia nostra, per inceptos hymenaeos,

quando *P* (quando *P*¹). aliut *MP*. misere *γ*.

quonubia *b*. coeptos *c*¹, inceptos *p*. hymnaeos *Pγ*, hymaeneos *p*.

315. quando . . . reliqui: *Vict. De Metr. et de Hex. (G. L. K. 6, 210)* — quando si aliquid mihi iam miserere nisi ipsa reliqui *C*, quando aliut mihi iam nihil uita reliqui *A* —; *id.*, *G. L. K. 6, 214* — qm aliud *C* —. 315. reliqui: *Gl. Ansil. 491, 901*; *q.v.*

316. per conubia . . . hymenaeos: *Charis. Inst. gram. 2* (G. L. K. 1, 233) — inceptos (*corr. in* inceptos) *N* —; *Anth. Lat. no. 15, 123* (1, p. 54 Riese) — inceptoimeneos (*corr. in* inceptos himeneos) *A* —; *no. 17, 212* (1, p. 69 Riese) — himaeneus (*corr. in* himaeneos) *A* —. 316. per . . . nostra: *Serv. Aen. 1, 73*; *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 339*.

τῆς δεξιᾶς; *Plaut. Amph. 923*: per dextram tuam te, *Alcumena*, oro obsecro; *Capl. 442–443*: haec per dextram tuam te dextera retinens manu / opsecro; *Ter. Andr. 289* (quoted above); *Sall. Jug. 10, 3*: per hanc dextram . . . moneo optestorque te; *Hor. Ep. 1, 7, 94–95*: te per genium dextramque . . . / obsecro et obtestor; *Sil. 12, 577–578*; *Apul. M. 4, 11*: adhortatur per dextram Martis; 6, 2 (quoted above); *Wagener, Popular Associations of Right and Left in Roman Lit. (1912), 21*. On the importance of the dextrarum iunctio in a Roman marriage cf. *Rosbach, Untersuch. ü. d. röm. Ehe* (1853), 308–309.

314. tuam te: cf. 4, 434: dum mea me, etc.; and, for the monosyllabic ending, 4, 132, *n*. (*canum vis*); *Rouse in Cl. Rev. 33* (1919), 138, who thinks the unusual rhythm intended to hold the attention.

315. quando, etc.: on the parenthesis cf. 4, 116, *n*. (*advertite*).

315. nihil: *Schol. Dan.*: et est sensus: si enim aliquid sperares, retinere te possem; sed contemnis me, quia tibi ab initio cuncta concessi.

315. miserae: cf. 1, 344 (where Dido is called misera with reference to her love for Sychaeus); 1, 719; 4, 20, *n*. (*miseri*); 4, 117; 4, 429; also *Catull. 64, 57*; 64, 71; 64, 140; 64, 196; *Anth. Lat. no. 83, 90* (1, p. 117 Riese); *Pichon, De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 202.

315. ipsa: she admits that the responsibility is her own, and this line should perhaps be compared, as Ogle thinks (*Cl. Journ. 20* (1925), 262), with 4, 596: infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt?

316. per, etc.: cf. *Il. 15, 39*: καὶ νωτρεπον λέχος (sc. ἱστῶ); *Soph. Ai. 492–493*: καὶ σ' ἀντιάξω πρὸς τ' ἐφεσθλου Διὸς / εὐνῆς τε τῆς σῆς, κτλ.; *Catull. 64, 139–141*: at non haec quondam blanda permissa dedisti / voce mihi, non haec miserae sperare iubebas, / sed conubia laeta, sed optatos hymenaeos (on which cf. *Terzaghi, Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 16, *n*. 14); *Ov. Am. 3, 11, 45*: parce, per o lecti socialia iura; *H. 7, 177–180*: pro meritis et siqua tibi debebimus ulro, / pro spe coniugii tempora parva peto. On the unusual metrical effect of conubia in this position in the line cf. *Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI* (1916), 374; and, for the meaning of conubia, cf. 4, 172, *n*. (*coniugium vocat*); 4, 213, *n*. (*conubia*). The *Catullan* anaphora of sed . . . sed *Virgil* has here reproduced by per . . . per.

316. inceptos: *Donat.*: multos hoc loco trahit pars illa, quod inter Aenean et Didonem nova coniunctio agebatur, et sic inceptos hymenaeos intellegunt quasi recenti tempore contractos. quod contra est; nam si ita esset 'coeptos' diceret, non 'inceptos.' He perhaps refers to the view appearing in *Servius*: qui novitate sunt dulces. *Henry* (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 696) rightly takes conubia and hymenaeos as essentially synonymous (*Schol. Dan.*: bis idem dixit), rather than of a furtive union and the beginning of a formal rite, respectively, as *Wagner* and other editors (cf. especially *Masera ad loc.*) suppose. In the *Catullan* passage (64, 141), which *Virgil* here closely imitates, there seems no distinction between marriage and marriage-rites (cf. *Ellis ad loc.*), nor does conubia imply anything clandestine or illicit.

317. si bene quid de te merui, fuit aut tibi quicquam dulce meum, miserere domus labentis et istam,

misere (corr. in miserere) γ, merere (corr. in miserere) α. domos (in ras.; corr. in domus) γ.

317-318. si . . . meum: Sen. De Benef. 7, 25, 2 — quidem de S —; Prisc. Inst. 8, 28 (G. L. K. 2, 396) — sed (corr. in si) Rr; ad (corr. in aut) Dd —; Eugraph. in Ter. Heaut. 1024 — si suppleendum —. 317-318. fuit . . . meum: Donat. in Ter. Andr. 294 — fuit (aut ut fuit) V; tibi om. TC; dulce m. (dulce in V, dulce C) —; [Acro] in Hor. C. 1, 22, 23. 317. si . . . merui: Non. p. 344 M. (p. 545 L.) — si bene E, sibe L¹, sibi A^a, si B^aD^a —; Donat. in Ter. Andr. 292 — quod A —; Eugraph. in Ter. Andr. 289 — fuit aut tibi quicquam dulce meum add. α —; id., 292 — fuit aut add. β —; Sacerd. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 6, 445) — quit B —; Anih. Lat. no. 15, 127 (1, p. 54 Riese); Serv. Aen. 9, 254 (add. in cod. Paris. 7965); Gl. Ansil. 257, 69 — quidquam dulci —.

[317*] 318. miserere . . . labentis: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 327. 318. labentis: Gl. Ansil. 326, 41; q.v.

317. si, etc.: cf. 4, 373-375; so Calypso tells what she has done for Odysseus (Od. 5, 130-136), Medea recounts her services to Jason (Eur. Med. 476-487; Apoll. Rh. 4, 360-368; 4, 1031-1041; Ov. H. 12, 109-110; Val. Fl. 8, 438-439), Phyllis hers to Demophoon (Ov. H. 2, 107-110), and Ariadne her sacrifices for Theseus (Catull. 64, 149-153); cf. Ter. Andr. 292-295; also Conway, *New Studies of a great Inheritance* (1921), 147-148: "By these imitations [i.e., of Catullus] Vergil definitely places Dido in the company of deserted heroines, like Ariadne, for whom the first desire of any poet who told their story was to move the reader's pity." With the phraseology cf. Ov. M. 7, 854: *per si quid merui de te bene*; H. 7, 177: *pro meritis et si qua tibi debemus ultro* (al. *ultra*); Stat. Theb. 1, 60: *si bene quid merui*; Carm. de S. Cassiano, 463-465 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 4, 193); Dante, Inf. 26, 80: *s'io merilai di voi mentre ch'io vissi*.

317. fuit, etc.: cf. Pind. Ol. 1, 75-76; Soph. Ai. 520-521: ἀλλ' ἵσχε καμῶν μνήσιν. ἀνδρὶ τοι χρεῶν / μνήμην προσεῖναι, τερπνὸν εἰ τί που πάθοι; Eur. I. A. 1221-1222: πρώτη δὲ γόνασι σοῖσι σῶμα δοῦσ' ἐμὸν / φίλας χάριτας ἔδωκα κἀντεδεξάμην; Ter. Andr. 41: *si tibi quid feci aut facio quod placeat*, Simo; Stat. Theb. 11, 368-369: *per si quid in illa dulce domo*; Pistelli (cited by Buscaroli ad loc.) compares Manzoni, *Adelchi*, 1428-1429: *se fui tua, se alcuna / di me dolcezza avesti*. We need not, with Servius (*tegit rem inhonestam*),

take this clause in an obscene sense, and this the Scholia Danielis clearly realize; cases of *dulce* so employed, collected by various editors, are not adequate to prove a bad sense here, and quite opposed to it is the parallel in 12, 882-883: *aut quicquam mihi dulce meorum / te sine, frater, erit*; cf. also Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 135-136.

317. aut: on the deferred position cf. 4, 187, n. (aut), above.

318. miserere domus: cf. Ov. H. 7, 163: *parce, precor, domui quae se tibi tradit habendam*. On this sense of *domus* cf. the Virgilian examples cited by Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 5. The 'house' may refer to Dido herself or to her family.

318. labentis: cf. 12, 59: *in te* (sc. Turno) *omnis domus inclinata recumbit*; Sen. De Benef. 6, 15, 7: *qui labentem domum suscipit*.

319. si quis: cf. Ter. Phorm. 547: *ut nullus locus relinquitur preci*; Andr. 601: *nil est preci loci relictum*; Cic. Ad Fam. 1, 1, 2: *nec precibus nostris . . . reliquit locum*; Val. Fl. 5, 510: *si quis et in precibus vero locus*.

319. precibus: cf. Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 238-239.

319. exue mentem: Schol. Dan.: *reice a te propositum mei relinquendi*; cf. G. 2, 51: *exuerint silvestrem animum*; Ov. M. 1, 622-623: *exuit omnem / diva metum*; Aetna, 368: *mendacemque exue famam*; Ambros. De

319. oro, si quis adhuc precibus locus, exue mentem. te propter Libycae gentes Nomadumque tyranni

adhuc MP (adhuc M²). praecibus M (precibus M²).
et P (te P¹). libyce γ, lybicae β, libyae dell. numadam C, numidum π, dell.

319. si . . . mentem: Non. p. 300 M. (p. 465 L.) — et si quis; adhuc om. —. 319. si . . . locus: Schol. Lucan. 7, 377, ed. Weber — adhuc om. —. 319. exue mentem: Gl. Ansil. 229, 1381; cf. 229, 1380.

320-321. te . . . odere: Non. p. 367 M. (p. 583 L.); Prisc. Inst. 13, 13 (G. L. K. 3, 31) — lybicae K, libicae Rd, libice BD, lybice L; numadamque RBGK; tyranni RG —; Inst. 18, 265 (G. L. K. 3, 345) — libicae N, lybycae VR, lybyce D; nonadamque M, numadamque r; tyrannio dere V —; Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 502) — libyae —. 320. te propter: Gl. Ansil. 558, 416. 320. Libycae gentes: Gl. Ansil. 339, 113 — libicae —. 320. nomadam: Gl. Ansil. 394, 81; q.v. 320. tyranni: Gl. Ansil. 563, 156 — thyranni —; q.v.

Nab. 5, 23: *exuam patris mentem*; Walahfridus Strabo, *De Blaitheima Vita*, 102-103 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 299): *mentem / exuit*; De Cull. Hort. 264-265 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 344): *mentem / exuerent*; the phrase is opposed to that in Aen. 1, 304: *accipit in Teucros animum mentemque benignam*.

320. te propter: for the position of the preposition cf. 12, 177: *quam propter*; Cul. 3; 390; Cir. 288: *te propter eundem*; also Ter. Phorm. 927; Hec. 677: *te propter*; Cic. In Pis. 15; Ad Att. 10, 4, 1; v. Boltenstern, *Bemerkungen ü. d. Wortstellung . . . der Präpositionen in Vergils Aeneis* (1880), 13; and, on the anaphora, cf. Otto, *De Anaphora* (1907), 50. The thought is similar to that of Ov. H. 2, 81-82 (Phyllis to Demophoon): *at mea despecti fugiunt cubilia Thraces, / quod ferar externum praeposuisse meis*; 7, 121-125: *bella tument; bellis peregrina et femina templor, / vixque rudis portas urbis et arma paro; / mille procis placui, qui me coiere queres / nescio quem thalamis praeposuisse suis; / quid dubitas vinclam Gaetulo tradere Iarbae?* Dido's doubt whither to turn is like that of Medea (Eur. Med. 499-508, concluding: τοῖς μὲν οἰκοθεν φίλοις / ἐχθρὰ καθέστηχ', οὓς δὲ μ' οὐκ ἐχρῆν κακῶς / δρᾶν, σοὶ χάριν φέρονσα πολέμους ἔχω; cf. the verses quoted by Cic. De Or. 3, 217; Sen. Med. 451-460) or Ariadne (Catull. 64, 177-187); cf. Patin, *Étude sur les Tragiques grecs. Euripide*. 1 (1894), 133-134, n. It is perhaps a little insincere for Dido to pretend

that on account of Aeneas she is exposed to animosities which had really been aroused before his arrival; cf. Hahn in *Cl. Weekly*, 25 (1931), 18-19.

320. Nomadam: metri causa; cf. 4, 535; 8, 724; Mart. 8, 55, 8; 9, 75, 8; Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 141; Sil. 8, 56: *Nomadum late terrente tyranno*. On the Numidians cf. 4, 41, n. (Numidae); Sall. Iug. 18, 7-8.

320. tyranni: Serv.: *nihil intererat apud maiores inter regem et tyrannum, ut* (7, 266) *'pars mihi pacis erit dextram tetigisse tyranni.'* Cf. also 7, 342; but in most Virgilian instances (1, 361; 8, 483; 10, 448; 12, 75) the connotation is unfavorable. With this passage cf. Tac. Ann. 16, 1: *ceterum, ut coniectura demonstrabat, Dido Phoenissam Tyro profugam condita Carthagine illas opes abdidisse, ne novus populus nimia pecunia lasciviret, aut reges Numidarum, et alias infensi, cupidine auri ad bellum accenderentur*; Chaucer, *Legend of good Women*, Dido, 392-393: "These lordes, which that wonnen me besyde / Wol me destroien oonly for youre sake." The word *tyranni* might suggest Iarbas, though according to Virgil's statement he was a Gaetulian (4, 326; but cf. 4, 198, n. (Iarban), above), and in 4, 40-41 the Gaetulians and Numidians are differentiated, as elsewhere (Sall. Iug. 18, 9) are the Libyans and Gaetulians. The term is, therefore, perhaps best taken here as applying to North African chiefs in general.

321. odere, infensi Tyrii; te propter eundem
extinctus pudor et, qua sola sidera adibam,

extinctus *MPP*. ardibam (?) *M* (adibam *M*¹).

[320*]

322. extinctus pudor: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 16* (1, p. 62 Riese) — extinctus —.

321. infensi: cf. Claud. *VI Cons. Honor.* 315-317: *offensi comiles, odere propinqui. / quid moror invisam lucem? qua sedere condam / naufragii fragmenta mei?*

321. Tyrii: whether suitors at Tyre and Pygmalion (4, 325) or her subjects at Carthage is not certain, though the latter would naturally resent her affection for an alien who might eventually become their ruler, as Gossrau (*ad loc.*) suggests; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 134, n. 1. Mackail (*ad loc.*) finds no other hint of Carthaginian disaffection and thinks it may have "existed only in Dido's fevered imagination." Yet cf. 4, 545: *quos Sidonia vix urbe revelli*. Masera (*ad loc.*) with some reason thinks it used of those at Tyre who had sympathized with Dido as against Pygmalion, but whose respect for her had now been forfeited because of her disloyalty to the memory of Sychaeus.

321. te propter eundem: = *Cir.* 288.

322. extinctus pudor: cf. *Ov. H.* 7, 5-6: *sed merita et famam corpusque animumque pudicum / cum male perdiderim, perdere verba leve est*. Servius here remarks: *magna indignatio: meminuit enim se dixisse* (4, 27) 'ante, pudor, quam te violo.' *Pudor* is Dido's faithfulness to the memory of Sychaeus (cf. 4, 27; 4, 552), while *fama* is the reflection of that characteristic in her reputation among others (cf. 4, 170; 4, 221). The two are coupled in *Stat. Theb.* 3, 273: *fama pudorque relictus*; *Val. Fl.* 6, 471-472; cf. *Cic. De Prov. cons.* 14. In *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 379 *Medea* similarly bewails the loss of her good name. *Priscian, Carm.* 1, 212 (*Poet. Lat. min.* 5, 271), in speaking of Joseph, has a possible reminiscence of this line: *ille pudicitiae meruit qui sidera fama*; and in *Carm.* 2, 185-186 (*Poet. Lat. min.* 5, 281), like some other African writers, he defends Dido from the present charge: *qua regnans felix* (a refutation of

infelix Dido? Cf. 4, 68, n. (*infelix*), above) *per saecula vivit / atque pudicitiam non perdit crimine falso*. It is significant that Dido here blames Aeneas for her loss of that *pudor* which, in 4, 27, she had rhetorically vowed to maintain; cf. Hahn in *Cl. Weekly*, 25 (1931), 18.

322. sola: that which Dido feels to be her one real claim to immortality (or even apotheosis). This is a better explanation than that of Forbiger: *qua florebam maxima, etiamsi alias virtutes non habuissem*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 700-702) points out that the roads to heaven through martial achievement or through poetic attainments were obviously not open to Dido.

322. sidera: in Virgil often synonymous with *caelum*; cf. De la Ville de Mirmont, *Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile* (1894), 254, who cites many cases. In some it is literally the sky; in others the wide diffusion of one's reputation is expressed by reference to the heavens; in still others immortality, or particularly that form of it which is given by deification, is intended. Cf. *Ecl.* 5, 51: *Daphnimque tuum tollemus ad astra* (evidently meaning more than 5, 43: *hinc usque ad sidera notus*); 9, 29: *cantantes sublime ferent ad sidera cygni* (sc. *nomen Vari*); *Aen.* 1, 259-260: *sublimemque feres ad sidera caeli / magnanimum Aenean*; 1, 287: *famam qui terminet astris* (sc. *Caesar*); 1, 379: *fama super aethera notus* (sc. *Aeneas*; imitating *Il.* 8, 192; *Od.* 8, 74; 9, 19-20: *εἴμ' Ὀδυσσεὺς . . . / καὶ μὲν κλέος ὀβρανὸν ἔκει*; 19, 108); 3, 158: *tollemus in astra nepotes*; 3, 462; 6, 129-130: *pauci quos . . . / . . . erexit ad aethera virtus*; 7, 99: *nomen in astra ferant* (= 7, 272); 9, 641-642: *sic itur ad astra, / dis genite et geniture deos* (cf. Otto, *Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 43); 11, 125: *quibus caelo te laudibus aequem*; 12, 794-795: *indigetem Aenean scis ipsa et scire fateris / deberi caelo fatisque ad sidera*

323. fama prior. cui me moribundam deseris, hospes?

moribunda *M* (moribundam *M*¹), moribundam (dam in *ras. m. rec.*) π.

323-324. cui . . . restat: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 3, 276 — me *om. Pb* —. 323-324. hospes . . . restat: *Non. p.* 378 *M.* (p. 603 *L.*); *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 424. 323. fama prior: *Gl. Ansil.* 233, 303. 323. cui . . . hospes: *Prisc. Inst.* 13, 24 (*G. L. K.* 3, 16) — me *add. h*; morituram (cf. *Dierschke, De Fide Prisc. in Versibus Verg. . . examinata* (1913), 46); *deseres* (corr. in *deseris*) *K*; *ospes GLK* —; *Schol. Lucan.* 6, 86 — *om. UG*¹ —. 323. moribundam: *Gl. Ansil.* 376, 423.

tolli; *Hor. C.* 1, 1, 6: *evehit ad deos*; 1, 1, 30: *dis miscent superis*; 1, 1, 36; 4, 2, 23-24; *Ov. M.* 7, 60-61: *quo coniuge felix / et dis cara ferar et vertice sidera tangam*; 9, 271-272; 15, 845-846; 15, 874-875; *Ex Pont.* 2, 9, 62: *lucida Pieria tendis in astra via*; 2, 5, 57; *Prop.* 1, 8, 43; *Manil.* 1, 802-804; *Stat. Theb.* 3, 155: *vos uteri fortuna mei, qua tangere divos / rebar*; *Silv.* 1, 2, 212-213; *Sil.* 1, 1-2: *ordior arma quibus caelo se gloria tollit / Aeneadum*; 1, 277; 2, 337; 8, 593-594; 10, 308; 12, 411; 13, 791; *Dracont. Rom.* 5, 329: *sidera sic capies, poteris sic astra mereri*; *Venant. Fort. Misc.* 8, 6, 36 (*Patr. Lat.* 88, 267): *et quascunque sacer vexit ad astra pudor*. These and other cases, collected by Hunziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), 115-119, show that, in Virgil and elsewhere, such expressions vary from pure hyperbole (cf. 4, 177, n. (*ingreditur, etc.*), above) to veritable deification. Hunziker (*op. cit.*, 118, n. 200), like Stephenson (*ad loc.*), seems to doubt the common explanation of our line as "I was on my way to immortality," in spite of that Hellenistic deification of rulers which extended to play such a part at Rome, from Julius Caesar onward (cf. *Trebell. Poll.* 12, 3: *quo* (sc. *Claudio*) *ad deos atque ad sidera demigrante*). We may perhaps observe that in many Greek epitaphs the body is described as received by the earth while the soul goes to the aether (the seat of the stars); cf. Kaibel, *Epigrammata Graeca*, nos. 21, 5; 41, 1-2; 156, 1-2; 261, 5-16 (repeated in several variations); 288, 4-5; 312, 4; 315, 1-2; 325, 5-6; 642, 7; etc.; Rohde, *Psyche*, 2, 4 ed. (1907), 384, n. 2; cf. also the emblems of the star and the snake on the tombstone in *C. I. L.* IX, 3821. But that Dido here refers to any such common

type of immortality seems questionable, and I should prefer to class this statement with the passages quoted in the beginning of this note.

With the verse-ending cf. *Sil.* 10, 578: *sidera adibat*; note also *Mart.* 9, 65, 9-10: *securus adisses / astra*.

323. prior: *Schol. Dan.*: *quae melior fuit sine dubio; nam posterior turpis*. But Burmann and later editors well compare the phrase *fama prior* in *Stat. Silv.* 1, 1, 8 and *Theb.* 4, 32, in the sense of established renown.

323. cui: cf. 2, 677-678: *cui parvos Iulus, / cui pater et coniunx quondam tua dicta relinquitur*; *Ov. H.* 3, 61 (*Briseis to Achilles*): *ibis et, o! miseram cui me, violente, relinquis?* *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 16, 36, 1-2: *dove, o crudel, me sola / lasci?* Mackail (*ad loc.*) interprets *cui* as neuter ('for what'), but the masculine seems suggested by 4, 325-326, where the perils are personal rather than general.

323. moribundam: *Schol. Dan.*: *hoc est quod supra* (4, 308) '*nec moritura tenet crudeli funere Dido*'; *sed ibi invidiose, hic per miserationem*. For the phrase cf. *Lucr.* 3, 129: *qui nobis moribundos deserit artus*; and for Dido's resolution to die 4, 308, n. (*nec, etc.*).

323. deseris: *Schol. Dan.*: *subdistingendum; dubitat enim quo eum nomine potissimum appellet*; and Servius remarks: *dicatur autem ingenti adfectu hos versus pronuntiasse, cum privatim paucis praesentibus recitaret Augustus; nam recitavit primum libros tertium et quartum* (cf. *Suet.-Donat. Vita*, 32; *Serv. Aen.* 6, 861; Ribbeck, *Prolegomena critica* (1866), 58).

323. hospes: Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 134, n. 1) cites Callim.

324. hoc solum nomen quoniam de coniuge restat.
quid moror? an mea Pygmalion dum moenia frater

(qu)id P, quit γ. pigmalion p.

[323] 324. hoc . . . restat: Schol. Lucan. 2, 140 — om. UG¹ —. 324. de coniuge: Gl. Ansil. 162, 154.

325–326. quid . . . destruat: Prisc. Inst. 8, 23 (G. L. K. 2, 389) — mor (corr. in moror) K; pigmalion RBHGK (corr. in pigmallion L); menia D; distruat GK —; Inst. 18, 288 (G. L. K. 3, 361) — pigmalion rDN; dommoenia V; destruit —. 325. quid moror: Gl. Ansil. 479, 62.

frag. 550: *νύμφη Δημοφῶν, ἄδικε ξέρε*. However close the relation of *hospitium*, the *hospes* must always have been regarded as a foreign sojourner rather than as a fellow-citizen (cf. Cic. *Bruil.* 172; and many other cases), and hence as subject to the taboos and restrictions attaching to foreigners; cf. Crawley-Besterman, *Mystic Rose*, 2 ed., 1 (1927), 26–27; etc. Similar notions of foreigners appear in the word *hostis* (cf. Cic. *De Off.* 1, 37: *hostis enim apud maiores nostros is dicebatur quem nunc peregrinum dicimus . . . id nomen durius effecit iam velut; a peregrino enim recessit et proprie in eo qui arma contra ferret remansit*; with which agree Varr. *L. L.* 5, 3; Paul. ex Fest. p. 102 M. (p. 91 Lindsay)). Plays upon the two words are not unknown; e.g., Liv. 1, 12, 8; 1, 58, 8: *Sex. est Tarquinius . . . hostis pro hospite*; 23, 33, 7; Ov. *Ep.* 16, 10: *hospes an hostis eras*. The stages of Aeneas's relation to Dido, in her thought of him, are (1) husband (4, 172; etc.); (2) foreign guest (as here); (3) foreign enemy (4, 424 and n. (*hostem*); 4, 549). With the second cf. also Ov. *H.* 7, 167: *si pudet uxoris, non nupta sed hospita dicar*; 9, 33: *vir mihi semper abest et coniuge notior hospes*; *Ars am.* 3, 39–40: *et famam pietatis habet tamen hospes et ensem / praeuulsi et causam mortis, Elissa, tuae*; Val. Fl. 7, 488; Sil. 8, 50: *Iliaco postquam deserta est hospite Dido*. Donatus on our line remarks: *si mariti, inquit, vocabulo conventus preces meas audire non curas, has vel hospitii religione commotus admitte*. I think the explanation given above is more probable than that of Ussani (in *Atene e Roma*, 10 (1907), 265), who, comparing C. I. L. IX, 1961, explains *hospes* as a *concubina* or *concubinus*.

324. hoc, etc.: with the parenthesis cf. 4, 116, n. (*advertite*), above; Sen. *H. F.* 1–2: *soror Tonantis (hoc enim solum mihi / nomen relictum est)*.

324. quoniam: postpositive in half the instances in Virgil; cf. *Ecl.* 2, 55; 3, 36; 5, 1; G. 2, 228; 4, 437; *Aen.* 5, 22; 8, 323; 9, 156; *Cir.* 119. For its dependence in thought upon *hospes* — “I call you *hospes*, because” — Ladewig (*ad loc.*) compares 1, 65: *Aeole, namque tibi*, etc.; Liv. 5, 44, 1: *cives mei, quando et vestrum beneficium ita tulit et fortuna hoc eguit mea*.

324. coniuge: cf. 4, 338, n. (*coniugis*), below. Probably not a case of brachylogy (in the sense of *de nomine coniugis*), but to be taken literally: from what was formerly a husband all that I have left is one whom I may call *hospes*.

324. restat: Placek, *Re in den Compositis in Vergils Aeneis* (1882), 17, notes that this verb has in Virgil two meanings: (1) ‘remain when all else is lost,’ as here and in 1, 556; 1, 679; 2, 142; 10, 367; 11, 161; and (2) ‘remain over when all else is completed,’ as in 2, 70; 10, 29; 7, 271; 12, 793.

325. quid moror: Schol. Dan.: *utrum ‘quid in hac terra moror,’ an ‘quid in vita moror.’* The latter meaning fits better her own thoughts of suicide and the fact that she makes no appeal to Aeneas to take her with him from Carthage (though at 4, 537–546 she considers in her mind this possibility). For *quid moror* or *quid moror* cf. 2, 102; 6, 528; Hor. C. 2, 17, 6; Ov. *Am.* 3, 6, 77; *M.* 13, 517; Claud. *De VI Cons. Honor.* 316: *quid moror invisam lucem?* Ermoldus, *In Hon. Hludowici*, 2, 51 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 25). In some of these cases, as noted by

326. destruat aut captam ducat Gaetulus Iarbas?
saltem si qua mihi de te suscepta fuisset
ante fugam suboles, si quis mihi parvulus aula

(de)struat P. getulus M. hiarbas b, Donat.

(s)altem P, saltim ab⁶cl.

(a)nte P. soboles (corr. in suboles) abc, soboles et π. paruulus codd.

[325*]

327–328. saltem . . . suboles: Prisc. Inst. 16, 10 (G. L. K. 3, 99) — saltim BK; soboles RDH, sobules LK —; Cledon. *Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 24) — salte (corr. in saltae) cod. Bern. —; Pomp. Comm. (G. L. K. 5, 266) — saltim; soboles BC —. 327. saltem . . . fuisset: Alcuin, *Gram.* 297 (*Patr. Lat.* 101, 896). 327. saltem . . . te: Sacerd. *Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 445). 327. de te suscepta: Gl. Ansil. 172, 1187.

[327*] 328–329. si . . . referret: Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. 4, 5, 23 — paruulus; te tantum —. 328. ante fugam: Gl. Ansil. 55, 356.

Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 703–704), the phrase is used by one preparing for death.

325. Pygmalion: cf. 4, 44, n. (*germani*, etc.), above. The interlocked order should be noted: *mea Pygmalion . . . moenia frater*.

326. Gaetulus Iarbas: cf. 4, 196, n. (*Iarban*); Ov. *H.* 7, 125: *quid dubitas vinciam Gaetulo tradere Iarbae*; F. 3, 551–552: *protinus invadunt Numidae sine vindice regnum, / et potitur capta Maurus Iarba domo*.

327. saltem: Schol. Dan.: *cum extremum aliquid patitur, inde necessitate additur ‘saltem,’ veluti salutem postremo poscentes. vel ‘saltem’ ‘si aliter non potest.’ et hic ostendere vult Didonem, ut est mos inconstantibus animis, prae amore id agere invidiose, quasi a legitimo marito deseratur; quis enim ignorat matrimonia liberorum suscipiendorum gratia iniri?* With the situation cf. Apoll. Rh. 1, 897–898: *λίπε δ’ ἡμῖν ἔπος, τό κεν ἐξανύσαιμι / πρόφρων, ἥ ἄρα δὴ με θεοὶ δώσωσι τεύχεσθαι*; Val. Fl. 3, 317–318: *necdum suboles, nec gaudia de te / ulla mihi*; Claud. *De Rapl. Pros.* 1, 109–110: *ast ego deserta maerens inglorius aula / implacidas nullo solabor pignore curas?* Ovid’s account (perhaps suggested by Eur. *Med.* 488–491, and followed by Chaucer, *Legend of good Women*, Dido, 398–399) differs from that of Virgil; cf. *H.* 7, 133–134: *forsitan et gravidam Didon, scelerate, relinquo, / parsque tui lateat corpore clausa meo* (cf. Val. Fl. 2, 424: *per hunc utero quem linguis Iasona nostro*); but, as observed by Herrmann (in *Aus Unterricht u.*

Forschung, 1 (1929), 122–123), the ancestor of Augustus, that stout defender of the marriage tie, must not be represented as compromised in his relations with Dido, and in this he stands in contrast, not only to the lovers of Medea (cf. Eur. *Med.* 490–491) and other great heroines, but also to Antony and Caesar in their relations to Cleopatra; cf. also Alexander the Great and Thalestris, Queen of the Amazons, as described by Curt. 6, 5, 30. With the phraseology Nettleship (ap. Conington *ad loc.*) quotes Plaut. *Rud.* 552–553: *saltem si mihi / mulierculae essent salvae, spes aliquae forent*. On the chronological implications which may be drawn from this passage cf. Conway in *Cl. Journ.* 26 (1931), 620–622; and on Virgil’s euphemism DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 71. Further views on the relation between Dido and Aeneas are expressed by Humphries in *Intern. Zeitsch. f. Individualpsychologie*, 5 (1927), 346.

327. suscepta: originally of taking up a new-born child (cf. 9, 203), symbolizing an intention to rear it; then, by an easy transfer, of the begetting or the bearing of children; cf. Plaut. *Epid.* 561: *filiam quam ex te suscepi*; Ter. *Andr.* 401; Phorm. 942–943: *ex qua filiam / suscepit*; 967: *unde haec suscepisti tibi*; 1007; Cic. 2 *Verr.* 3, 161; Tusc. 3, 2; Ad Att. 11, 9, 3; Phil. 3, 17; Justin, 11, 10, 3; Vulg. *Iudic.* 11, 2: *habuit autem Galaad uxorem de qua suscepit filios*.

328. ante fugam: Serv.: *et amatorie et*

329. luderet Aeneas, qui te tamen ore referret,

(l)uderet P. tantum Longob. Med. Porc. Pierii. referret (rret in ras.) c.

[328*] 329. qui . . . referret: Schol. Dan. G. 3, 121 — refert V —; [Acro] in Hor. C. 4, 5, 23; Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 506); Gl. Ansil. 481, 260 — ferret —.

amare; nam haec fugam dicit quam ille nominat profectionem; Donat.: non dixit ante navigationem tuam aut ante abscissum tuum, quae solent esse honesta, sed fugam, quae fuerat turpis; cf. 4, 314: mene fugis; 4, 338, where Aeneas calls it fugam (perhaps quoting Dido's term); also 4, 306, n. (decedere).

328. suboles: cf. 4, 33: nec dulcis natos . . . noris?

328. parvulus . . . Aeneas: cf. Catull. 61, 216–220: Torquatus volo parvulus / matris e gremio suae / porrigens teneras manus / dulce rideat ad patrem / semihante labello; Aetna, 594: sub truce nunc parvi ludentes Colchide nati; Tib. 2, 2, 22: ludat et ante tuos turba novella pedes; Mart. 5, 34, 7: inter tam veteres ludat lasciva patronos; Stat. Achill. 1, 321–322: o si mihi iungere curas / atque alium portare sinu contingat Achillen; Theb. 12, 347–348. Our passage is echoed by Juv. 5, 137–139: dominus tamen et domini rex / si vis tu fieri, nullus tibi parvulus aula / luserit Aeneas nec filia dulcior illo (where the scholiast remarks: Virgilium ridet); Paul. Nol. Carm. 24, 513: et nunc in aula parvulus ludit Dei; Vulfinus, Carm. de Marcello, 287 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 4, 973): unica cui proles dulcis ludebat in aula; Baldricus Burguliensis, Carm. 188, 107 (p. 186 Abrahams): praeludat vacua mihi parvus Iulus in aula.

For the diminutive cf. DeWitt, *op. cit.*, 70–71, who notes that while Catullus and the elegists freely use diminutives they are rare in Virgil, and usually accompanied by a pathetic meaning; Gow (in *Cl. Quart.* 26 (1932), 150–157), who lists (151–152) diminutive nouns and adjectives, and thinks (154) that Virgil's reluctance to use them was because they belonged to the speech of daily life and so were too intimate or too vulgar for 'high poetry.' Ladewig, *De Vergilio Verborum Novatore* (1870), 11, lists 25 different diminutives in Virgil, 7 of them in the *Aeneid*, but Glover (*Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 184,

n. 1) calls this the only deliberate diminutive in Virgil. For the tenderness toward children characteristic of the poet cf. Smith in *Cl. Journ.* 26 (1930), 142, n. 3, who compares the reference in 2, 563 to parvi casus Iuli. With the general thought cf. also 4, 33: nec dulcis natos . . . noris? Dido suggests no doubt as to the sex of the child who might have been born (cf. Church, *The Identity of the Child in Virgil's Pollio*, in *Univ. of Nevada Studies*, 3 (1911), 3), and thinks of him as named for his father instead of for his grandfather.

328. aula: suggesting that she desired an heir to the throne to occupy her royal palace. That she thinks of the child as remaining with her rather than being taken by Aeneas to Italy is probably because of the principle that the child of a Roman citizen (and Aeneas has ascribed to him some characteristics of such) and a peregrina not possessing the *conubium* followed the mother and was not subject to the *potestas* of his father; cf. Serv.: secundum ius loquitur; nam ubi non est iustum matrimonium liberi matrem sequuntur; Rossbach, *Untersuch. ü. d. römische Ehe* (1853), 464–465; Meyer, *Der röm. Konkubinat* (1895), 52–54; Ussani (in *Atene e Roma*, 10 (1907), 264–265), who thinks this sentence an admission by Dido that her relation to Aeneas was illegitimate. Zielinski (in *Conferenze Virgiliane tenute alla Univ. catt.* (Milan, 1931), 39–54) discusses Virgil and the Tragedy of Maternity, and observes that, while Ovid makes of Dido a pregnant woman to whom her future child will be the occasion of care rather than a protection or joy, Virgil makes her of the heroine type, resigned if she might but bear within her a potential hero (*id.*, in *Philologus*, 64 (1905), 17). On Dido's childlessness cf. also 4, 68, n. (*infelix*), above.

329. tamen: Serv.: aut sic dixit quasi amatrix, ut supra (4, 85) de Ascanio 'infan-

330. non equidem omnino capta ac deserta viderer.
Dixerat. ille Iovis monitis immota tenebat

ac γ¹, at (corr. in ut) γ², au c, aut π, del. uider&r γ, uideres p. immota c.

331–332. ille . . . lumina: Donat. Aen. 4, 370 — immota —; Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 369 — immota —. 331. Iovis monitis: Gl. Ansil. 317, 19.

dum si fallere possit amorem, aut illud dicit: optarem filium similem vultui, non moribus tuis (indicating that Servius knew the variant tantum for tamen). The elliptic force of tamen (cf. Ecl. 10, 31; Aen. 9, 248; Liv. 1, 26, 12; Ov. H. 7, 7; Plin. Paneg. 31, 2) has been much disputed; most natural seems the meaning 'after all,' i.e., 'even if you abandon me,' though Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 705), without sufficient justification, rejects tamen in favor of the inferior reading tantum. Page (*ad loc.*) would see in the word a mingling of several ideas: "to remind me of thee by his face in spite of all (thy cruelty)," or 'though thou art far away,' or 'with his face at least, though he can do so with nothing else.' Each of these thoughts is suggested by tamen, but none of them is right by itself." Conington (*ad loc.*) well observes in this speech a mixture of tenderness and indignation.

329. ore referret: cf. 7, 49; 12, 348: nomine avom referens (cf. 5, 564), animo manibusque parentem; also 6, 768: qui te nomine reddet. So Ascanius recalled to Dido by his features his absent father; cf. 4, 84, n. (genitoris imagine). On the likeness of children to parents cf. Lucr. 1, 597–598; 4, 1218–1224; Hor. C. 4, 5, 23: laudantur simili prole puerperae; Liv. 10, 7, 3: rettulisse dicitur Decius parentis sui speciem; Ov. H. 6, 124 (of twins): cetera patris habent; M. 13, 443; Sen. Tr. 647–648: vivat, ut possit tuos / referre vultus; Plin. Ep. 5, 16, 9: amisit enim filiam quae non minus mores eius quam os vultumque referebat; 7, 19, 9: matrem . . . reddit ac refert nobis; Apul. M. 5, 13: sic in hoc saltem parvulo cognoscam faciem tuam; Auson. Parent. 23, 1–5: qui nomen vultumque patris, Pauline, gerebas, / amissi speciem qui genitoris eras; / propter quam luctus miserae decedere matris / coeperat, offerret cum tua

forma patrem, / redderet et mores, etc.; Vila Mathildis Reginae, 16 (*Mon. Germ. hist., Scriptores*, 4, 294): quotiens acerbam diem tuae mortis menti induximus hac sola consolatione respiravimus, quod dilectissimi filii nostri vita superstes erat, qui ore, nomine, et habitu te maxime referebat; and with the use of reddere cf. Ov. H. 13, 152; Stat. Silv. 3, 3, 200–201; Tac. Germ. 43. On the alliteration cf. 4, 47, n. (surgere regna).

330. non equidem: cf. Ecl. 1, 11; Aen. 8, 129; 10, 793; Cir. 19; 418; 431.

330. capta: by Iarbas? Cf. 4, 326; Cir. 290: tam longe capta atque avecta. Perhaps it = decepta, or, more likely, means 'betrayed' (cf. 2, 196; 11, 49). Dido had been already decepta (4, 17) by the death of Sychaeus.

330. deserta: cf. Catull. 64, 57, where Ariadne is so described. With the pathos at the end of the speech cf. Quintil. Inst. 6, 2, 7.

331. dixerat: cf. 4, 30, n. (sic effata); 4, 238; 4, 663.

331. Iovis monitis: the mandata of 4, 270. Serv.: bene praescribit, ne ei del. impietatem; cf. 10, 689: Iovis . . . monitis; also 7, 110: sic Iuppiter ipse monebat. Donat.: recte autem dixit Iovis monitis et non magis iussis; iussa enim sunt ubi aliquid iubetur insperatum et novum, Aeneas autem commonitione potius quam iussu instructus est; etc.

331. immota: cf. Od. 19, 209–212: ἀτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς / θυμῷ μὲν γοάουσαν ἔην ἑλταίρε γυναικα, / ὀφθαλμοὶ δ' ὥς εἰ κέρα ἔστασαν ἢ ἐσθῆρος / ἀτρέμας ἐν βλεφάροισιν· δόλφ δ' ὁ γὰρ δάκρυα κέθεν. In some such cases the eyes are fixed on the ground, in shame or meditation; in others (as here; cf. 4, 369) they look directly toward the interlocutor; cf. 7, 249–250: defixa Latinus / obtutu tenet ora soloque immobilis haeret; 8, 520–521: vix ea fatus

332. lumina et obnixus curam sub corde premebat.
tandem pauca refert: 'ego te, quae plurima fando

sub. c. orde c.

refe& (corr. in refert) c.

[331] 332. obnixus: cf. *Gl. Ansil.* 402, 303-304.

333-335. ego . . . promeritam: *Donat. in Ter. Hec.* 487; *Prisc. Inst.* 18, 178 (G. L. K. 3, 291) — teque VR —; *Eugraph. in Ter. Andr.* 330 — enumerare u. n. r. n. promeritam —. 333-334. ego . . . vales: *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 582 — quae p. f. e. u. (quae plurima fando e. u. V, p. q. f. ero TC, quae etc. B) —; *Prisc. Inst.* 17, 69 (G. L. K. 3, 149) — plura R; enumerale R —. 333-334. quae . . . vales: *Schol. Dan. Ecl.* 9, 38. 333. tandem . . . refert: *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 92* (1, p. 44 Riese). 333. plurima fando: *Gl. Ansil.* 448, 348.

erat, defixique ora tenebant / Aeneas Anchisiades et fidus Achates; *Ov. Ep.* 20, 113: luminaque in gremio veluti defixa tenebam; 20, 242: lumina fixa tenens plena pudoris humo; *M.* 6, 304-305: lumina maestis / stant inmota genis (but the situation is so dissimilar as to injure the parallel); 7, 86-88: spectat, et in vultu veluti tum denique viso / lumina fixa tenet, nec se mortalia demens / ora videre putat, nec se declinat ab illo; 14, 592-593; *Dio Cass.* 51, 12, 5 (of Augustus before Cleopatra): ὁ οὖν Καίσαρ συνίει μὲν αὐτῆς καὶ παθαυομένης καὶ πληκτιζομένης, οὐ μέντοι καὶ προσεποιεῖτο, ἀλλ' ἐς τὴν γῆν τοὺς ὀφθαλμοὺς ἐρείσας τοῦτο μόνον εἶπεν, κτλ.; *Stat. Theb.* 2, 173-174: audierant, fixosque oculos per mutua paulum / ora tenent; *Heliod. Aethiop.* 10, 16: ὁ δ' ὅτ' Ἰδέας ἤλκει μὲν τὴν γυναῖκα ὀδυρομένην ὀρών, καὶ πρὸς συμπάθειαν ἐκάμπτετο τὴν διάνοιαν, τὸ δῆμα δ' οἷον κέρας ἢ σίδηρον εἰς τὰ ὀρώμενα τείνας, εἰσθήκει πρὸς τὰς ὠδίνas τῶν δακρύων ἀπομαχόμενος, κτλ.; *Coluth.* 296-297: ἔννεπεν ἡ δ' ἐρέεσσαν ἐπὶ χθονὶ πῆξεν ὀπωπὴν / δηρὸν ἀμυχανέουσα καὶ οὐκ ἡμείβετο νύμφη; *Radewinus Frising. Vit. Theophili,* 501 (*Sitzb. d. kgl. bayr. Akad.* 3 (1873), 111): immolus vultus et lumina fixa tenebat; *Pope, Rape of the Lock*, 5, 5-6: "Not half so fix'd the Trojan could remain, / While Anna begg'd and Dido rag'd in vain." The fixed eyes of Aeneas should be contrasted with the rolling eyes of Dido (4, 363-364), though Glover (*Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 221, n. 4) recalls that his eyes were naturally faciles (8, 310). Here his calm is that of a Stoic, such as Marcus Aurelius (Glover, *l. c.*; Pease in *Cl. Weekly*, 15 (1921), 5); cf. *Jul. Capit.*

M. Antoninus, 16, 5: erat enim ipse tantae tranquillitatis ut vultum numquam mutaverit maerore vel gaudio, philosophiae deditus Stoicae. Servius here remarks: physicum enim est ut qualitatem animi ex oculorum aut corporis stabilitate aut mobilitate noscamus; etc.; cf. *Donat.*: solum Iovem videbat animo, solum stare ante oculos suos, a cuius praeceptis moveri non poterat. In 4, 449 not the eye but the mind of Aeneas is described by the adjective immota; cf. 4, 449, n. (lacrimae volvoluntur inanes). In the underworld Dido repays the fixed look of Aeneas in the present line: 6, 469: illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat.

331. tenebat: on the rhyme between this line and the next cf. 4, 54, n. (amore), above.

332. obnixus: commonly of physical effort, as in 4, 406. The sincerity of Aeneas's struggle and the difference between his emotion and that of Dido are well discussed by Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 124, n.

332. curam: cf. 4, 1, n. (cura); *Schol. Dan.*: vel simpliciter accipe, vel amorem.

332. sub: cf. 1, 36: servans sub pectore volnus; *Cul.* 91: haec cura est subdita cordi.

332. corde premebat: cf. 1, 209: premit altum corde dolorem (cf. *Stat. Theb.* 9, 824); 10, 465: corde premit gemitum; *Val. Fl.* 1, 733-734: talesque prementem / corde metus; *Aug. Conf.* 9, 31: sciebam quid corde premerem; *Dracont. Orest.* 159: corde premens gemitus; 340: haec tacito sub corde premunt; *Ekkehard, Waltharius*, 1347: premit has sub corde loquelas; and, for other cases of the cor as the seat of cares, cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 4 (1909), 934, 31-50.

334. enumerare vales, numquam, regina, negabo
promeritam, nec me meminisse pigebit Elissae,

etnumerare b.

ne (corr. in nec) a. me om. *Mcπ*, *suprascr.* γ. meminisse (corr. in meminisse) c. pigeba (corr. in pigebit) c. elisse M (elissae M²).

[333*] 334-335. numquam . . . promeritam: *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 331 — neutiquam (corr. in numquam) V; reginam B; negas ATC; per meritam V —; *Donat. in Ter. Ad.* 201; *Serv. Aen.* 1, 74 — nec te regina —; 5, 801 — nec te regina —; 6, 664 — neque regina H, etiam regina quam C; permeritam S —.

[333, 334*] 335. nec . . . Elissae: *Prisc. Inst.* 18, 160 (G. L. K. 3, 280) — me om.; pigebat O; elissae VOL —; 18, 187 (G. L. K. 3, 295) — me om.; elissae V(O), aelisse D —; 18, 190 (G. L. K. 3, 298) — me om.; aelisse D, elisse MN, elissae (O) —; 18, 241 (G. L. K. 3, 328) — me om.; elisse MD, elissae (O) —. 325. promeritam: *Gl. Ansil.* 467, 2354; q.v.

333. tandem, etc.: cf. *Vida, Christias*, 3, 25: tandem pauca refert.

333. pauca refert: cf. 4, 30, n. (sic effata); 8, 154: tum sic pauca refert; 10, 17: pauca refert; *Sidon. Carm.* 5, 275: pauca refert; *Anth. Lat. no.* 253, 148 (1, p. 208 Riese): et sic pauca refert; also 4, 116, and n. (paucis); 4, 337: pro re pauca loquar; 6, 672: responsum paucis illa reddidit; and the use of breviter (1, 561; 4, 632 and elsewhere). *Serv. Aen.* 1, 561 says: notandum regum esse breviloquium, ut multis in Vergilio locis probatur; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 10, 621: ubique reges breviter loquentes ostendit; cf. *Keith in Cl. Weekly*, 15 (1921), 50, who discusses Virgilian phrases for brevity of speech, at which the epic style aims. More convincing is Conington's note (*ad loc.*): "Aeneas' speech is longer than Dido's; but 'pauca,' like 'tandem,' seems to express Virg.'s feeling that the words come slowly and with effort, and bear no comparison to what the lover would have said had he given way to his emotion."

333. ego te, etc.: in the rhetorical character of this speech (cf. 4, 314, n. (per ego has), above) Glover suggests (*Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 22, n. 2) that we may perhaps find a hint of Virgil's forsaken profession of the law; cf. 11, 378-444. Servius recognizes this rhetorical quality: controversia est plena, in qua et purgat obiecta, removens a se crimen ingrati, et veniali ulitur statu, profectionem suam retorquens in voluntatem deorum. habet etiam finem; nam purgat obiectam fugam nomine profectionis. An elaborate imitation of this

passage occurs in *Carm. de S. Cassiano*, 470-474 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 4, 194): te numquam, frater dilecte, negabo / promeritum nec tis meminisse pigebit in aevum, / dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos reget artus. / id tamen haut animo duxi nec ad hoc quoque veni, / quo solium hoc subeam, proprium qui sponte reliqui.

333. quae plurima: *Cartault (L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 320) considers Aeneas here both gratuitously insulting (cf. *Rébelliau, De Verg. in inform. mulieb. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 69 and n. 7) and unjust, since Dido has made to her own services only one very modest allusion (4, 317): si bene quid de te merui. But the expression quae plurima fando enumerare vales need not imply that Dido has recounted her services in detail but rather that Aeneas admits in advance however many she might be able to recite; cf. *Schol. Dan.* on line 335: quantacumque enumerare potueris in me tuo beneficio conlata, eorum tibi debere gratiam non repugno. Very unfavorable also is the judgment of Aeneas by Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 46-47, n. 70; but cf. the defense by Pease in *Cl. Weekly*, 15 (1921), 5; and by Rand, *The magical Art of Virgil* (1931), 358-359.

333. fando: cf. 2, 6; 2, 361; *Oros.* 2, 18, 4 (4, 11, 4): quis fando . . . explicet; etc.

334. enumerare: cf. 6, 717.

334. regina: *La Cerda* observes that Aeneas calls her 'queen' rather than 'wife,' and compares *Eur. Tr.* 869-870.

335. promeritam: resuming merui (4,

336. dum memor ipse mei, dum spiritus hos regit artus.

reget Schol. Dan.

336. dum . . . artus: *Apul. Flor.* 16, p. 28 Helm; *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 144 (1, p. 55 Riese); *C. I. L. XIII*, 1568 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr. no.* 173, 4 Engström) — reget —. 336. dum . . . mei: *Donat. in Ter. Eun.* 306 — d(um) V —; *Gl. Ansil.* 190, 131. 336. dum spiritus . . . artus: *Lact. Inst.* 7, 27, 16 — regit add. sup. B² —; *Hier. Ep.* 39, 8, 1 — artus regit (reg. art. B, artus reget KΨ, art. reg. sp. Σ); *id.*, *Praef. in Lib. Iosue* (*Patr. Lat.* 28, 464); *Paul. Petric. De Visil. Nepot.* 76 (*C. S. E. L.* 16, 1, 164) — reget R —; *Paul. Nol. Ep.* 8, 3, 65; *Gl. Ansil.* 190, 135.

317); cf. *Ov. F.* 3, 623: *multa mihi memores, nil non debemus Elissae*; also *Eur. Med.* 533: *δπη γὰρ οὐν ὤνησας, οὐ κακῶς ἔχει.*

335. *me meminisse*: cf. 4, 47, n. (*surgere regna*); and with *meminisse pigebit* 1, 203: *meminisse iuvabit*; *Candidus, De Vita S. Aegili*, 2, 6 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 97): *nec nunc meminisse piget me*. For the thought see *Eur. Med.* 463–464 (Jason to Medea): *καὶ γὰρ εἰ σύ με στυγείς, / ὅκ ἂν δυνάμην σοὶ κακῶς φρονεῖν ποτε*; *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 1079–1080 (Jason's promise to remember Medea): *καὶ λήν οὐ νύκτας ὀϊομαι, οὐδὲ ποτ' ἤμαρ / σεῦ ἐπιλήσασθαι, προφυγῶν μόρον*. In *Ov. F.* 3, 612 Aeneas weeps *admonitu motus, Elissa, tui*; cf. also DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 24.

335. *Elissae*: *Schol. Dan.*: '*Elissae autem Didonis, quae appellata est lingua Punica virago, cum se in pyram sponte misisset, fingens placare manes prioris mariti, cum nubere se velle Iarbae mentiretur*, *id.*, 1, 340: *Dido vero nomine Elissa ante dicta est, sed post interitum Dido appellata est, id est, virago lingua Punica*; etc.; *Serv. Aen.* 4, 36: *ob quam rem* (i.e., her self-immolation) *Dido, id est, virago appellata est; nam Elissa proprie dicta est*; 4, 674: *aut Didonem vocat, ut supra diximus, Poenorum lingua viraginem; nam Elissa dicta est, sed virago est vocata cum se in ignem praecipitavit*. It would appear that her original name was *Elissa*, a Semitic word in which *El* is equivalent to *θεός*, hence another form of the name, *Θεοισσώ* (*Tim. fr.* 23 Müller, in *F. H. G.* 1, 197); cf. Meltzer in *Roscher, Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1886), 1016; *Rosbach in P.-W.* 5 (1905), 426; and *Kowalski, De Didone Graeca et Latina* (1929), 13, who (n. 6) points out that *Elissa* (or *Elisa*) is a Cyprian name; cf. *Justin*, 18, 5;

Hier. Chron. Eus. exord. s. v. Nationes Iaphet; *Comm. in Ezech.* 8, p. 306 Vall. (on *Ezech.* 27, 7); *Isid. Etym.* 9, 2, 34. *Elissa* is used by Virgil in two other places (4, 610; 5, 3), always in the genitive and apparently to avoid the form *Didonis* (which is, however, used by others, e.g., *Priap.* 67, 1; *Serv. passim*), and it is noteworthy that he does not employ oblique cases of *Dido*. (There seems inadequate evidence for the view expressed by Fiore (*La Poesia di Virgilio* (1930), 257) that *Elissa* is a more intimate designation than *Dido*, as also for that of Knight (in *Cl. Weekly* 26 (1933), 203, n. 28) that it is employed for the sake of the pathos of its vowel sounds.) Other writers also use *Elissa*; e.g., *Ov. H.* 7, 1; 7, 102; 7, 193; *Am.* 2, 18, 31; *Ars am.* 3, 40; *F.* 3, 553; 3, 612; 3, 623; *Vell. Pat.* 1, 6, 4: *Elissa Tyria, quam quidam Dido autumant*; *Sil.* 8 times in the genitive and once in the vocative; *Stat. Silv.* 3, 1, 74; 4, 2, 1; 5, 2, 120; *Solin.* 27, 10; *Mart. Cap.* 9, 999; cf. the adjective *Elisseus* (*Sidon. Ep.* 7, 17, 18; 7, 445). On the whole subject cf. *Klausen, Aeneas u. d. Penaten*, 1 (1839), 509, n. 837; *Meltzer, Gesch. d. Karthager*, 1 (1879), 122; *Stampini, Studi di Lett. e Filol.* (1917), 89, n. 3. Aeneas, as noted by Conington (*ad loc.*), speaks of *Dido*, as she herself had done (4, 308), in the third person.

336. *dum, etc.*: cf. 4, 53, n. (*dum, etc.*); *Otto, De Anaphora* (1907), 50; *Carm. de S. Quintino*, 231 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 4, 205): *dum memor ipse mei fuero*.

336. *memor . . . mei*: *Shakesp. Hamlet*, Act 1, Sc. 5, 96–97: "While memory holds a seat / In this distracted globe." *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* cites a letter of Foscolo: *finchè sarò memore di me stesso*. The opposite is *Ter.*

337. pro re pauca loquar. neque ego hanc abscondere furto speravi (ne finge) fugam, nec coniugis umquam

loquo . c¹.ne coniugis *Pγb*, ne (*corr. in nec*) coniugis *a*.

337. *pro re*: *Gl. Ansil.* 469, 2774. 337. *pauca loquar*: *Gl. Ansil.* 429, 869. 337. *neque . . . abscondere*: *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (*G. L. K.* 6, 445).

338–339. *nec . . . veni*: *Anth. Lat. no.* 719, 26–27 (2, p. 186 Riese) — *praetendit aetas C* —; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 12, 658. 338–339. *nec . . . taedas*: *Donat. Aen.* 4, 315 — *nunc LR*; *praecedat LR*; *taedas om. LR* —; *Gl. Ansil.* 386, 39 — *unquam*; *aetas* —. 338. *ne finge*: *Gl. Ansil.* 387, 204.

Eun. 306: *oblitus sum mei*, which *Donatus* explains as '*insanus*,' while of our line he says: *quamdium memor mei fuero, hoc est, sanus et consilio ac sensu integro*.

336. *spiritus, etc.*: cf. *Il.* 9, 609–610: *εἰς δ' κ' αὐτῇ / ἐν στήθεσσι μὲν καὶ μοι φίλα γούνατ' ὀρώρη*; 22, 387–388; *δφρ' ἂν ἐγὼ γε / ξωοῖσιν μετέω καὶ μοι φίλα γούνατ' ὀρώρη*; *Ar. Thesm.* 926: *οὐ γὰρ προδώσω σ' οὐδέποτε, ἦν περ ἐμπνέω*; *Plat. Apol.* p. 29 d: *ἔωσπερ ἂν ἐμπνέω καὶ οἷός τε ὦ, οὐ μὴ παύσομαι, κτλ.*; *Herond.* 1, 90: *ἔστ' ἂν ἐμπνέ(η) Γυλλίς*; *Cic. N. D.* 3, 94: *dum quidem spirare potero*; *Ov. M.* 9, 616–617: *nec taedia coepli / ulla mei capiam, dum spiritus iste manebit*; *Luc.* 1, 363: *dum movet haec calidus spirantia corpora sanguis*; *Plut. Eum.* 5: *βοηθήσαν μέχρι ἂν ἐμπνέη*; *Synes. Ep.* 44; *C. I. L. VI*, 1756 b 15–16: *cum vila maneret / corporis atque artus spiritus hos regeret*; *Aurel. Reom. in Mon. Germ. hist., Epist.*, 6, 131: *dum spiritus hos regit artus*; *Alcuin, Ep.* 23 (*in Mon. Germ. hist., Epist.*, 4, 60): *quamdium spiritus hos regat artus*; *Shakesp. Tempest*, Act 2, Sc. 2: "While Stephano breathes at nostrils"; *Metastasio, Didone abband.* Act 1, Sc. 17: *fin ch' io viva, o Didone, / dolce memoria al mio pensier sarai*.

336. *regit artus*: cf. *Prud. Cont. Symm.* 2, 186: *male rexerit artus*. The future (*reget*) might seem more natural, on the analogy of *Ecl.* 5, 76; *Aen.* 1, 607–608; and passages just quoted; it is, in fact, supported by some testimonia (see above) but not by the best MSS. On the rhythm of this line cf. *Fowler in Cl. Rev.* 33 (1919), 97.

337. *pro re pauca*: cf. 4, 116, n. (*paucis*); 4, 333, n. (*pauca refert*); *Sen. H. F.* 401–402:

pauca pro causa loquar / nostra; *Steph. Leod. Vita S. Lamberti (Acta Sanctorum, Sept. 5 (17 Sept.), 584 D)*: *pro re pauca loquar*; *Serv.*: *remoto ingrati crimine descendit ad causam*; to which the *Schol. Dan.* add: *et proprie, id est, si rei magnitudinem cogites, 'pauca'*. Most orators, however, begin by announcing their intended brevity, and *Page (ad loc.)* compares *Acts*, 24, 4: *ἵνα δὲ μὴ ἐπὶ πλείον σε ἐνκόπτω*. With the rather legalistic character of these lines (cf. *Sall. Jug.* 102, 12: *Bocchus . . . pauca pro delicto suo verba facit*; etc.) *DeWitt (The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 51) compares the ἀγών in *Eur. Med.* 446–626; while *Donatus* says: *incipit iam obiecta purgare vel refutando excludere*. Cf. also *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 426, n. 1, who emphasizes Aeneas's return from the emotion which began to appear in the preceding line to a calmer utterance. The phrase *pro re* may mean "as well as circumstances allow" (cf. *Lucr.* 6, 1281; *Liv.* 7, 33, 3), that is, as *Conington (ad loc.)* remarks, "the urgency of the case admits only a brief reply", though *Page (in Cl. Rev.* 7 (1893), 417) more probably renders, "I will now briefly deal with the charge."

337. *abscondere*: cf. *Krause, De Vergilii Usurpatione Infinitivi* (1878), 92. For similar meanings cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 162, 49–63.

337. *furto*: like *furtim* (2, 18; 2, 258; 3, 50; etc.), as in 6, 24, etc.

338. *ne finge*: cf. 7, 438: *ne tantos mihi finge melus*; also 4, 116, n. (*advertite*). A note of *Servius* on 4, 337 seems based on a different punctuation: *speravi (ne finge fugam), nec, etc.*, for on *neque ego hanc* he remarks: '*pro-*

339. praetendi taedas aut haec in foedera veni.
me si fata meis paterentur ducere vitam

thedas *M* (taedas *M*), te edas (*corr. in ta edas*) γ. haud (*pro aut*) *Goth. pr.*

[338*]

340-343. me . . . colerem: *Serv. Aen. 12, 15* — dulcesque —. 340-341. me . . . curas: *C. I. L. V Suppl. Ital. 417* (= *Carm. Lat. epigr. no. 922, 3-4 Bücheler*) — (me si fata me)is; (auspiciis e)t —. 340-341. meis auspiciis: *Gl. Ansil. 363, 145*.

fectionem' subaudis; nam posteriori non potest iungi, ne sit confessio. But Aeneas's use of *fugam* is not admission on his part so much as quotation of the term used by Dido (4, 328; cf. 4, 314), and to understand with *hanc* a suppressed *profectionem* (a word not suited to the dactylic hexameter) would be harsh.

338. nec . . . aut: as in 4, 501-502.

338. coniugis: Aeneas, not Dido, and probably with allusion to *coniuge* in 4, 324, as Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 707) well observes.

339. praetendi: Schol. Dan.: *probat non esse matrimonium; quia illa dixerat* (4, 316) 'per conubia nostra.' et est quasi status finis latens: quid sint legitimae nuptiae. et hic Aeneas inducit agentem nullo se matrimonii iure posse constringi, qui neque confarreatione Didoni coniunctus fuerat, ut flamine et flaminicae convenit . . . et 'taedas' quidem quantum ad ignem pertinet, per quem mos confarreationis firmabatur, dixit; scilicet ne aut legitime iugatam contra fas reliquisset videretur, aut foedus, id est, fidem rupisset perpetuae castimoniae, quia cum fuissent iuncti, scirent tonuisse; quae res dirimit confarreationes (comparing 4, 122; 4, 161). Cf. *G. 4, 230; Aen. 4, 18, n. (thalami taedaeque); 7, 388; Cul. 246-247; Octavia, 570-571: hic mihi iugales praeferat taedas deus / iungalque nostris igne Poppeam toris*; 694-695: *Caesari iuncta es tuo / taeda iugali*. That the torches in the marriage ceremony were held by others than the bridegroom is not a serious difficulty, for we might perhaps assume a causative meaning in the verb. There may lurk also a double entendre; Aeneas has not held out before himself (or Dido) any such prospect of formal marriage. Cf. what Donatus says: *hoc factum, licet imaginaria velut nuptiarum sollemnitate, praecessisse fatetur,*

sed oratoria virtute dissolvit definiens quid sit matrimonium; iunctus sum, inquit, tibi, sed illud non potest coniugium vocari; non enim semper mulieris ac viri conventio matrimonium facit. aliud vocatur quod gessimus. quale enim matrimonium est ubi nullus testis interfuit, nulla ex more sollemnitas, nulla pactio, faces nullae, nulla ipsius foederis consecratio?

339. haec in foedera: *Serv.: aut matrimonii, et iungendum est superiori; aut certe ad posteriora pertinet, et hoc dicit: non ad hoc veni, ut hic morarer . . . ut cum vellem discedere, non liceret.* The former seems the correct meaning; cf. 4, 99, n. (*hymenaeos*). We may render "nor did I ever enter into this compact (of which you speak)"; cf. 10, 901-902: *non sic ad proelia veni, / nec tecum meus haec pepigit mihi foedera Lausus*; *Ov. Ars am. 2, 579: veniunt ad foedus amantes*; *Sil. 2, 416: furtivaque foedera amantum*; etc. Quotations of this phrase in American legal decisions are collected by Radin in *Cl. Journ. 15* (1920), 304-306.

340. me si, etc.: cf. 6, 461-463: *me iussa deum . . . / imperiis egere suis* (cf. Fiore, *La Poesia di Virgilio* (1930), 286); 11, 112: *nec veni, nisi fata locum sedemque dedissent*; and, for other similar passages, Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 302, n. 1, who cites 5, 709; 8, 131-133; 12, 676-677. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 429-440) attempts, by a scrutiny of numerous cases of *fata* in the *Aeneid*, to show that they are the forces which ordain, while the gods are the ministers who carry out their ordinances (cf. 4, 614, n. (*fata Iovis*) below). Dietsch (*Theologumenon Vergilianorum Particula* (1853), 26) tries to distinguish between our passage and *Od. 16, 148-149: εἰ γὰρ πῶς εἴη ἀντάγρετα πάντα βροτοῖσι, / πρῶτον κεν τοῦ πατρὸς ἐλοιμένα νόστιμον ἦμαρ*; and *Sen. Oed.*

341. auspiciis et sponte mea componere curas,
urbem Troianam primum dulcisque meorum

componere γαβ¹.

[340] 341. sponte . . . curas: *Cledon. Ars (G. L. K. 5, 45)* — componere —. 341. sponte mea: *Gl. Ansil. 535, 262*.

[340*] 342-343. dulcisque . . . colerem: *Serv. Aen. 10, 59*.

882-886: *fata si liceat mihi / fingere arbitrio meo, / temperem zephyro levi / vela, ne pressae gravi / spiritu antennae tremant*; for those passages deal with details and ours with the whole principle of Aeneas's life and action. Wilamowitz (in *Deutsche Rundschau*, 125 (1930), 19) observes that Virgil's conception of fate is only a reversed picture of the facts of experience; it did happen so, therefore it was to happen so. On fate cf. also introd., n. 437, above. The Stoic resignation here shown by Aeneas is compared by Grenier (*The Roman Spirit*, English trans. (1926), 305) to the sacrificial spirit of Augustus. For the very effective quotation of lines 340-344 by Pitt in 1801 cf. Platt, *Byways in the Classics* (1905), 53. On the accidental acrostics in lines 340-344 (*Maure*) and 341-345 (*aures*) cf. 4, 84, n. (*aut, etc.*).

340. meis . . . auspiciis: Schol. Dan.: *ideo quia maiores omnia auspiciato gerebant. ergo 'auspiciis' dispositionibus. potest et 'auspiciis' dixisse ominibus, quia in iure augurali auspiciis dicitur quod non petentibus nobis ad ea quae in animo habemus vice ominis offertur; vult enim ostendere Aeneas semper animo voluisse, ut quae mente agileret offerrentur auspicio et augurio firmarentur; unde, si bene advertas, singula hic illi loco in tertio (3, 85-89) ad singula redduntur. nam quod ibi in precatone, ubi augurio petit ea quae rogaverat firmari, hic in reputatione comprehendit: ibi enim dixit (3, 86-87) 'serva altera Troiae / Pergama,' hic 'urbem Troianam primum'; ibi (3, 87) 'reliquias Danaum atque inimitis Achilli,' hic 'dulcesque meorum reliquias colerem'; ibi (3, 86) 'mansuram urbem,' hic 'tectis alta manent'; ibi (3, 88) 'ubi ponere sedes,' hic 'recidiva manu posuissim Pergama victis'; ibi (3, 88) 'quove ire iubet,' hic 'Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo'; ibi (3, 89) 'da pater augurium,' hic 'me si fata*

meis paterentur ducere vitam auspiciis. alii 'auspiciis' potestate (citing 4, 102-103) . . . vel quae animo meo volueram et mente cogitarem; non enim prius auguria poscebantur quam animo ac mente agileretur, de quibus consulturi essent. Many would accept the penultimate one of these explanations, noting that an emperor acted *suis auspiciis*; cf. *Liv. 21, 40, 3*, where Scipio speaks of *meis auspiciis*.

340. ducere vitam: cf. 2, 641: *me si caelicolae voluissent ducere vitam*; 3, 315: *vitamque per extrema omnia duco*; *Lucr. 2, 997*; *Hor. Epod. 17, 63*; *Sen. Ep. 45, 10*.

341. sponte mea: *Serv.: modo nomen est; nam et genus et casum habet* (and he compares occasional uses of *mane* and *forte*). Charisius, *Inst. gram. 1* (*G. L. K. 1, 49*) cites a nominative *spons*, used by Ausonius (*Technop. 12, 11, p. 165 Peiper*), but elsewhere the word is found only in the ablative and in Augustan Latin usually with *mea, tua, sua*, or *propria*. Lendrum (in *Cl. Rev. 3* (1889), 165) compares *Tac. Ann. 12, 42*.

341. componere: cf. 1, 249: *placida compostus pace*; *Rut. Nam. 1, 161: sive datur patriis vitam componere terris*.

342. urbem Troianam: = *Troiam*; cf. 1, 623-624: *urbis / Troianae*; 8, 36: *Troianam . . . urbem*; 3, 441: *Cumaeam . . . urbem*; also 3, 133: *Pergameam* (sc. *urbem*). With the thought cf. *Ov. H. 7, 143-144: Pergama vix tanto tibi erant repelenda labore / Hectore si vivo quanta fuere forent*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 708) remarks that Troy is here divided into three parts, city, palace, and citadel, as in 4, 347-348 Carthage has two: citadel and city.

342. primum: Schol. Dan.: *id est, hoc vellem praecipue*; cf. 2, 677.

342. dulcis . . . reliquias: is there perhaps a faint suggestion of things at Troy

343. reliquias colerem, Priami tecta alta manerent,
et recidiva manu posuissem Pergama victis.

reliquias *b.* colere *M* (colerem *M*¹). alta *add. sup. c.*

[340, 342] 343. manerent: *Gl. Ansil.* 356, 597; *q.v.*

344. recidiva . . . victis: *Charis. Inst. gram.* 1 (*G. L. K.* 1, 99). 344. recidiva: *Gl. Ansil.* 486, 117; 486, 120; *Gl. Abstr.* 75, 14; *Gl. Aa*, 341, 101 — recidiora —; *Gl. Verg.* (*C. G. L.* 4, 461, 24) — recidiba (recidiva *abefg*) —; *Gl. Scaligeri* (*C. G. L.* 5, 609, 34) — recidua —.

connected with the memory of Creusa? Or at least of ruins hallowed to him by the tragedy of the innocent? Cf. Fiore, *La Poesia di Virgilio* (1930), 257; also *id.*, 194–195, for the sentiment everywhere shown in Aeneas's recollections of Troy. Kappes-Wörner (*ad loc.*) would see here a revelation of the essential *pietas* of Aeneas. In any case Virgil leaves the question, like some others, in a delicate and reticent uncertainty. It may be here observed that some traditions (in Arctinus, Acusilaus, and others) represented Aeneas as having really stayed at Troy and restored the Trojan kingdom; cf. Wörner in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1884), 164–165. Possibly the poet, with his tendency to suggest conflicting traditions, is here hinting at this.

343. *colerem*: this may = *incolerem*, unless *reliquias* here has a wider meaning than 'buildings' or 'ruins' (the *cineres patriae* . . . *supremos* of 10, 59), and refers to 'relics' associated with those dear to him. Conington (*ad loc.*) would see here a case of *zeugma* with the two objects *urbem* and *reliquias*, the latter in the second sense suggested; cf. *Hor. Ep.* 2, 1, 7: *dum terras hominumque colunt genus*.

343. *Priami*, etc.: cf. 2, 56: *Troiaque nunc staret, Priamique arx alta maneres*; 4, 312: *et Troia antiqua maneret*; *Od.* 3, 130: *Πριάμοιο πόλιν . . . αἰπήν*.

343. *tecta alta*: cf. 7, 413: *lectis hic Turnus in altis*.

343. *manerent*: 'of restoration to permanence,' according to Conington (*ad loc.*); *a me restituta etiamnum adessent*, according to Forbiger (*ad loc.*). Peerlkamp, however, followed by Ribbeck and Sparrow (*Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 143–145), would not admit this meaning, but — I think unjustifiably — delete the second

half of the verse and leave an unfinished line; cf. 4, 44, n. (*germanique*, etc.).

344. *recidiva*: *Schol. Dan.*: *post casum restituta. alii recidivum proprie dicunt quod excisum denuo nascitur*; cf. 7, 322: *funestaeque iterum recidiva in Pergama taedae*; 10, 58: *dum Latium Teucris recidivaque Pergama quaerunt* (where it refers to a Troy rebuilt on a new site); *Eur. Tr.* 1160–1161: *μή Τροίαν ποτὲ / πεσοῦσαν ὀρθώσειεν*; *Ov. F.* 4, 45: *ille dedit Cypri recidiva vocabula Troiae*; *Sen. Tr.* 472: *recidiva (rediviva cod. E) ponas Pergama*; and in *Sil.* 1, 106, the *gens recidiva Phrygum*. The word *recidivus* appears first in this line; cf. Ladewig, *De Vergilio Verborum Novatore* (1870), 5. The present sentence is an answer to 4, 312–313.

344. *manu*: perhaps of his participation in the rebuilding of the walls by physical labor (cf. *G.* 2, 155: *tot congesta manu prae-ruptis oppida saxis*; *Aen.* 9, 144–145: *moenia Troiae / Neptuni fabricata manu*), or, as Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 188) would hold, in the sense of *arte bellica*; cf. 2, 434; 9, 592: *fortemque manu fudisse Numanum*; 9, 702; 11, 116; 11, 289; 12, 23; 12, 627; Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 3. With *ponere* the former explanation seems preferable; cf. 1, 264; *moenia ponet*.

344. *Pergama*: cf. *Serv. Aen.* 1, 95: *moenibus altis: propter Pergama, quae altissima fuerunt, ex quibus omnia alta aedificia 'pergama' vocatur, sicut Aeschylus dicit* (*Prom.* 956). The Greek forms of the word are ἡ Πέργαμος, τὸ Πέργαμον, and τὰ Πέργαμα or Πέργαμα Τροίης, and, after being first used as a proper noun for the citadel of Troy, it was applied in Greek, as Servius says, to citadels in general. Virgil uses the word 18 times

345. sed nunc Italiam magnam Gryneus Apollo,
Italiam Lyciae iussere capessere sortes;

grineus *a*, grynaeus *p*.

liciae *γ*. capessere *γ*, capassere *a*¹.

345–346. *Italiam* . . . *sortes*: *Serv. Aen.* 3, 332.

[345] 346. *Italiam* . . . *sortes*: *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. S.* 39. 346. *Lyciae sortes*: *Gl. Ansil.* 340, 200 — *liciae* —.

(including 4, 426) and the adjective *Pergameus* 5 times.

345. *sed nunc*: Gercke (*Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 63) thinks Dido understands *nunc* not merely as adversative to the contrary to fact condition just mentioned but as a new, unexpected, and terrible announcement by Apollo through the mouth of Aeneas; cf. the threefold *nunc* in 4, 376–377.

345. *Italiam*: many writers on the growth of the *Aeneid* note the gradual, and sometimes inconsistent, development of Aeneas's knowledge of the goal of his wanderings (cf. Henselmanns, *Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis* (1914), 15; 27; 29; 43; 45, n. 1; 110; Howe in *Studies in Philol.* 19 (1922), 31–41), due to the different times at which the various books of the poem were composed. It would appear that Aeneas while still in Asia Minor knew of Italy, but while the shade of Creusa tells of *Hesperia, Italia*, and the *Thybris* (2, 780–784), and Aeneas himself speaks (1, 205–206; 1, 380; cf. the words of Ilioneus in 1, 554) of his journey toward Italy and Latium, which Dido sneeringly recognizes (4, 432, where see my note), and this is again mentioned in 5, 82–83; etc. (cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 87; Pease in *Cl. Phil.* 12 (1917), 7 (on the type of oracle which names merely the country where a colony is to be planted); Crump, *The Growth of the Aeneid* (1920), 19; but contrast Ogle in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 45 (1924), 261), there seems no previous allusion to such a prediction by Grynean Apollo or the Lycian oracle. Kvítala (*Vergil-Studien* (1878), 80) would find a hint of these prophecies in 3, 4–6: *diversa exsilia et desertas quaerere terras / auguriis agimur divom, classemque sub ipsa / Antandro et Phrygiae molimur montibus Idae*; but Gryneum and

Antandros are, by sea, about eighty miles apart. On the other hand, Henselmanns (*op. cit.*, 33–34) explains the geographic allusions *Gryneus* and *Lyciae* as mere 'arabesque' epithets of Apollo, in the common Alexandrian literary manner, comparing 3, 85, where, at Delos, Aeneas calls upon Apollo of Thymbra (in the Troad; see below); cf. 3, 161–171; *Serv.* (quoted below).

345. *magnam*: cf. 1, 569: *Hesperiam magnam*; 7, 4: *Hesperia in magna*. Perhaps the term here suggests that Aeneas is to rule not merely a different country from Dido's but a greater one.

345. *Gryneus*: *Serv.*: *Clazomenae civitas est Asiae . . . iuxta hanc nemus est Gryneum, ubi Apollo colitur. inde ergo nunc epitheton dedit, licet in Delo acceperit oraculum*; cf. *Ecl.* 6, 72–73: *his tibi Grynei nemoris dicatur origo, / ne quis sit lucus quo se plus iacet Apollo* (and the long note of the Scholia Danielis). In this grove on the coast of Aeolis Calchas and Mopsus had a contest in divination, described in a poem of Euphron translated into Latin by Gallus. On Apollo Gryneus cf. the materials assembled by Wernicke in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 46; Jessen in *P.-W.* 7 (1912), 1901–1902; Cook, *Zeus*, 2 (1925), 489, n. Apollo was looked upon as a director of colonies (*ἀρχηγέτης*); cf. *Aen.* 6, 59 (and Norden's n.); Pease in *Cl. Philol.* 12 (1917), 1–20; Ogle in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 45 (1924), 270. The occasion upon which the consultation of Apollo Gryneus and of the Lycian *sortes* took place seems to have been before Aeneas finally left Asia for the West; cf. Saunders in *Cl. Quart.* 19 (1925), 87. Klausen, however, thinks (*Aeneas u. d. Penaten*, 1 (1839), 353, n. 565) that the Lycian god is the same as the Delian, as in 3, 85 Aeneas at Delos addresses Apollo by

347. hic amor, haec patria est. si te Karthaginis arces
Phoenissam Libycaeque aspectus detinet urbis,

carthaginis *Ppybc*, cartaginis *a*. arces aliter altae γ (cf. 4, 265).

poenissam *b*¹. libice γ . demeret *p*¹ (corr. ex detinet), def. Sabbadini; cf. Schol. Dan.: "sane quidam in novis et emendatis libris pro 'detinet' 'demeret' inventum adserunt." urbes *P* (urbis *P*¹).

347. hic . . . patria: Mar. Vict. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 6, 27). 347. haec patria: Gl. Ansil. 276, 41 — hec —.

348. Phoenissam: Gl. Ansil. 239, 204 — fenissam —; *q*.v.

the epithet of *Thymbraee*. Masera (ad loc.) would detect here the use by Virgil of other sources parallel to those which he usually follows.

346. *Italiam*: on the anaphora cf. 3, 522–524: *videmus / Italiam. Italiam primus conclamat Achates, / Italiam laeto socii clamore salutant*; Otto, *De Anaphora* (1907), 50; Schol. Dan.: *necessaria repetitio Italiae, quia ibi ei dicebatur imperium, et ipsa est causa navigandi*.

346. *Lyciae*: Serv.: *nec hinc accepit responsum, sed sic dixit 'Lyciae' ac si diceret 'Apollineae'* (cf. 4, 345, n. (*Italiam*)); also 4, 143 for the connection of Apollo with Lycia; Prop. 3, 1, 38: *provisum est Lycio vota probante deo*. If any attempt were made to localize these predictions in Lycia, which was much farther removed from the course of Aeneas's wanderings than was even Gryneum, we might place them at Patara (cf. 4, 143, n. (*Xanthique fluentia*), above), but this seems unlikely. Wilamowitz (ap. Schueler, *Quaest. Vergilianae* (1883), 10, n. 1) considers these Lycians to be the Lycians of Homer and the Lycian oracle to have been at Troy rather than at Patara. Porphyrio ad Hor. C. S. 37 remarks: *Roma si vestrum est opus Iliaequae: quare Romam opus Dianae et Apollinis dicat, nondum video; nisi forte ex lectione Vergiliana hoc concepit, ubi frequenter dicitur Apollinis oraculis instructum Aeneam Italiam petisse*.

346. *capessere*: cf. 5, 703: *Italasne capesseret oras*; 8, 507: *Tyrrhenaque regna capessam*; 11, 324: *alios finis aliamque capessere gentem*; Cic. Ad Att. 10, 9, 1: *Melitam igitur, opinor, capessamus*; Val. Fl. 1, 74: *freta iussa capessat*; Schol. Dan.: *occupare. et ideo fre-*

quentativo verbo usus est, quia multas se dicit super hoc sortes accepisse. quidam 'capessere' pro 'ire' accipiunt, ut Titinius Lucius, 'domum se capessit'.

346. *sortes*: on *sortes* in connection with oracular sites cf. Pease on Cic. De Div. 1, 12; 1, 34; Serv. Aen. 7, 269: *sortes modo abusive pro oraculis posuit, nam ducuntur sortes et hic a Fauno oraculum, non sortes, acceperat*; also Aen. 6, 72, where Aeneas speaks of the *sortes arcanaque fata* of Apollo; 7, 269: *non patrio ex adyto sortes*.

347. hic . . . haec: cf. 6, 129: *hoc opus, hic labor est*; 7, 122: *hic domus, haec patria est*; 11, 739: *hic amor, hoc studium*; Anth. Lat. no. 21, 110 (1, p. 89 Riese): *hic labor, haec ars est*. Schol. Dan.: *an quia Dido dixerat etiam illud (4, 307) 'nec te noster amor?' With this sense of amor cf. Ecl. 7, 21.*

347. *patria*: cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 5, n. 1, for evidence that Italy was considered the original home of Dardanus, and hence that Aeneas was returning to the land of his ancestors.

347. *Karthaginis arces*: cf. Auson. p. 414, 23 Peiper: *in freta Sicaniae et Carthaginis exulat arces*; also Aen. 1, 20: *Tyrias . . . arces*. With the argument of these lines La Cerda (ad loc.) compares Stat. Theb. 1, 277–280: *hic tibi templi / gratus honos, placet Ida nocens mentilaque manes / Creta tuos. me Tantaleis consistere lectis / quae tandem invidia est?* Cf. 4, 349, n. (*quae, etc.*), below.

348. *Phoenissam*: an emphatic 'run-over' word; cf. Schol. Dan.: *multum ponderis habet sensus cum epitheta ista 'Phoenissam' et 'Teucros' ponit*; 4, 23, n. (*impulsi*); also, for *Phoenissam* = *Karthaginiensem*, 4, 75, n. (*Sidonias*); 4, 529, n. (*Phoenissam*).

349. quae tandem Ausonia Teucros considerare terra
invidia est? et nos fas exera quaerere regna.
me patris Anchisae, quotiens umentibus umbris

ausonia . *b*. teucro (corr. in teucros) *b*, teucris *c*¹. consistere *m*.

exera *P* (externa *P*¹), exter. *a* γ .

ma (corr. in me) γ . ancisae *M* (anchisae *M*¹). umentibus *M* (umentibus *M*¹), humentibus γ . Verba umentibus . . . quotiens per haplographiam om. π .

349–350. quae invidia: Gl. Ansil. 477, 28.

[349] 350. et . . . regna: Prisc. Inst. 3, 4 (G. L. K. 2, 85) — fas est exera DK —.

351–352. me . . . surgunt: Prob. in Ecl. 6, 31 — humentibus; quotiens . . . terras om. *V*; aperit *M* —. 351–352. quotiens . . . terras: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 119. 351. me . . . Anchisae: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 379. 351. patris Anchisae: Charis. Inst. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 1, 67).

348. *detinet*: Schol. Dan.: *potest pro 'delectat' accipi, ut (8, 311) 'capiturque locis'*; cf. Ecl. 10, 45; Hor. C. 1, 33, 14; Ov. H. 4, 110. On the reading *demeret* see Chatelain in *Bibl. de l'École des hautes Études*, 70 (1887), 380, who defends it as a *lectio difficilior*. Conington thought it might mean 'earns your favor'; Nettleship (in Conington's 4th ed., ad loc.) suggested that it might be a corruption for *demorat*, 'detains'.

349. *quae, etc.*: Schol. Dan.: *hoc ad illud pertinet (4, 311–312) 'quid si non arva aliena domosque ignotas peteres.'* Cf. Stat. Theb. 1, 277–280 (quoted at 4, 347, n. (*Karthaginis arces*), above); and the use of οὐ νέμεσος (Il. 3, 156; 14, 80), or οὐ νέμεσητόν (Callim. Hymn. 4, 16).

349. *Ausonia*: cf. 3, 378: *Ausonio possis considerare portu*; 6, 66–67: *da . . . / . . . Latio considerare Teucros*; 6, 807: *aut metus Ausonia prohibet consistere terra?* *Ausonia* and its derivatives are used once in the *Georgics* and 38 times in the *Aeneid*; cf. Braumüller, *Über Tropen u. Figuren in Vergils Aeneis*, 2 (1882), 9; 14.

349. *considerare*: for the infinitive clause with *quae . . . invidia est* cf. Steltzer, *Ueber den Gebrauch des Infinitiv bei Vergil* (1875), 21; Krause, *De Vergilii Usurpatione Infinitivi* (1878), 75; Catal. 11, 8: *nunc superesse patri quae fuit invidia?* Cf. also φθίβος with the infinitive, as in Eur. Hec. 288.

350. *et nos*: Donat.: *quia et ipsi Didoni provenerat ut in alienis regionibus imperaret.*

nullus autem melius et robustius vincitur quam qui proprio superatur exemplo.

350. *fas*: like *licet*, but more solemn, and of permission accorded by superhuman powers; cf. Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 342.

350. *exera . . . regna*: cf. Ov. H. 7, 10: *quaeque ubi sint nescis, Itala regna sequi*; 7, 13–14: *quaerenda per orbem / altera, quaesitast altera terra tibi*; Alcuin, *Carm.* 1, 47 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 170); Walafridus Strabo, *Ad Hlothar. Imp.* 61 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 415); Iohannes Scottus, *Carm.* 2, 1, 59 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 529). The positive of *exterus* is infrequent in classical Latin and in Virgil found only here.

350. *quaerere regna*: cf. 4, 47, n. (*surgere regna*); 5, 222: *currere remis*; also 3, 4: *desertas quaerere terras*; 4, 468: *Tyrios deserta quaerere terra*; 5, 83; 7, 393: *nova quaerere lecta*. This line is quoted by Ruodlieb; cf. Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, 2 (1923), 553.

351. *me*: significant in position and by its repetition at the beginning of 4, 354.

351. *patris Anchisae*: in the same position in the verse in 4, 427; 5, 31; 10, 534; for such phrases cf. Carter, *Epitheta Deorum* (1902), 11; Moseley, *Characters and Epithets* (1926), 71; vi; Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 79–80, and n. 12. With the thought cf. 5, 722–740 (where Anchises appears to Aeneas); 6, 695–696: *tua me, genitor, tua tristis imago / saepius occurrens haec limina tendere adegit* (6, 694 expresses Anchises's

352. nox operit terras, quotiens astra ignea surgunt,
admonet in somnis et turbida terret imago;

[351*]

353. admonet . . . imago: *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. 1, 24, 15.* 353. et . . . imago: *Serv. Aen. 6, 695* — te (*pro et*) *FC*; turbida *M* —. 353. turbida: *Gl. Ansil. 575, 175; q.v.*

concern for Aeneas's peril at Carthage); 10, 33-34: *responsa secuti / quae superi manesque dabant*. This apparition has not been previously mentioned and must have come before the appearance of Mercury; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 393. Mackail (*ad loc.*) well suggests that such recurrent dreams had produced no impression on Aeneas till "light was flashed on them by the daylight appearance and imperious orders of Mercury" — a good piece of psychological insight on Virgil's part. Anchises during his life had acted like the Roman *paterfamilias* (with Aeneas somewhat in the position of a minor; cf. 2, 635-663; 2, 687-691; 2, 699-704; 2, 732-734; 3, 9; 3, 102-115; 3, 178-189; 3, 263-267; 3, 472-473; 3, 525-529; 3, 539-543; 3, 558-560; 3, 610-611), hence it was not surprising that the thought of Anchises should haunt Aeneas's dreams. That this was a dream rather than a vision seems likely; cf. Stearns, *Studies of the Dream as a technical Device in Latin Epic and Drama* (1927), 27. John of Salisbury refers to the passage in *Polycr.* 1, p. 431 b: *quid enim aliud agit in sompnis pater Anchises, quid Iuppiter, quid Apollo, quid alii*, etc. With Aeneas's dreams of Anchises compare Dido's of Sychaeus; cf. 4, 9, n. (*insomnia*); also 4, 460-463. The Scholia Danielis remark: *quasi adhuc responsis non crederet addidit patris admonitionem*. Had Anchises not died the Trojan fleet might have left Carthage the day after the banquet (cf. Bellessort in Goelzer and Bellessort's ed. of Books I-VI, xiii), but his death, like the disappearance of Creusa, is necessary for the plot of the story.

351. *umentibus umbris*: cf. 3, 589; 4, 7, and n. (*umentemque*, etc.); Lucr. 6, 864: *hoc ubi roriferis terram nox operit umbris*; Ambros. *Hexaem.* 4, 21: *noctis umbra terras operit*. Forbiger compares *Il.* 23, 105-107: *παννυχτή γάρ μοι Πατρόκλεος δειλοῦ / ψυχὴ ἐφεστήκει*

γοάουσά τε μυρομένη τε, / καὶ μοι ἕκαστ' ἐπέ- τελλε, κτλ.

352. *nox*: on the personification of night cf. Lünzner, *Ueber Personificationen in Vergils Gedichten* (1876), 27; and with the double mention of night and the stars 2, 8-9: *et iam nox umida caelo / praecipitat suadentque cadentia sidera somnos*.

352. *astra ignea*: Schol. Dan.: *unam rem bis dixit. 'astra' autem 'ignea' a sapientibus dicuntur*. Cf. also Juvenc. *praef.* 3: *ignea sidera caeli*.

352. *surgunt*: of the rising of constellations or of individual stars; cf. *G. 1, 440: surgentibus astris*; *Aen. 1, 535: adsurgens . . . Orion*; 2, 801: *surgebat Lucifer Idae*; 6, 850: *surgentia sidera dicent*; etc. The attempt of La Cerda (*ad loc.*) to determine from the form of expression the portions of the night meant, and hence whether the dreams are true or false (cf. Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 61; to which add: Mosch. 2, 1-5; Ov. *Ep.* 18, 195-196; Philostr. *Vit. Apollon.* 2, 37; [Clem.] *Recognit.* 2, 2; Stemplinger in *Neue Jahrb.* 47 (1920), 42; Stearns, *Studies of the Dream as a technical Device in Latin Epic and Drama* (1927), 51-69, and n. 148), seems hardly successful, for while *operit* might refer to the early part of night and the settling down of darkness it is hard to explain *surgunt* in the sense of [rising to] depart before the dawn, the more natural meaning being that the heavenly bodies are mounting up toward the zenith.

353. *admonet*: of warnings in dreams; e.g., Cic. *De Div.* 2, 134: *nullo somnio . . . admonentur*; Aug. *C. D.* 22, 8, 3: *admonetur in somnis*; and the phrase *somnio monitus*, especially common in inscriptions.

353. *in somnis*: Serv.: *more suo pro 'in somniis'*. With the plural cf. 1, 353-354: *ipsa sed in somnis inhumati venit imago / coniugis*; 2, 270; 3, 151; 4, 466; 4, 557; 12, 908; Plaut. *Most.* 490; *al.*; Enn. *Ann.* 219;

354. me puer Ascanius capitisque iniuria cari,
quem regno Hesperiae fraudo et fatalibus arvis.

aschanius γ.

hesperioe *M* (*hesperiae M¹*). fraude *M* (*fraudo M¹*). fatalib. *P*.

354-355. me . . . fraudo: *Serv. G. 2, 98* — fraudes *PHM* —; Schol. *Lucan.* 1, 176, ed. *Weber*. 354. capitis cari: *Gl. Arma*, 10, 166 — curi —.

[354*] 355. quem . . . arvis: Schol. *Dan. Aen.* 4, 602. 355. quem . . . fraudo: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 602; *Donat. in Ter. Phorm.* 371. 355. fatalibus arvis: *Gl. Ansil.* 236, 567.

Sc. 36; *Ter. Andr.* 430; *Lucr.* 3, 431; 4, 972; 4, 988; 4, 1006; *Prop.* 2, 26, 1; *Ov. M.* 15, 653; *Ep.* 19, 229; *Juv.* 13, 221; etc. For prose instances and a full treatment of the phrase, with references to other discussions, cf. Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 1 (1928), 50-54, who notes the consistent preference of Latin for *in somnis* rather than *in somno*, and remarks that in adverbial uses the feeling for the logically correct number breaks down. So in Greek we seldom have *ὑπνοί*, but often find *ἐν (τοῖς) ὑπνοῖς*, *κατὰ τοὺς ὑπνους*, etc. Cf. 4, 81, n. (*somnos*); Stearns, *Studies of the Dream as a technical Device in Latin Epic and Drama* (1927), 21, n. The phrase *in somnis* regularly introduces a figure seen in a dream as distinguished from a nocturnal apparition like that of Anchises in 5, 722-740; cf. M. H. N. in *Musée belge*, 25 (1921), 205.

353. *turbida terret*: Schol. *Dan.*: *id est, prius me admonuit, post negligentiam etiam terruit*; *Serv.*: *terribilis, quod et umbrae convenit et parentis auctoritati*. The adjective here means 'agitated' or 'troubled'; cf. the phrase which in 6, 695 recalls this line: *tua tristis imago*; also, as Conington (*ad loc.*) suggests, the spirit of 6, 694: *quam metui ne quid Libyae tibi regna nocerent*. Influenced by our line is *Stat. Theb.* 2, 349-350: *turbida noctis imago / terret*.

353. *imago*: 'ghost'; cf. 1, 353 (quoted above); 6, 480; 6, 701; *Hor. C.* 1, 24, 15; *Ov. F.* 5, 463; 5, 477; *Plin. Ep.* 7, 27, 6; and the Greek *εἰδωλον*; also, on terms for the shades, Frazer on *Ov. F.* 5, 421.

354. *me*: note the anaphora. Whether we should as a verb understand *admonet*, or from it and *terret* supply, by a sort of Zeugma, some word like *commoveat* (so Conington *ad loc.*) is not certain.

354. *puer Ascanius*: cf. 4, 156, n. (*at puer Ascanius*); 4, 234, n. (*pater*). It was Mercury who had suggested this idea (4, 274-276) at the command of Jupiter (4, 234).

354. *capitis . . . cari*: cf. 4, 357, and n. (*caput*); 4, 493: *dulce caput*; 4, 613: *infandum caput*; etc. An imitation of *φίλη* (or *ἡβελή*) *κεφαλὴ* (*Il.* 8, 281; 18, 114; 23, 94; *Plat. Phaedr.* p. 264a; etc.) or *φίλον κάρα* (*Aesch. Agam.* 905; *Soph. O. T.* 950; *O. C.* 1631; *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 151; etc.).

354. *iniuria*: cf. 1, 27: *spretae . . . iniuria formae*.

355. *quem*: cf. Schol. *Dan.*: *'quem' non ad 'caput' sed ad Ascanium retulit; et licet excusetur, lamen σοφοκοφανὲς est*.

355. *Hesperiae*: a term used 13 times in the *Aeneid* (in addition to 3 cases of *Hesperius*) for different parts of Italy; cf. Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (1919), 604, n. 3. Its inclusiveness extends from the Strait of Messina (3, 418) to Cortona (3, 163-170), and it is especially applied to Latium (e.g., 2, 781; 7, 601; 12, 360), while, with the addition of the adjective *ultima*, it may be used of Spain; cf. *Serv. Aen.* 1, 530. For the metrical convenience of the word as contrasted with *Italia* cf. Norden on *Aen.* 6, 6.

355. *fraudo*: cf. 4, 275-276: *cui regnum Italiae Romanaque tellus / debentur*.

355. *et*: on this use of *et* cf. Wagner, *Quaest. Virgilianae*, no. 33 (in the Heyne-Wagner ed., 4, 545), who renders: *Hesperiae regno fatorum lege illi debito*.

355. *fatalibus*: granted or appointed by fate; cf. 5, 82: *fataliaque arva*. Analogous uses are collected by Fabricius, *De Iove et Fato in P. Verg. Maronis Aeneide* (1896), 10. Masera (*ad loc.*) compares Dante, *Inf.* 5, 22: *non impedir lo suo fatale andare*.

356. nunc etiam interpres divom Iove missus ab ipso
(testor utrumque caput) celeris mandata per auras

diuom *P*, diuum *MP*²*pyabc*.
capud *a*¹*c*.

356-358. nunc . . . detulit: *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. 1, 10, 6* — diuum; ab alto (cf. 4, 574); celeres —. 356. interpres divom: *Gl. Ansil. 314, 1837* — diuum —. 356. Iove . . . ipso: *Gl. Ansil. 317, 13* — iove —.

[356*] 357-358. celeris . . . detulit: *Non. p. 289 M. (p. 447 L.)*. 357. testor . . . caput: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll. 7 (G. L. K. 4, 237)*; *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 94 (1, p. 44 Riese)*. 357. utrumque caput: *Gl. Ansil. 590, 359* — uirumque —; *q.v.*

356. nunc, etc.: cf. 4, 377-378, where some of these expressions are sneeringly repeated; *Ov. F. 3, 615-616*: *perque deos comites, hac nuper sede localos, / saepe meas illos increpui moras*.

356. interpres divom: cf. 3, 359 (of Helenus); 4, 378; 10, 175 (of Asilas); *C. I. L. VI, 520 (= Carm. Lat. epigr. no. 1528 B; Dessau, Inscr. Lat. sel. 3200)*: *interpres diuum, caeli terraeque meator, / sermonem docui mortales atque palaestram / . . . / sermonis dator atque somniorum / Iovis nuntius et precum minister*. The Scholia Danielis remark: *sed hic 'interpres' pro 'nuntio' posuit*; and *Hor. C. 1, 10, 5-6* calls Mercury *magni Iovis et deorum / nuntium*. The connection between a messenger and an interpreter — both spokesmen — is close; cf. the use of *ἐρμηνεύς* in Greek; e.g., [*Orph.*] *Hymn. 28, 6*: *ἐρμηνεὺ πάντων*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 709-710) cites other cases in which a speaker shifts the responsibility for his action upon a divine command.

356. missus: cf. *Sedul. Pasch. Carm. 5, 326-327*: *missus ab astris / angelus*.

356. ipso: *Serv.*: *id est, magno, ut supra (4, 268)* 'ipse deum tibi me claro demittit Olympo' (sc. regnator).

357. testor: used by Virgil in appeals to gods (2, 155; 4, 519; 7, 593; 12, 201; 12, 496; 12, 581), stars (3, 599; 9, 429), rivers (5, 803), etc. With the phrase cf. *Ermoldus, In Hon. Hludowici, 1, 171 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 10)*: *testor utrumque caput*.

357. utrumque: *Serv.*: *meum et tuum; aut Iovis et Mercurii (so Donat. ad loc.); aut meum et Ascanii*. The first of these views seems the most probable, in view of *Apoll.*

Rh. 3, 151: *ἴστω νῦν τόδε σείο φίλον κάρη ἡδ' ἐμὸν αὐτῆς* (cf. *App. B. C. 5, 190*: *διὰ τε τοὺς θεοὺς καὶ δι' ἐμαυτὸν καὶ διὰ σέ, ὦ Λεύκιε*), though swearing by a child (or his head) is not unknown (e.g., *Demosth. De fals. Leg. 292*: *κατὰ τῶν παίδων ὠμυες*; *Aen. 9, 300*: *per caput hoc iuro, per quod pater ante solebat* (where cf. the note of *Servius*; *pontificibus per liberos iurare non licebat sed per deos tantummodo*); *Sil. 8, 106-107* (*Aeneas speaking*): *iuro caput, Anna, tibi que / germanaeque tuae dilectum mihi Iuli*; *Plin. Ep. 2, 20, 6*: *iram deorum . . . in caput infelicis pueri delestatur*; the case in *Chariton, 3, 2*, is not entirely parallel: *οὐκ ἂν ἐπέεσθην σέ ὁμόσαι καὶ τὸν σὸν υἱόν, εἰ μὴ με προῦδωκε τοῦτο τὸ βρέφος, δειξάσα τὴν γαστέρα*, and *Geist, Erkl. einiger Stellen aus d. Aen. Vergils (1878), 9-10*, argues strongly that *utrumque* refers to the heads of *Aeneas* and *Ascanius*, while *Mackail (ad loc.)* thinks them those of *Anchises* and *Ascanius*, just mentioned (to combine in this way a dead and a living witness seems unlikely).

357. caput: cf. 4, 354, n. (*capitis . . . cari*); 4, 613, n. (*caput*). On swearing by the head of one's self, one's children (see above), one's interlocutor, or the gods, cf. *Il. 15, 37-39* (*Hera to Zeus*): *Στυγὸς δ' ὕδωρ, ὅς τε μέγιστος / ὅρκος δεινότητος τε πέλει μακάρεσσι θεοῖσι, / σὴ θ' ἱερὴ κεφαλὴ*; *Soph. Trachin. 1185*: *ἄνυ Διὸς νῦν τοῦ με φύσαντος κἄρα*; *Eur. Hel. 835*: *ἀλλ' ἀγρὸν ὅρκον σὸν κἄρα κατ' ὠμῶσα*; *Callim. Beren. fr. 3 (35 b)*: *σὴν τε κάρην ὠμῶσα σὸν τε βίον*; *Plaut. Most. 1002*; *Poen. 645*; *Pseud. 723*: *si quidem hoc vivet caput* (a variation of the idea); *Rud. 885*; *Catull. 66, 40*: *adiuro te tuumque caput*; *Aen.*

358. detulit; ipse deum manifesto in lumine vidi
intransent muros vocemque his auribus hausi.

in *om. π, dell.*

ausi (*corr. in hausi*) *Mb*, ausi *Pyc*.

[356, 357] 358. ipse . . . lumine: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 279* — manifesta *F*; in *om.* —. 358. manifesto . . . lumine: *Gl. Ansil. 356, 654*.

359. intransent muros: *Gl. Ansil. 315, 1888*. 359. vocemque . . . hausi: *Quintil. Inst. 8, 3, 54*; *Non. p. 319 M. (p. 500 L.)* — ausit *LA*^a —; *Donat. in Ter. Hec. 363* — auribus *h.* —; *Pomp. Comm. (G. L. K. 5, 294)*; *Lact. De Opif. Dei, 8, 8*; *Serv. Aen. 1, 208* — hisce oculis *l.* —; 1, 614 — omnibus *C* (auribus *C*²); ausi *CL* —; 1, 738; *Hier. Comm. in Dan. (Patr. Lat. 25, 564)*; *Isid. Etym. 11, 1, 46* — ausit (ausi *BC*) —; *Gilo, 6, 294 (Patr. Lat. 155, 991)*; [*Hugo de S. Vict.*] *De Best. 60 (Patr. Lat. 177, 122)*; *Gl. Ansil. 275, 140* — ausit —. 359. hausi: *Gl. Abstr. 13, 42* — ausi —; *q.v.*

4, 492-493: *testor, cara, deos, et te, germana, tuumque / dulce caput*; 8, 484; 9, 300 (quoted above); *Hor. C. 2, 8, 5-6*: *simul obligasti / perfidum votis caput*; *Liv. 26, 48, 12*: *obstringere periurio non se solum suumque caput, sed, etc.*; *Ov. H. 3, 107*: *perque tuum nostrumque caput*; *Tr. 5, 4, 45*: *per caput ipse suum solitus iurare tuumque*; *Ex Pont. 3, 3, 68*: *per matrem iuro Caesareumque caput*; *Val. Max. 7, 2, 5*; *Juv. 6, 16-17*: *nondum Graecis iurare paratis / per caput alterius* (*Schol. Paris.*: *iurant enim illi (sc. Graeci) assidue per caput alterius ila: νῆ τὴν κεφαλὴν σου*); *Sil. 8, 106-107* (quoted above); 10, 385: *iuro hoc caput*; 10, 437-438: *perque caput . . . patris / magnanimi iuro*; *Athen. 2, 66 c*: *ἐτι δ' ἱερὸν ἐνόμιζον τὴν κεφαλὴν δῆλον ἐκ τοῦ καὶ κατ' αὐτῆς ὁμνεῖν, κτλ. . . ἀλλὰ μὴν καὶ τὰς συγκαταθέσεις βεβαιούμεν τῇ ταύτης ἐπινέουσαι*; *Synes. Ep. 67; 95; 105; 134; Paphr. Gr. mag. 4, 1917-1918 (1, p. 130 Preisendanz)*: *ἐξορκίζω σε, Κέρβερε, κατὰ τῆς ἱερᾶς κεφαλῆς τῶν καταχθονίων θεῶν*; also *Matt. 5, 36*: *μήτε ἐν τῇ κεφαλῇ σου ὁμόσης, ὅτι οὐ δύνασαι μίαν τρίχα λευκὴν ποιῆσαι ἢ μέλαιναν*. Similarly connected with the head are certain *devotiones* (e.g., *Liv. 3, 48, 5*; *Aen. 9, 496*; *Val. Max. 5, 6, 5*; 6, 2, *Ext. 2*; 7, 2, 5); and many examples in *Thes. Ling. Lat. 3* (1912), 416, 49-74) and curses (e.g., *Hier. Adv. Rufin. 3, 41*: *et hoc scandalum redundaturum in caput meum denuntias*; *Lasaulx, Der Fluch bei Gr. u. Römern (1843), 170*; *Canter, Rhet. Elements in the Tragedies of*

Seneca (1925), 123; also *Henry, Aeneidea, 3 (1889), 859-860*, for a Coptic instance).

The underlying feeling in all these cases of calling to witness, devoting, or cursing is doubtless that the head is an essential part of the person (cf. *McCartney in Cl. Journ. 21 (1925), 122*, and *n. 94*, for oaths by the eyes, etc.; *Philo Jud. De Leg. spec. 1*, for those by the face of one's father; *Apul. M. 3, 23*, for one by a knot of hair on the head), possibly even the seat of the soul (cf. *Cook, Zeus, 2 (1925), 290, n. 0*). It is likely that the *caput* by synecdoche represents the whole person, while there may at times be present, to a Roman, the idea that it denotes one's civic status as well.

On the parenthesis cf. 4, 116, n. (*advertite*). *Zille, Virgils Aeneide (1865), 48*, suggests that it is inserted in answer to some sign of scorn or incredulity on *Dido's* part, which her sarcastic reply in 4, 377-380 might well indicate.

357. celeris mandata per auras: = 4, 270 (where cf. the n.); cf. 4, 226; 4, 378.

358. detulit: similarly 'run-over' in 12, 417.

358. ipse deum: cf. *Cir. 269*; and with the thought *Il. 24, 223*: *νῦν δ' αὐτὸς γὰρ ἄκουσα θεοῦ καὶ ἐσέδρακον ἄντην*.

358. manifesto in lumine: = *Val. Fl. 1, 105*. *Serv.*: *aut claro, aut in nimbo, cuius maius est lumen* (important on the *nimbus* in Latin is *Fowler, Death of Turnus (1927), 84-86*). Cf. 3, 151: *in somnis multo manifesti*

360. desine meque tuis incendere teque querellis:
Italiam non sponte sequor.'

incedere *M.* quaerellis *M* (querellis *M*²), quaerelis *b.*
sponte forte *p.*

360. desine . . . querellis: *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 463); *Anth. Lat.* no. 17, 247 (1, p. 70 Riese) — tequerellis *A* —.

361. Italiam . . . sequor: *Donat. in Ter. Hec.* 142 — ytaliam *L*, aliam *cett.* — 361. non sponte: *Gl. Ansil.* 395, 197.

lumine, though Mercury's first appearance is by day. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 393) remarks that the ancients laid especial stress upon the clearness with which objects were seen in a vision; cf. *Od.* 4, 841: ἐναργὲς δεικνόν; *Aesch. Pers.* 179–180: ἀλλ' οὔτι πω τοιόνδ' ἐναργὲς εἰδόμεν / ὥς τῆς παροῦθεν εὐφρόνης; *Hdt.* 7, 47: εἰ τοι ἡ φύς τοῦ ἐνυπνίου μὴ ἐναργὲς οὕτω ἐφάνη, εἴχες ἂν τὴν ἀρχαίαν γνώμην, κτλ. Cf. also *Il.* 20, 131, and Leaf's note; *Od.* 3, 420; *Aen.* 2, 589–593; 3, 173: nec sopor illud erat. *Vida, Christias*, 3, 519–520, says: illum ego saepe / intranslem thalamum manifesto in lumine vidi.

359. *vocem*, etc.: *Schol. Dan.*: 'haurit' enim pro 'percipit' ponebant veteres; et ideo qua potissimum parte sensus percipiant adiungunt (12, 26) 'simul hoc animo hauri,' et (4, 661) 'hauriat hunc oculis ignem' et reliqua. *Probus* enim ait nemo haurit vocem; cf. *Bell, The Latin Dual* (1923), 391. For the phrase auribus hausit cf. *Liv.* 27, 51, 1: oculis auribusque haurire; *Ov. M.* 13, 787; 14, 309; *Hermann* of *Reichenau* (cited by *Manitius, Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, 2 (1923), 771); also *Lact. De Opif. Dei*, 8, 8: aures, quibus est inditum nomen a vocibus haurientibus, unde Vergilius, 'vocemque his auribus hausit'; *Ermoldus, In Hon. Hludowici*, 2, 259 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 32): haurit et aure pia; *Walahfridus Strabo, Drog. Episc.* 52 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 354): verba . . . auribus haurit; *Anon. Vita Leudegarii*, 2, 436 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 36): simul auribus hausit; *Audradus, Passiones Iuliani et Soc.* 3, 3 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 101): voces hausere sacralas; *Flodoardus Remensis, De Triumphis Christi* (Palaest.), 1, 21, 85: gemitum . . . auribus hausit; 2, 18, 86–87: vocis honorem / angelicae hauserunt pastores; *Vida,*

Christias, 2, 120; 4, 808; 5, 777; 6, 493: auribus his hausit vocem. The reading of some MSS in *Aen.* 6, 559 is strepitum . . . hausit; cf. *Val. Fl.* 1, 263. The same figure is expressed by *bibere*; e.g., *Hor. C.* 2, 13, 32, and other cases cited by *Forbiger* on our line; while *Haffter (Untersuchungen z. alllat. Dichtersprache* (1934), 45–46 (in *Problemata*, 10)) cites other circumlocutions for *audire*, such as *edere*, *gustare*, and *devorare*.

360. *desine*, etc.: cf. *G.* 4, 448; *Aen.* 6, 376; *Il.* 9, 612: μὴ μοι σύγχεε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἀχέων (cf. 13, 808). The imperative sounds a little brusque, but Aeneas has to struggle to overcome his own feelings. *La Cerda* cites *Soph. Antig.* 280: παῦσαι, πρὶν ὀργῆς καὶ με μαστῶσαι λέγων; cf. also *Il.* 9, 612: μὴ μοι σύγχεε θυμὸν ἐνὶ στήθεσσιν ἀχέων.

360. *incendere*: *Schol. Dan.*: *exagilare*. *Glover (Virgil, 2 ed.* (1912), 210) remarks: "Dido's words must rouse passion; and passion, he feels, helps nothing forward, and he dreads it." *Terzaghi (Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 49, n. 72) explains the verb by *zeugma* with *me* and *te*: "to grieve (so *incendentem luctus* in 9, 500) *me* and irritate yourself." On the metaphor cf. *Preuss, Die metaphor. Kunst Vergils in d. Aeneis* (1894), 10; and with the expression *Catull.* 64, 226: *nostros ut luctus nostraeque incendia mentis*; *Val. Fl.* 7, 243: *perpetior durae iamdudum incendia mentis*.

360. *querellis*: *Schol. Dan.*: 'litteram metri causa addidit; nam 'querela' dicitur, quia 'querulus' facit; hoc modo et 'loquela,' 'suadela.' *DeWitt, The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 78, calls this "one of the few words in the episode that are characteristic of the erotic elegy," and compares *Catull.* 64, 130; 64, 195. Note also

362. Talia dicentem iamdudum aversa tuetur,

iamdudum *MPp.*

362. *talia* . . . *tuetur*: *Auson. Cento nupt.* 91, p. 214 *Peiper* — *adversa* *TL* —; *Anth. Lat.* no. 11, 62 (1, p. 43 Riese); *Serv. Aen.* 1, 482; *Mythogr. Val. III*, 3, 3. 362. *tuetur*: *Gl. Ansil.* 574, 41; *q.v.*

Carm. Lat. epigr. no. 823, 1 *Bücheler*: *desine iam mater lacrimis renovare querellas*.

361. *Italiam*: cf. *Conway, Vergilian Age* (1928), 67–68: "The slow, mournful syllables of the half-line which is Aeneas' last word . . . echo the sorrow of men and women doomed by political pressure to destroy their dearest ties"; *Rand, Magical Art of Virgil* (1931), 359: "These last words resume in brief compass the elements of the tragedy that confronts Aeneas: *Italiam* — his mission; *non sponte* — his love; *sequor* — his resolution." With the situation cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 839–841 (*Jason* to *Hypsipyle*): ἀνακτορὶν δὲ μελέσθω / σοίγ' αὐτῇ καὶ νῆσος· ἔγωγε μὲν οὐκ ἀθερίζω / χάρισμα, ἀλλὰ με λυγροὶ ἐπισπέρχουσιν ἄεθλοι; *Val. Fl.* 8, 468: *me talia velle?* For *Ovid's* imitation (*H.* 7, 139: *sed iubet ire deus*) see *Eggerding in Diss. philol. Halenses*, 18 (1908), 167, n. 2; cf. also *Sil.* 8, 105–111 (108–109: *respicens aegerque animi tum regna reliqui / vestra*).

The sincerity of Aeneas's feeling is indicated again in 6, 460–463: *invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi. / sed me iussa deum, quae nunc has ire per umbras, / . . . / imperiis egere suis*; cf. 11, 112: *nec veni, nisi fata locum sedemque dedissent*. *Glover (Virgil, 2 ed.* (1912), 210) well observes that what Aeneas was seeking was a region (Italy), not an idea of an empire to be; this he could hardly have had before the revelations of the Sixth Book.

361. *non sponte sequor*: cf. 4, 341; also the verbal echoes in 11, 828: *ad terram non sponte fluens*; *Stat. Theb.* 8, 630: *non sponte, soror*. The verb (cf. 3, 114: *divom ducunt quae iussa sequamur*; 4, 381: *sequere Italiam ventis*; 5, 629) is appropriate for pursuing the will of the gods; cf. *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 302, n. 1. *Serv.* remarks: *ut* (5, 629) '*Italiam sequimur fugientem*.' Cf. also *Cic. Ad Att.* 3, 16: *si spes erit, Epirum; sin minus Cyzicum, aut aliud quid*

sequemur; *Ov. H.* 7, 10: *Itala regna sequi*; *Val. Fl.* 1, 2–3: *Scythici quae Phasidis oras / ausa sequi*; *Sil.* 1, 141: *Gades Calpenque secutus*. That Italy seems to recede as Aeneas advances is indicated in 3, 496; 6, 61. The *Scholia Danielis* appropriately say: *et oratorie ibi finivit, ubi vis argumenti constitit* (which *Sparrow (Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 23; 43) thinks means that Aeneas ended the speech, not Virgil the line, at an effective point); and *Page (ad loc.)*, perhaps a little severely, contrasts the conciseness of this phrase with the wordy rhetoric of the rest of the speech.

362. *talia dicentem*: cf. 8, 152–153: *os oculosque loquentis / iamdudum et totum lustrabat lumine corpus*; *Ov. M.* 9, 27–28: *talia dicentem iamdudum lumine torvo / spectat*; 10, 40; 10, 609; *Stat. Achill.* 1, 956; *Theb.* 10, 927; *Silv.* 3, 3, 205; *Juven.* 1, 728; 2, 403; 4, 1; *talia dicenti* in *Ov. M.* 5, 223; 8, 81; *F.* 3, 625; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 88; *Juven.* 1, 728; 2, 282; 4, 1; *Stroh, Stud.* 2. *Valerius Flaccus* (1905), 52, who compares *Val. Fl.* 5, 520–521; cf. also *Claud. De Bell. Goth.* 518–519: *talia grandaevum flammata fronte loquentem / obliquisque tuens oculis non pertulit ultra*; and 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*), above.

362. *aversa*: 'askance.' *Schol. Dan.*: *id est, irata*; '*aversa*' ergo ad animum referendum est, nam incipit esse contrarium '*aversa tuetur*,' ut est (1, 482) '*diva solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*.' Cf. *Il.* 3, 427: (Ελένη) ὅσσε πάλιν κλινάσα; *Sen. Oed.* 339: *vultum obliquat*; *Dante, Inf.* 33, 76: *con gli occhi torti*; *Tennyson, A Dream of fair Women*, 101: "But she, with sick and scornful looks averse"; *Arnold The Scholar-Gipsy*, 208–209: "Averse, as Dido did with gesture stern / From her false friend's approach in Hades turn", alluding to 6, 469 (based on 1, 482): *illa solo fixos oculos aversa tenebat*. These lines sup-

363. huc illuc volvens oculos, totumque pererrat
luminibus tacitis, et sic accensa profatur:

illucque π.

363-364. totumque . . . tacitis: *Non. p.* 463 *M.* (p. 742 *L.*); *Fulgent. Virg. Cont. p.* 95 *Helm.* 363. huc illuc: *Gl. Ansil.* 284, 5. 363. pererrat: *Gl. Ansil.* 435, 651; *q.v.*
[363] 364. luminibus tacitis: *Schol. Lucan.* 8, 171. 364. et . . . profatur: *Schol. Lucan.* 3, 357 — et *om. U*; *accessa C* —.

port the view that *aversa* is feminine singular, rather than as has been suggested — on the strength of *torva tuentem* in 6, 467 — neuter plural.

363. huc illuc: initial in the line in *G.* 2, 297; *Aen.* 5, 408; 12, 764.

363. volvens oculos: cf. 7, 251: *intentos volvens oculos*; 8, 229: *huc ora ferebat et illuc*; 8, 618: *oculos per singula volvit*; this restlessness of the eyes being in contrast to the action of Aeneas in 4, 331-332: *immota tenebat lumina*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 710) explains *oculos* as 'eyeballs' and *luminibus* as 'vision,' though that view — which avoids absolute tautology — would be easier if *luminibus* were used in the singular. In *G.* 4, 451 the two words appear together in a somewhat similar meaning: *ardentis oculos intorsit lumine glauco*; but cf. *Aen.* 10, 446-447 (quoted below).

363. totumque, etc.: cf. 5, 441-442: *omnemque pererrat / arte locum*; 7, 375: *totamque pererrat*; 11, 766-767: *omnemque pererrat / undique circuitum*; also 8, 152-153: *os oculosque loquentis / iam dudum et totum lustrabat lumine corpus*; 10, 446-447: *corpusque per ingens / lumina volvit obitque truci procul omnia visu*. Cf. too the *oculis* . . . *errantibus* of 4, 691.

364. luminibus, etc.: cf. Paul. Diac. *Carm.* 22, 3: *luminibus tacitis*.

364. tacitis: *Schol. Dan.*: *pro 'ipsa tacita,' ul (7, 343) 'tacitumque obsedit limen Amatae' pro 'ipsa tacita.' sequitur autem invecio, quae semper statu caret . . . quidam 'tacitis' epitheton oculorum volunt. alii 'tacitis' siccis pro iracundia*; cf. Apoll. Rh. 2, 48-49: *σίγα δ' ἄνωθεν / ἐστὶν εἰς αὐτὸν ἔχ' ὄμματα*; Ennod. *Carm.* 2, 83, 4: *luminibus tacitis*; Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 325. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 711) compares

Sen. Thy. 500-501 (of a hound on the scent): *tacito locum / rostro pererrat*; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 674-675: *taciteque ad Tydea laesum / oblique oculos*. Dido has kept an ominous silence during his speech, nor have her eyes given him any sympathetic response such as Ovid describes (*Am.* 2, 3, 17): *non oculi tacuere tui*.

364. accensa: a combination of passion (4, 2, n. (*igni*)) and anger, with the latter uppermost.

364. profatur: cf. 1, 561: *Dido voltum demissa profatur*; 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); *Hor. S.* 1, 6, 57; *Ov. M.* 11, 290: *quibus ille profatur*.

365. nec, etc.: the appearance of calmness on the part of Aeneas serves but to exasperate Dido (cf. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 43); in her earlier speech she had been stunned by his disloyalty to her (Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 134), but had hoped to win him back by his sense of pity; now he is obdurate, and the dormant element of Oriental savagery in her nature is set loose; cf. Glover, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 196.

The literary source of the passage (as recognized by *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 11, 14-15) is *Il.* 16, 33-35, where Patroclus reproaches Achilles: *νηλεές, οὐκ ἄρα σοὶ γε πατήρ ἔεν ἱππῶτα Πηλεΐς, / οὐδὲ θεῖς μήτηρ γλαυκῇ δέ σε τίκτε θάλασσα / πέτραι τ' ἤλιβατοι, ὃ τέ τοι νόος ἐστὶν ἀπηνής*, and *Macrobius* discusses in detail the additions which *Virgil* has made to the Homeric passage by his allusion not only to birth but also to suckling. Cf. also *Eur. Bacch.* 987-990: *τίς ἄρα νυν ἔτεκεν; / οὐ γὰρ ἐξ αἵματος / γυναικῶν ἔφυν, λεαίνας δέ τινος / ὅδ' ἢ Γοργόνων Λιβυσσᾶν γένος*; *Theocr.* 3, 15-16; *Ecl.* 8, 43-45: *nunc scio quid sit Amor. duris in cotibus illum / aut Tmaros*

365. 'nec tibi diva parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor,
perfide, sed duris genuit te cautibus horrens

diuina (*corr. in diua*) p.

365-367. nec . . . tigres: *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 11, 14 — *hycanaeque P¹* —; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 2, 540 — *cautibus h. c. h. a. u. t.* —. 365. nec . . . auctor: *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 3 (*G. L. K.* 6, 503). 365. nec . . . parens: *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (*G. L. K.* 6, 444-445). 365. diva parens: *Gl. Ansil.* 184, 1183. 365. generis . . . auctor: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 369.

[365*] 366-367. sed . . . tigres: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 3, 693 — *caucasus horrens cautibus MPa*; *h. que a. u. t. Pb, om. LMPa* —. 366-367. sed . . . *Caucasus*: *Non. p.* 285 *M.* (p. 439 *L.*); [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 1, 22, 7 — *seu duris* —. 366-367. *duris* . . . *Caucasus*: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 3, 11, 32; in *Hor. Epod.* 1, 11-12. 366. *horrens*: *Gl. Ansil.* 283, 95; *q.v.*

aut Rhodope aut extremi Garamantes / nec generis nostri puerum nec sanguinis edunt; also in *Aen.* 2, 540 the charge: *non ille, satum quo te mentiris, Achilles*; *Ov. M.* 8, 120-122: *non genetrix Europa tibi est, sed inhospita Syrtis, / Armeniae tigres austroque agitata Charybdis. / nec Iove tu natus*; *H.* 7, 37-39 (Dido to Aeneas): *te lapis et montes innataque rupibus altis / robora, te saevae progeni ferae, / aut mare*; 10, 131-132: *nec pater est Aegeus, nec tu Pittheidos Aethrae / filius; auctores saxa fretumque tui*. Other parallels of parts of the speech will be found below.

This scene was much admired and has been expanded into a fifteen-line *Thema Vergilianum* in *Anth. Lat.* no. 255 (1, pp. 211-212 *Riese*), while *Dictio* 28 of *Ennodius* (*C. S. E. L.* 6, 505-506) paraphrases lines 365-387, remarking *constat Veneris non esse filium, nil amantem*. Cf. *Castiglione, De Eliz. Gonzaga*, 17-18: *non tibi Diva parens, generis nec Dardanus auctor, / perfide, sed duris cautibus es genitus*; *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 16, 56, 1-8: *nè te Sofia produsse, e non sei nato / dell' Azzio sangue tu: te l'onda insana / del mar produsse e'l Caucaso gelato, / e le mamme allattar di tigre ircana. / che dissimulo io più? l'uomo spietato / pur un segno non diè di mente umana: / forse cambiò color? forse al mio duolo / bagnò almen gli occhi, o sparse un sospir solo?*

365. diva parens: cf. 6, 197: *diva parens*; 8, 531: *divae promissa parentis*. *Anth. Lat.* no. 255, 10-15 (1, pp. 211-212 *Riese*) paraphrases: *nec non haut Veneris pulcra de stirpe crearis / nec pater Anchises vestrae (est) aut Dardanus auctor / gentis, sed durae*

tigres lapidesque sinistri / te genuere virum, silvae montesque profani. / uberaque tibi et potum admovere malignum, / quae tibi perfidiam mixto cum lacte dederunt. *Servius* remarks: *non est sola in Aeneam vituperatio, sed etiam in se obiurgatio, quia dixerat* (4, 12) *'credo equidem, nec vana fides, genus esse deorum'*, and *Donatus* notes the same reversal in her sentiments. I prefer to construe *parens* with the preceding words rather than to make it govern *generis*.

365. generis . . . auctor: cf. 7, 49: *tu sanguinis ultimus auctor*; *Ov. M.* 4, 640: *generis mihi Iuppiter auctor*; *Gesta Apollonii*, 552 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 500): *generis tibi quis fuit auctor*; also *Ecl.* 8, 45: *nec generis nostri puerum*.

365. nec: on the postpositive use cf. 4, 33, n. (*Veneris nec*).

365. Dardanus: the phrase *Dardanus auctor* occurs at 3, 503; 6, 650. At 1, 617 Dido had recognized Aeneas's descent from Dardanus, and elsewhere she emphasizes it: 4, 626; 4, 640; 4, 647; 4, 658; 4, 662. The relationship is shown in the following pedigree, based on *Il.* 20, 215-239: Zeus, Dardanus, Erichthonius, Tros, Assaracus, Capys, Anchises, Aeneas.

366. perfide: cf. 4, 305, n. (*perfide*); 4, 421; *Serv.*: *amantum verbo eum increpat*.

366. duris: on *Virgil's* feeling for hardness and softness cf. *Anderson, A Study of Virgil's Descriptions of Nature* (1916), 154-155; 162. The ablative is here perhaps one of place (cf. *Ecl.* 8, 43: *duris in cotibus*, etc.) or of source (this idea probably underlies *Donatus's* remark: *genuerunt te Caucasi*

367. Caucasus Hyrcanaeque admorunt ubera tigres.

admorun P (admorunt P¹).

[365*, 366*] 367. Hyrcanaeque . . . tigres: *Gell.* 12, 1, 20 — hyrcane eque ZON —; *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 11, 15 — hircanaeque P —; *Prisc. Inst.* 9, 41 — hyrcanaeque B, hyrcaneque GL, hircaneque K; ammorunt GL, ad. morunt K; ubera ex corr. B; tygres R, tigris BDHGLK —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 4, 678; 8, 572; *Schol. Lucan.* 3, 268 — hircanaeque —; *Isid. Etym.* 14, 3, 33 — armorum T; admorunt tigris ignes B —. 367. Hyrcanae tigres: *Gl. Verg.* (C. G. L. 4, 444, 36) — hircane tigræ —. 367. Hyrcanae: *Gl. Ansil.* 318, 9 — ircanae —; *q.v.* 367. admorunt: *Gl. Ansil.* 29, 470; *q.v.*; *Gl. Aa.* 166, 400.

rupes et cautes), though some editors, including Forbiger and Conington, construe it with *horrens*.

The thought belongs to a large class of conceits dealing with the barbarous or hard-hearted, who are variously described as born (1) of the sea (e.g., *Il.* 16, 33, quoted above; *Sil.* 1, 638–639; cf. numerous allusions to 'sons of Neptune,' as in *Cic. N. D.* 1, 64, and Mayor's n.), itself a type of insensibility (*Eur. Med.* 28–29; *Catull.* 64, 155–156; *Tib.* 3, 4, 85: *te nec vasti genuerunt aequora ponti*; *Ov. H.* 7, 39 and 10, 131–132 (already quoted); *Butcher, Aspects of the Greek Genius*, 3 ed. (1904), 267); (2) of trees, especially the oak (e.g., 8, 315; also *Od.* 19, 163: *οὐ γὰρ ἀπὸ δρυὸς ἔσσι παλαιφάτου οὐδ' ἀπὸ πέτρης* (cf. *Il.* 22, 126), echoed by *Plat. Apol.* 34d; *Rep.* 8, 544d; *Plut. Cons. ad Uxorem*, 2; *Sext. Emp.* 11, 161; *Clem. Strom.* 2, 20, p. 494 P.; *Paroem. Gr.* 2, 721, 162; *Anth. Pal.* 10, 55, 2–3; 11, 253, 1–3; also other traditions of men sprung from trees — perhaps a relic of animistic beliefs —, as in 8, 315: *genusque virum truncis et duro robore nata*; *Lycophr. Alex.* 480 (of the Arcadians); *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 1641 (Talus); *Apollod. Bibl.* 3, 14, 4 (Adonis); *Cic. Acad.* 2, 101: *non enim est (sc. sapiens) e saxo sculptus aut e robore dolatus* (cf. *De Amic.* 48; *Post Red. in Sen.* 14); *Anth. Pal.* 9, 312, 5–6; *Bouché-Leclercq, Placita Graecorum de Origine Generis humani* (1871), 11–14; *Schell in Am Urquell*, 4 (1893), 224–225; *Cook in Cl. Rev.* 15 (1901), 322–326; *Samter, Volkskunde im altsprachlichen Unterricht*, 1 (1923), 17–20 (with many cases of men born from trees or rocks); *Dieterich-Fehrle, Mutter Erde*, 3 ed. (1925), 64; 139; *McCartney in Cl. Journ.*

20 (1925), 367–368; *id.*, in *Papers of the Mich. Acad. of Sci., Arts, and Letters*, 16 (1931), 109–110; *Kummer in Hoffmann-Krayer, Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 4 (1932), 1353–1356 and works there cited); (3) of the earth, as the giants and other fierce mythical beings (*Apoll. Rh.* 1, 942–943; etc., but cf. *Eur. Ion.* 542: *οὐ πέδον τικτει τέκνα*); (4) of rocks (e.g., *Aesch. P. V.* 244: *σιδηρόφρων τε κὰκ πέτρας εἰργασμένος*; *Eur. Med.* 1279–1280: *τάλαυν', ὡς ἄρ' ἦσθα πέτρος ἢ σίδα-ρος*; *Frag. Com. adesp.* 373 *Kock*: *ἀλλ' ἐξ ἀδάμαντος καὶ πέτρας εἶ*; *Theocr.* 10, 7: *Μῖλων ὀφθαλμοῖσιν, πέτρας ἀπόκομ' ἀτερράμνω*; *Herond.* 6, 4: *ἄλθος τις, οὐ δούλη*; 7, 108 (and *Headlam's n.*); *Ter. Hec.* 214: *me omnino lapidem non hominem putas*; *Cic. Tusc.* 3, 12: *non enim silice nati sumus*; *Ov. Am.* 1, 11, 9; 3, 6, 59; *M.* 7, 32–33: *me de tigride natam, / tum ferrum et scopulos gestare in corde fatebor*; 9, 613–615: *neque enim de tigride natus / nec rigidas silices solidumve in pectore ferrum / aut adamanta gerit, nec lac bibit ille leaenae*; *Tr.* 1, 8, 37–44; 3, 11, 3–4: *natus es e scopulis, nutritus lacte ferino, / et dicam silices pectus habere tuum*; *Ex Pont.* 4, 10, 3–4; 4, 12, 31–32; *Tib.* 1, 1, 63–64; 1, 10, 59–60: *a, lapis est ferrumque suam quicumque puellam / verberat*; *Sen. H. O.* 143: *quae cautes Scythiae, qui genuit lapis*; *Stat. Silv.* 1, 2, 69–70: *duro nec enim ex adamante creati / sed tua turba sumus*; *Plin. Ep.* 2, 3, 7; *Hier. Ep.* 14, 3, 2: *non ex silice natos Hyrcanae nutrire tigrides*; 66, 1, 2: *quae enim aures tam durae, quae de silice excisa praecordia et Hyrcanarum tigrum lacte nutrita possunt sine lacrimis Paulinae tuae audire nomen*; *Sedulius, Carm.* 2, 5, 16 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 170): *cautibus e Scithicis es quia nata fera*; certain mythical

figures, like Tages (Pease on *Cic. De Div.* 2, 50), Mithras (Just. Mart. *Dial. c. Tryph.* 70; *Hier. Adv. Iovin.* 1, pp. 246–247 Vall.; *Cumont, Textes et Monum. fig. relatifs aux Mystères de Mithra*, 1 (1899), 159–163; *Wüst in P.-W.* 15 (1932), 2138; *Saintyves* (pseud. for Nourry), *Les Grottes* (1918), 119–125 (added to Trabucco's French translation of *Porphyry. De Antro Nympharum*), his son Diorphus ([*Plut.*] *De Fluv.* 23, 4), Sol Invictus (*Commod. Instr.* 13, 1), and Agdistis (*Knaack in P.-W.* 1 (1894), 767), also being thought of as thus born, while from stones cast by Deucalion and Pyrrha came a human race; cf. also *Matt.* 3, 9: *δύναται ὁ θεὸς ἐκ τῶν λίθων τοῦτων ἐγείρει τέκνα τῷ Ἀβραάμ*); *Bouché-Leclercq, op. cit.*, 4–7.

In other cases a hard-hearted person is compared to rock, iron, or adamant, without statement of his origin; e.g., *Il.* 22, 357: *ἦ γὰρ σοὶ γε σιδήρεος ἐν φρεσὶ θυμός*; 24, 205 (= 24, 521): *σιδήρεόν νύ τοι ἦτορ*; *Hes. Theog.* 239; *Pind. Fr.* 100 (88), 3–4; *Aesch. Sept.* 52 (and *Dahlgren, De Imaginibus Aeschyli*, 1 (1877), 46–47); *Soph. ap. Arist. Rhet.* 2, p. 1400 b 17; *Eur. Cycl.* 596; *Arist. Eth. Eud.* 2, 3, p. 1221 a 22–23: *ἀπαθὴς ὥσπερ λίθος*; [*Mosch.*] 4, 44–45; *Apoll. Rh.* 2, 231; *Plaut. M. G.* 1024; *Poen.* 290; *Pseud.* 75; *Enn. Sc.* 139: *lapideo sunt corde multi quos non miseret neminis*; *Hor. C.* 3, 7, 21–22; *Ov. Am.* 2, 5, 11; 2, 19, 4; *H.* 4, 14; 16, 136–137; *Tib.* 1, 1, 63–64; 1, 2, 65; 1, 10, 2; *Prop.* 1, 16, 30; 2, 8, 12; *Sen. Phaedr.* 580–582; *Plin. Ep.* 2, 3, 7; *Opp. Hal.* 5, 574; *Luc. Philops.* 29; *Ambr. Hexaem.* 3, 70; *Liban. Or.* 61, 13; *Eunap. Vit. Philos.* p. 492 *Boissonade*; *Acta S. Sebast.* 5 (*Patr. Lat.* 17, 1114B); *Donat. Aen.* 5, 785; *Heliod. Aeth.* 7, 9; *Sidon. Ep.* 5, 7, 4; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 31, 425; *Auson. Epig.* 11, 2 (p. 315 *Peiper*); *Paroem. Gr.* 2, 283, 79; 2, 314, 16; *Epigrammata Gr.* no. 513, 2; 551, 3 *Kaibel*; *Papyr. Gr. mag.* 2, p. 16, 356 *Preisendanz*; *σιδηροψύχους*; *Arsen. Violetum*, pp. 54; 82 *Walz*. Other cases will be found in *Otto, Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 4; 185; 322; *Paul. Diac. Fab.* 9, 17: *silicibus duris durior esse poles*; *Alphanus of Salerno (Patr. Lat.* 147, 1276; cf. *Manitius, Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, 2 (1923), 636, n. 2): *unde tibi tam ferreum pectus? ante ferae genuere*

tigrides, Gorgonei aluere parentes; *Sextus Amarcus, Serm.* 2, 216–217: *non stirps est de rupe tibi, non te peperere / Ismarus aut Rodope*, etc.; *Sannazaro, Eleg.* 1, 9, 7–8 (cf. *Smith on Tib.* 1, 1, 63); *Castiglione, Hippolyte*, 77–78: *nec tibi sunt praecordia ferrea, nec tibi dura / ubera in Alpibus cautibus ursae dedit*; *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 4, 77, 5–7: *ben fu rabbiosa tigre a lui nutrice, / e 'l produsse in aspr' alpe orrida pietra, / o l'onda che nel mar si frange e spuma*; *Shakesp. Jul. Caes.* Act 3, Sc. 2; *Lear, Act* 5, Sc. 3; *Rich. III*, Act 3, Sc. 7: "I am not made of stones (al. stone) / But penetrable to your kind entreats"; *Venus and Adonis*, stanzas 34 and 36.

The rigidity of which Dido here accuses Aeneas she herself, by poetic justice, illustrates in 6, 471, where she is compared to *dura silex* and *Marpesia cautes*. Virgil's phrase is recalled by *Ov. M.* 4, 672: *duras . . . cautes* (cf. 7, 418: *dura . . . caute*); *Ambros. Ep.* 63, 102: *horret cautibus*; *De Iacob.* 2, 27: *duris atque asperis inhorrentem cautibus*. For *durus* in erotic poetry cf. *Pichon, De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 136. Spelling varies between *cautes* (cf. 3, 699; 6, 471) and *coles* (*Ecl.* 8, 43; *G.* 4, 203).

366. *horrens*: *Horace (C.* 1, 22, 6–7; *Epod.* 1, 12) describes the Caucasus as *inhospitale*, and *Servius* calls it *mons Scythiae inhospitalis*; cf. *Sen. Med.* 42–43: *pelle femineos metus / et inhospitalem Caucasum mente indue*; *Thy.* 1048: *inhospitalis Caucasus rupem asperam*; *H. O.* 1377–1378: *horridus . . . / . . . Caucasus*. From the time of the *Prometheus Bound* the Caucasus had been famed for its harsh cliffs. *Tert. Adv. Marc.* 1, 1 describes *Marcion* as *Scythia telrior, Hamaxobio instabilior, Massageta inhumanior, Amazone audacior, . . . Caucaso abruptior*. Cf. also *Cayado, Ecl.* 6, 54: *Caucasus horrens*.

367. *Hyrcanae . . . tigres*: the region about the Caspian, including Hyrcania at its southeast end, was considered particularly barbarous, and its jungles and forests were full of dangerous beasts; cf. *Mela*, 3, 38; *Sen. Phaedr.* 70; *Solin.* 17, 4; *Lact. Inst.* 5, 11, 4; *Kießling in P.-W.* 9 (1916), 458, who states that the Indian tiger is still found there. Cf. *Mela*, 3, 43: *silvae alia quoque dira animalia verum et tigres ferunt utique Hyrcanae*.

368. nam quid dissimulo aut quae me ad maiora reservo?

368. nam . . . reservo: *Prisc. Inst.* 8, 28 (G. L. K. 2, 395) — quid dido dī dissimulo *L.* simulo (corr. in disimulo) *G*; quae dis me *D*; reserua (corr. in reseruo *Dd*) —; *Anth. Lat.* no. 17, 279 (1, p. 72 Riese) — desimulo *A*; quid (pro quae) *A* —. 368. nam quid: *Gl. Ansil.* 383, 30; q.v.

niae, saevum ferarum genus; Petron. 134, 12: *Hyrcaenae . . . tigres*; Luc. 1, 327–328; Plin. *N. H.* 8, 66: *tigrim Hyrcani et Indi ferunt*; Stat. *Theb.* 9, 15–16; 12, 170 (in 5, 204; 8, 572 he speaks of the lions there); Sil. 4, 331; 5, 280–281; Mart. 8, 26, 1–3; *Epigr.* 18, 2; Solin. 17, 4; Serv. *Aen.* 7, 605; Amm. Marc. 23, 6, 50–52; Claud. *In Rufin.* 1, 227; Sidon. *Carm.* 5, 530–531: *cuius lac tigridis infans / Hyrcana sub rupe bibit*; Dracont. *De Laud. Dei.* 1, 310–311; *Romul.* 8, 577; Isid. *Etym.* 9, 2, 42; 12, 2, 7; Engelmodus, *Carm.* 1, 67–68 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 57): *e saxis genitum hunc laclarunt ubera tigrum / durum perpetuo frigore Sarmatico*; Gualterus, *Alexandreis*, 5, 477–478; Shakesp. *III Hen. VI*, Act 1, Sc. 4: “But you are more inhuman, more inexorable, / O, ten times more, than tigers of Hyrcania”; *Macbeth*, Act 3, Sc. 4; *Hamlet*, Act 2, Sc. 2; Daniel, *Sonnets after Astrophel*, 11: “Hyrcan tigers.” Bolivar said of Boves that he was not nourished with woman’s milk but with the blood of tigers and of the furies of Hell (Ybarra, *Bolivar* (1929), 105). Tigers are also described as ‘Caspian’ (Stat. *Theb.* 10, 288–289; Maximian, 1, 272; Claud. *De Rapt. Pros.* 3, 105–106: *si . . . non me Caspia tigris / edidit*; Ennod. *Carm.* 1, 9, 63), ‘Armenian’ (*Ecl.* 5, 29; Ov. *M.* 8, 121; 15, 86; *Am.* 2, 14, 35; Tib. 3, 6, 15; Prop. 1, 9, 19; Sen. *H. O.* 241–242; *Anth. Lat.* no. 798a, 25 (2, p. 275 Riese), or ‘Caucasian’ (Sil. 15, 81). Servius’s gloss on *Hyrcaenae*: *Arabicae*; nam *Hyrcania silva est Arabiae* is hard to explain, unless we may assume some other, less familiar, Arabia near the Caspian, of which we may have a possible trace in the manuscript reading of Aesch. *P. V.* 420: *Ἀραβίας τ’ ἀπεινὸν ἄνθος* (near the Caucasus) and in the fortress of Arabio between Persia and Mesopotamia; cf. Archelaus (*Patr. Gr.* 10, 1435, and n. 45).

Tigers were perhaps first seen by Romans in 20 B.C. (Dio Cass. 54, 9, 8) and first ex-

hibited at Rome in the consulship of Q. Tubero and Fabius Maximus in 11 B.C. (Plin. *N. H.* 8, 65). They often appear as typical of savagery; e.g., *G.* 4, 510; Eur. *Med.* 1342; Hor. *C.* 1, 23, 9; 3, 27, 56; Ov. *M.* 7, 32; 9, 613; Juv. 15, 163; note also the form of lycanthropy in which men turn into tigers (Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, 1 (1 Am. ed., 1874), 308–312). Back of the cruelty of the tigresses, however, may lie a connotation of the barbarism of the country (Sen. *Thy.* 630–631: *sub aeterna nive / Hyrcana tellus*) and its people, a race of nomads (*Cosmogr.* 18, in *Geogr. Lat. min.* p. 95 Riese) and robbers (Strab. 11, 7, 2), lawless, like other tribes bordering upon the Caspian (Sen. *Tr.* 1105–1106), and, like the Avars of a later date (Otto of Freising, *Chron.* 5, 9), proverbial for cruelty (cf. Plin. *N. H.* 6, 53; Isid. *Etym.* 14, 3, 32–33), which was remarked especially in their custom of throwing their dead to the dogs (Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 108; Porphy. *De Abstin.* 4, 21; Iambl. *Drama*, 8; Hier. *Adv. Iovin.* 2, 7; also Gratt. *Cyneg.* 1, 161–162). Virgil mentions them in 6, 605 as potential foes of Rome. The criticism of the Scholia Danielis is: *sane quidam absurde putant Caucasum et tigris a Didone memoratus, quia nec Didoni perturbatae venire in mentem Caucasus potuit, nec tigres iuxta dum cognitae, et hoc Hyrcanae*. Virgil was probably less disturbed by the anachronism. With the general thought cf. also Catull. 60, 1–5.

367. *admorunt*: for such syncopated forms cf. Priscian, *Inst.* 9 (G. L. K. 2, 478); *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 770, 1–5; and for the phrase Phaedr. 3, 15, 7: *admoto ubere*; Plin. *N. H.* 10, 168: *lacte nutrit ubera admovens*; Flor. 1, 1, 3: *ubera admovit infantibus*; Aug. *C. D.* 18, 21: *lupa credatur admovisse ubera parvulis*.

On infants suckled by animals, and hence often thought of as partaking of the qualities of their foster-mothers, see the general com-

369. num fletu ingemuit nostro? num lumina flexit?

nunc *M* (num *M*¹). fletu *M* (fletu *M*¹), fleta γ¹. nostra (corr. in nostro) *P*. . exit a¹, flexit a².

369–370. num fletu . . . est: [*Iul. Rufin.*] *De Schem. Lex.* 6, p. 49 Halm; *Donat. in Ter. Ad.* 307 — ingemuit n. num l. f. n. l. u. d. a. m. a. e. —. 369. num . . . nostro: *Anth. Lat.* no. 17, 273 (1, p. 72 Riese) — non *A*; fletu ingemui *A* —.

ment of Plin. *N. H.* 8, 61: *quae de infantibus ferarum lacte nutritis cum essent expositi produntur, sicut de conditoribus nostris a lupa, magnitudini fatorum accepta ferri aequius quam ferarum naturae arbitror*; Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, 4 ed., 1 (1903), 281–282 (and works there cited); McCartney, *Greek and Roman Lore of animal-nursed Infants*, in *Papers of the Mich. Acad. of Sci., Arts, and Letters*, 4 (1924), 15–42, to which add: Burris in *Cl. Weekly*, 21 (1928), 104; Kraemer in the same, 21 (1928), 189–190; Shewan in the same, 21 (1928), 190; Frazer on Ov. *F.* 2, 412 (pp. 375–381); also *Aen.* 11, 570–572 (Camilla); Theocr. 3, 15–16; 23, 19–20; Luc. *De Sacrif.* 5; Schol. Juv. 1, 5 (Telephus); Procop. 6, 17, 3–11; Isid. *Etym.* 12, 7, 42.

368. *nam*, etc.: Serv.: *tacitae quaestioni occurrit, ne quis eius nimiam iracundiam reprehenderet, dicens Aeneam posse mitigari forsitan precibus*. Cf. Eur. *Med.* 282: *οὐδὲν δέῃ παραμύχεω λόγους*. The first clause seems to mean “Why do I conceal my real feelings?” (the indicative being used for vividness in place of a deliberative subjunctive, as in 2, 322; 3, 88; 3, 367; 4, 534; 12, 637). The second clause may mean “For what better opportunity to speak (or, as La Cerda thought, “for what more effective appeal”) am I keeping myself?” But the more likely meaning is suggested by the first alternative offered by the Scholia Danielis: *aut ad maiores scilicet iniurias; aut ad superiora pertinent, quia ei male dixit*.

368. *quae*, etc.: cf. 5, 625: *infelix, cui te exitio Fortuna reservat* (cf. 8, 575); *Cir.* 318: *quo nunc me, infelix, aut quae me fata reservant*; Oros. 2, 11, 9: *suasit ut se ad meliora tempora reservarent*. Placek, *Re in den Compositis in Vergils Aeneis* (1882), 15, discusses parallels to the use of *reservo*.

369. *num*: note the anaphora. Schol.

Dan.: *nam hoc est ‘generis nec Dardanus auctor,’ while num lumina flexit is explained: hoc est ‘genuit Caucasus,’ vel ad illud pertinet (4, 331–332) ‘ille Iovis monitis innotata tenebat / lumina.’* Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 134, n. 2) compares Eur. *Med.* 469–470: *οὐτοι θράσος τόδ’ ἐστὶν οὐδ’ εὐτολμία, / φίλους κακῶς δράσαντ’ ἐναντίον βλέπων*; cf. also Val. Fl. 7, 483: *hei mihi, cur nullos stringunt tua lumina fletus*; Ambros. *De Virg.* 3, 7, 38: *non vultum inflexit, non ora convertit, non gemitu victa lacrimam dedit*; Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 16, 56, 5–8 (quoted at 4, 365, n. (nec, etc.), above); Racine, *Androm.* Act 5, Sc. 1, 1400–1402: *en ai-je pu tirer un seul gémissement? / muet à mes soupirs, tranquille à mes alarmes, / sembloit-il seulement qu’il eût part à mes larmes?* In a different connection Cic. *Tusc.* 2, 41, remarks: *quis mediocris gladiator ingemuit, quis vultum mutavit umquam?*

369. *fletu*: probably dative (cf. *G.* 1, 45–46), dependent upon *ingemuit*. For such dative forms of masculines of the fourth declension in Virgil and other writers cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 395–396. It would not be impossible, however, to construe it as a causal ablative.

369. *ingemuit*: as a sign of sympathy cf. *Ecl.* 5, 27; *Aen.* 6, 483; 10, 789; 10, 823; 11, 840. From this point to line 380 Dido effectively changes from direct address to Aeneas to a soliloquy in which he is referred to in the third person, thus adding to the impression of scorn on her part by a refusal, or, what is even more serious, an inability to recognize him as present (the Scholia Danielis compare with this shift of persons *Ecl.* 3, 5–6). Page (*ad loc.*) thinks Dido forgets his presence; that she speaks, first in sorrowful regret, rising into indignation (373–375) and fury (376), but then controlled into bitter

370. num lacrimas victus dedit aut miseratus amantem est?
quae quibus anteferam? iam iam nec maxima Iuno

non c. haut γ. miserat α¹. amantemst P, amantem est MP²γbc, amantem (est add. m. 2) α, amantēē p.
(qu)ae P. iam (corr. in iam iam) c.

[369*] 370. aut . . . est: Pomp. Comm. (G. L. K. 5, 238) — nec miseratus amantem —; Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 491) — haud —; Serv. Aen. 1, 597 — nec miseratus —; Anth. Lat. no. 17, 273 (1, p. 72 Riese) — amanti A; est om. A —.

371–372. iam iam . . . aequis: Macrob. Sat. 6, 1, 59. 371. anteferam: Gl. Aa, 177, 1025; q.v.

sarcasm (376–380), after which she again addresses him directly, in violent tones.

369. *lumina flexit*: cf. 6, 788: *huc geminas nunc flecte acies*; Ov. M. 8, 696: *flexere oculos*; 8, 864–865: *in nullam lumina partem / . . . flexi*; Tac. Hist. 2, 70: *at non Vitellius flexit oculos*; Sen. Ad Marc. de Consol. 15, 3: *flente populo Romano non flexit vultum*; Avien. 2, 539: *flectaris lumina*; Claud. In Rufin. 1, 359: *huc lumina flecte*; Sidon. Carm. 7, 509: *quid lumina flectis*? Donatus remarks: *haec tria sunt quibus taciti homines ostendant quid geratur interius, si miseratione moveantur; aut enim gemunt aut lacrimas fundunt aut oculos flectunt*.

370. *lacrimas . . . dedit*: cf. 9, 292–293: *dedere / . . . lacrimas*; Ov. Her. 3, 15; Rem. Am. 129; M. 2, 341; 11, 720: *lacrimam daret*; Sen. Agam. 521–522; the phrase is the opposite of *lacrimas tenere* (e.g., Cic. 2 Verr. 5, 172). Aeneas has shown nothing to match Dido's tears in 4, 314.

370. *victus*: Mackail (*ad loc.*) compares 4, 434: *me victam*. There, however, the victory over Dido is to be won by her being crushed by external circumstances, while here she desires Aeneas to be overcome by his own emotions responding to her entreaties to him (cf. 2, 699).

371. *quae, etc.*: cf. Paul. Nol. Carm. 21, 357: *quae quibus anteferam*; Ennod. Opusc. 2 (C. S. E. L. 6, 292): *quae quibus anteferam*; Vida, Poet. 2, 480–481: *anceps / quae quibus anteferat*. Serv.: *amphibolia: quid prius, quid posterius dicam?* — an expression of absolute despair. Cf. also Od. 9, 14: *τί πρῶτόν τοι ἔπειτα, τί δ' ὑστάτιον καταλέξω*; Eur. El.

907–908: *τὴν ἀρχὴν πρῶτά σ' ἐξέπω κακῶν, / ποίας τελευτάς; τίνα μέσον τάξω λόγον*; I. A. 1124–1126; Theocr. 2, 64–65: *νῦν δὴ μῶνα ἑοῖσα πόθεν τὸν ἔρωτα δακρύσω; / ἐκ τίνος ἀρξέσμαι*; Apoll. Rh. 3, 1011: *οὐδ' ἔχεν δῖτι πάροιθεν ἔπος προτιμῆσαιτο*; Ter. Eun. 1044: *quid commemorem primum aut laudem maxime*; Sen. Tr. 1058: *quid prius referens gemam*; Val. Fl. 7, 433–435: *nec quibus incipiat demens videt, ordine nec quo, / quove lenus, prima cupiens effundere voce / omnia*; Claud. VI Cons. Honor. 280–281: *quae prima miser, quae funera dictis / posteriora querar*; Tasso, Ger. lib. 16, 57, 1: *Quali cose tralascio, e quai ridico?* Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 714–717), in a long discussion of previous interpretations of this phrase, suggests that it is based on Eur. Med. 475: *ἐκ τῶν δὲ πρῶτων πρῶτον ἀρξομαι λέγειν*, said by Medea before beginning the recital of the benefits she had conferred upon the faithless Jason, as here Dido goes on to relate (373–375) her services to Aeneas. Conington (*ad loc.*) compares 4, 284: *quae prima exordia sumat?* Cf. also Anna at 4, 677: *quid primum deserta querar?* I should explain both *quae* and *quibus* as interrogative = “what shall I say first (among all the things that might be said)?” Some editors, however, regard *quae* as a relative: “to what things can I prefer these (as being less intolerable)?” The explanation of Palmer (in *Hermathena*, 6 (1888), 303–304) and Sabbadini (*ad loc.*): = *quae (haec) ad quos deferam?* assumes a meaning for *anteferre* not elsewhere paralleled.

371. *iam iam, etc.*: an emphatic repetition; cf. 2, 701; 12, 676; 12, 875; and for

372. nec Saturnius haec oculis pater aspicit aequis.

nes M (nec M¹), (ne)c P.

[371] 372. nec . . . aequis: Schol. Dan. Aen. 1, 23; Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. S. 65. 372. Saturnius pater: Gl. Ansil. 509, 576. 372. Saturnius: Serv. Aen. 4, 440. 372. haec aspicit: Gl. Ansil. 275, 27. 372. oculis aequis: Gl. Ansil. 407, 135 (cf. 36, 221); Gl. Abstr. 7, 33).

the thought Soph. Ant. 922–924: *τί χρὴ με τὴν δύστηνον ἐς θεοὺς ἔτι / βλέπειν; τὴν αὐδᾶν ξυμμάχων; ἐπεὶ γε δὴ / τὴν δυσσέβειαν εὖσεβοῦσ' ἐκτρησάμην*; Acc. Sc. 142–143: *iam iam neque di regunt / neque profecto deum supremus rex (iam) curat hominibus* (which Macrob. Sat. 6, 1, 59 compares with this line).

371. *maxima Iuno*: Serv.: *aut in Iunonem male dictum est, ut eam non esse maximam dicat, sicut etiam in Iovem; nam convicium est quod eum Saturnium dicit, hoc est, nocentem; aut certe iungitur, ut 'nec Iuno aspicit nec Iuppiter'*; Schol. Dan.: *aut certe 'maxima Iuno' quae solet amare Carthaginem; vel quae nuptias dedit, quod optaverat Dido*. The phrase is certainly parallel to *Saturnius . . . pater*, with which it is joined by the correlative use of *nec*, and as such is a subject of *aspicit* rather than of *est* understood. Carcopino (*Virgile et les Origines d' Ostie* (1919), 700–702) attempts to show that *maxima Iuno* here (though not in 8, 84; 10, 685; and Ov. M. 3, 263; cf. Carter, *Epitheta Deorum* (1902), 49) is the Punic Tanit, and has no connection with the Italian Iuno, while *Saturnius . . . pater* is no other than Baal, who in the Punic-Latin syncretism of the African provinces becomes *Saturnus aug(ustus)*. But that Virgil archaeologizes to this extent for the antiquities of a country outside the Graeco-Latin tradition it is hard to prove or disprove. Donatus says: *apparet cur primam Iunonem posuit, vel quod apud Carthaginem praecipue coleretur vel quod iam ex aliis esset inimica Troianis*.

372. *Saturnius*: Schol. Dan.: *ut supra* (4, 92) *dictum est, ubicumque infestos vult ostendere vel Iunonem vel Iovem, Saturnios appellat* (citing I, 23 and 12, 830) . . . *et Iovem ideo Saturnium modo appellat quia Aeneam a Carthagine praecipit abscedere*.

Cf. Cic. De Div. 2, 64 (translating Il. 2, 319): *genitor Saturnius*; Ov. M. 1, 163: *pater . . . Saturnius*; Il. Lat. 223: *pater . . . Saturnius*.

372. *oculis . . . aequis*: cf. 9, 209: *Iuppiter aut quicumque oculis haec aspicit aequis*; Ov. M. 13, 70: *aspiciunt oculis superi mortalia iustis*; Curt. 8, 2, 9: *aequis oculis videre*; Sen. De Tranq. 9, 2: *paupertatem aequis oculis aspicere*; De Ira, 3, 37, 5: *non aequis quandam oculis vidisti*; Val. Fl. 1, 795: *terras oculis quae prospicis aequis*; 4, 1–2: *atque ea non oculis divum pater amplius aequis / sustinuit*; Sil. 6, 105–106: *adverte procellis / aequos Iliacis oculos*; Stat. Theb. 10, 884–885: *pater aequis utrisque / aspicit ingentes ardentum comminus iras*; Suet. Aug. 16: *ne rectis quidem oculis . . . aspicere*; Hier. Ep. 54, 15, 3: *nec aequis aspicere oculis*; 66, 1, 2; Contr. Ioan. Hierosol. 4: *obliquis oculis despicias*; so also *aequis auribus* (e.g., Cic. Ad Fam. 7, 33, 2; Curt. 8, 5, 20; Amm. Marc. 14, 10, 3), and the use of *aequus* as applied to divinities; e.g., 1, 479: *non aequae Palladis*; 6, 129–130: *quos aequus amavit / Iuppiter* (echoed in Plin. Ep. 1, 2, 2; Sidon. Ep. 4, 3, 10); Hor. C. S. 65: *si Palatinas videt aequus aras* (sc. *Phoebus*); also Ezech. 18, 25: “Yet ye say ‘the way of the Lord is not equal’.” For *iniquus* = *inimicus* cf. Lucil. 259 and parallels cited by Marx.

372. *aspicit*: cf. 4, 208, n. (*aspicis haec*), above. Stephenson (*ad loc.*) finds three possible explanations: (1) they no longer look impartially upon actions in this world; (2) they no longer look favorably upon Carthage, i.e., they have deserted its cause; (3) they cannot look favorably on such conduct as that of Aeneas. He decides for the third meaning (cf. Kvčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1831), 106–108); I should prefer the first or the second.

373. nusquam tuta fides. eiectum litore, egentem
excepi et regni demens in parte locavi,

(n)usquam P. electum γ.
(ex)cepi P.

373-374. eiectum . . . locavi: *Sen. De Benef.* 7, 25, 2; *Prisc. Inst.* 18, 306 (G. L. K. 3, 377) — li. tore D; eiectum (pro egentem) N; suscepi (suscipiet L); iocavi V — 373-374. eiectum . . . excepi: *Prisc. Inst.* 18, 208 (G. L. K. 3, 309) — littore (O); suscepi —; 18, 217 (G. L. K. 3, 315) — suscepi (suscepi egentem N) —. 373. nusquam . . . fides: *Sen. N. Q.* 40, praef., 19; *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 425; *in Ter. Ad.* 330; *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 159* (1, p. 47 Riese); *no. 17, 19* (1, p. 62 Riese); *Isid. Etym.* 2, 21, 15; *Gilo, 3, 450* (*Patr. Lat.* 155, 968); *Petrus Venerab. Ep.* 2, 34 (*Patr. Lat.* 189, 256); *Dreves, Analecta hymnica, 21* (1895), 124, no. 179, 2, 4. 373. eiectum . . . egentem: *Sen. De Benef.* 7, 25, 2; *Serv. Aen.* 1, 578.

[373*] 374. regni in parte: *Gl. Ansil.* 490, 775.

373. nusquam, etc.: cf. *Eur. Med.* 412-413: ἀνδράσι μὲν δόλαι βουλαί, θεῶν δ' / οὐκ ἐστὶ πίστις ἄρα; 492: ὅρκων δὲ φροδὴ πίστις; *Ter. Andr.* 425: nullane in re esse quovisquam homini fidem; *Heaut.* 256 (cited by Donatus): O Iuppiter, ubinamst fides; *Adelph.* 330 (cited by Servius): quid iam credas? aut qui credas; *Catull.* 30, 6: eheu, quid faciant, dic, homines, cuive habeant fidem; 64, 143-144: nunc iam nulla viro iuranti femina credat, / nulla viri speret sermones esse fideles (cf. *Ov. F.* 3, 475: nunc quoque 'nulla viro' clamabo 'femina credat'); *Val. Fl.* 8, 430: nulla fides; *Ambros. Ep.* 18, 33: si fides tuta sit; *Paul. Petric. De Vita Mart.* 4, 591: sic nuptis est tuta fides; *Prud. Cathem.* 4, 46: o semper pietas fidesque tuta; *Gilo Parisiensis, Hist. Hierosol.* 3, 450 (*Patr. Lat.* 155, 968): nusquam tuta fides posthac; *Anon. in Mon. Germ. hist., Epist.* 6, 183: nusquam tuta fides; *Ermoldus, In Hon. Hludowici,* 3, 401 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 521); *Walahfridus Strabo, Vita S. Galli,* 1801 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 473): ut me tuta fides confirmet; *Werner, Lat. Sprichwörter u. Sinnsprüche des Mittelalters* (1912), 63, no. 291: numquam certa fides, idcirco fallimur omnes; *Shakesp. II Hen. VI, Act 5, Sc. 1*: "O, where is faith, O, where is loyalty?" Cf. also *Pichon, De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 147-148.

373. eiectum litore: cf. *Ov. H.* 7, 89-90: fluctibus eiectum tuta statione recepi / vixque bene audito nomine regna dedi. A locative ablative; cf. 3, 135: subductae litore puppes;

Kern, Zum Gebrauch d. Abl. bei Vergil (1881), 21, who compares the use with the preposition in *Ov. M.* 13, 536: eiectum Polydori in litore corpus (to which add: *Ter. Andr.* 923-924: Atticus quidam olim navi fracta ad Andrum eiectus est / . . . tum ille egens, etc.; *Caes. B. G.* 5, 10, 2: naves in litore eiectas; *Catull.* 68, 3: eiectum . . . undis). Servius would punctuate: eiectum (i.e., naufragum, ἐκπεσών, as Donatus also understands the word), litore egentem, explaining: id est, 'egentem litoris', ut (1, 540) 'hospitio prohibemur harenae', though the Scholia Danielis recognize the correct view: vel si iungas 'eiectum litore' pro 'in litus', ut (1, 6) 'inferretque deos Latio' pro 'in Latium.' I cannot follow Henry in his lengthy attempt to prove (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 719-722) that eiectum here means, not one cast away by the sea but an outcast from his own realm, despite his citation of 1, 578 and 8, 646. On *litore* Donatus remarks: et per hoc sine tecti subsidio.

With Dido's recital of her services to Aeneas (lines 373-375) cf. 4, 317, n. (si, etc.). Her complaint of the ingratitude of Aeneas parallels that by Iarbas against Dido herself (4, 211-214), who, like Aeneas, was an outcast without a city of her own, to whom he had granted a foothold on the coast (litus arandum), and who had, in turn, declined his advances; cf. *Hahn in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 56 (1926), 186, n. 9.

373. egentem: cf. 1, 384: ipse ignotus, egens; 1, 599; *Sen. Med.* 20; and, for the contrast between the need of Aeneas and the

375. amissam classem, socios a morte reduxi.
heu, furiis incensa feror! nunc augur Apollo,

(a)missam P, ammissam γα.
(h)eu P, eu γ. auctor Apollo m.

375. amissam . . . reduxi: *Prisc. Inst.* 2, 6 (G. L. K. 2, 47) — eiectam (pro amissam; cf. 4, 373), lectam GL; classem GL, classam H; socios (corr. ex socius) B, sociosque G; reduxit LK —. 375. reduxi: *Gl. Ansil.* 489, 481; q.v.

376-377. nunc . . . sortes: *Donat. in Ter. Eun.* 70 — n. a. a. T; licie T, litie C; sortes om. TC, s. V —. 376. heu . . . feror: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 153* (1, p. 67 Riese) — ingensa A —.

wealth of Dido, 4, 75, n. (opes), above. Editors observe that the three cases of asyndeton (eiectum egentem, classem socios, and excepi reduxi) denote excited feeling.

374. excepi: cf. 3, 317-318: quis te casus deiectam coniuge tanto / excipit; *Ov. F.* 5, 391: excipit hospitio iunctum Philyreius heros; and the thought in *Od.* 5, 130: τὸν μὲν ἐγὼν ἐσάωσα, κτλ. The verb is sometimes used in a bad sense, as in 6, 173.

374. regni: cf. 4, 214: dominum Aeneas in regna recepit; 4, 597: cum sceptrā dabas; *Ov. H.* 7, 12: sceptro tradita summa tuo; 7, 90: regna dedi; also the offer of the royal power of Thoas to Jason by Hypsipyle (*Apoll. Rh.* 1, 827-829; 1, 890-892).

374. demens: Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 722) compares *Eur. Med.* 485: πρῶτος μάλ' ὃν ἢ σοφώτερα.

374. in parte locavi: cf. *Lucr.* 3, 98: in parte locatum; *Aen.* 12, 145: caelique libens in parte locarim; *Juvenc.* 4, 263: libens in parte locabit. The Scholia Danielis attempt to connect the term locare with a technical one applied to the bride in a Roman marriage by confarreatio.

375. classem: *Serv.*: subaudis 'renovavi', i.e., reduxi is used in zeugma. Donatus explains a little differently: 'a morte' igitur ad solos homines pertinet, 'reduxi' vero et ad homines et ad navis. Cf. 1, 551-552: quasatam ventis liceat subducere classem / et silvis aptare trabes et stringere remos; 4, 53. On the asyndeton cf. 4, 373, n. (egentem); During, *De Vergilii Sermone epico* (1905), 62; and with the two clauses *Pind. Ol.* 13, 54: ναὶ σῴττειραν Ἀργεῖοι καὶ προπόλοις; *Aesch. Agam.* 659-660: ὀρώμεν ἀνθρώπων πέλαγος Αἰγαῖον νεκροῖς / ἀνδρῶν Ἀχαιῶν ναυτικοῖς τ' ἐρείπιοις.

For Dido's services to the fleet cf. her promise in 1, 571: auxilio tulos dimittam opibusque iuvabo. *Ov. H.* 2, 45-46 offers a partial parallel: at laceras etiam puppes furiosa refeci, / ut qua desereret firma carina foret.

375. a morte: Mackail (*ad loc.*) notes the alliteration between amissos and a morte, lending balance to the two parts of the verse.

376. furiis incensa: cf. 9, 342-343: incensus et ipse / perfurit; 12, 946: furiis accensus; *Hor. S.* 2, 3, 135: malis dementem actum furiis; *Prud. Contr. Symm.* 2, 864: incensus furiis caeca ad responsa vocatur; also *Aen.* 4, 300-301: totamque incensa per urbem / bacchatur.

376. feror: of one borne on by powers over which he has no control; e.g., *G.* 4, 497; *Aen.* 2, 337; 2, 655; 3, 11; 4, 110 (and n.); 10, 631; 10, 670; *Ov. H.* 4, 47; *Ep.* 15, 140; *Sen. Med.* 123; *Luc.* 1, 678; 1, 683; etc.; also *Serv.*: quia multa erat in deos locutura. et bona praemittitur excusatio, nam numina non credere curare mortalia et ab his non sperare furoris est. subiungit enim (4, 382) 'si quid pia numina possunt.'

376. nunc: the threefold anaphora represents the three forms of divine command, Apollo (4, 345), the Lyciae sortes (4, 346), and Mercury sent by Jupiter (4, 356), which are ordering Aeneas away from Carthage; cf. Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 722-723. Donat.: si ista vera sunt, cur non exlitterunt ante beneficia mea? The repetition also suggests, but in an ironical way, that of nunc in the speech of Aeneas (4, 345; 4, 356); cf. *Hahn in Cl. Weekly*, 27 (1934), 161, n. 91.

376. augur Apollo: the phrase occurs in *Hor. C.* 1, 2, 32; *Val. Fl.* 1, 234; cf. *Carm. Saec.* 61-62: augur . . . / Phoebus; *Stat.*

377. nunc Lyciae sortes, nunc et Iove missus ab ipso
 interpres divom fert horrida iussa per auras.
 scilicet is superis labor est, ea cura quietos

et om. πρ.

dium P¹, diuum MP² p¹abc. dicta per M (cf. 4, 226; 4, 380).

his γ.

[376*] 377-378. nunc . . . auras: [Iul. Rufin.] *De Schem. Dian.* 6, p. 61 Halm — diuum —. 377. nunc . . . ipso: *Serv. Aen.* 11, 403. 377. nunc . . . sortes: *Serv. Aen.* 6, 12; 12, 516; *Mythogr. Val.* 111, 8, 1.

[377*] 378. interpres divom: *Anth. Lat.* no. 719a, 127 (2, p. 193 Riese) — interpraes monitum P —. 378. horrida: cf. *Gl. Ansil.* 283, 109-110; 416, 206-207.

379-380. scilicet . . . sollicitat: *Sen. Rhel. Suas.* 4, 4 — silicet ST —; 4, 5 — silicet ST; quitos C —; [Acro] in *Hor. C.* 1, 34, 2 — his a, id Ar¹V —; *Hier. Comm. in Ezech.* 3 (*Patr. Lat.* 25, 91); *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 314 — his F, dis T —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 3, 350; *Mythogr. Val.* 111, 9, 9; *Hrabanus Maurus, Comm. in Ezech.* 5 (*Patr. Lat.* 110, 633). 379-380. ea . . . sollicitat: [Acro] in *Hor. C.* 3, 3, 35; *Serm.* 2, 6, 65. 379. scilicet . . . est: *Quintil. Inst.* 9, 2, 50; *Iul. Rufin. De Figur.* 1, p. 38 Halm; [Prob.] *De ult. Syll.* 10 (G. L. K. 4, 252) — his B —; *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 185 — silicet C; his TC; superis l. e. (superis labor est TCV) —. 379. scilicet is superis: *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 446). 379. quietos: *Gl. Ansil.* 480, 106; q.v.

Theb. 1, 495. De la Ville de Mirmont (*Apollo-nios de Rhodes et Virgile* (1894), 345) connects (improbably) *augur* with *augere*; cf. 8, 336: *auctor Apollo*. With this speech cf. *Ov. H.* 7, 139, where Dido quotes Aeneas's excuse 'sed iubet ire deus.' The predicate must be supplied by zeugma from *fert horrida iussa per auras*; perhaps *Italiam sequi iusserunt* is the thought intended.

377. Lyciae sortes: cf. 4, 346.

377. missus ab ipso: cf. 4, 356; 4, 574: *deus aethere missus ab alto*.

378. interpres divom: cf. 3, 359: *Troiu-gena interpres divom*; 10, 175: *hominum divomque interpres*.

378. fert horrida iussa: cf. *Val. Fl.* 3, 47: *Pan iussa ferens saevissima matris*. With *horrida* cf. 11, 96-97: *eadem horrida belli / fata vocant*. The Scholia Danielis say: *et hoc per inrisionem, quasi plena venerationis, vel quae tu timeas*.

378. per auras: cf. 4, 226, n. (*celeris . . . auras*); 4, 270.

379. scilicet: initial in the line in all but one of its fifteen Virgilian instances; cf. Vessereau on *Aetna*, 102. Though often used in prose in a sarcastic sense, as here, this use is infrequent in verse; yet cf. 2, 577; 11, 371;

Ter. Andr. 185; *Hor. C.* 3, 5, 25; *Sil.* 2, 312; 5, 114; Helin in *Rev. des Études lat.* 5 (1927), 66.

379. superis: often applied to the gods; cf. Braumüller, *Über Tropen u. Figuren in Vergils Aeneis*, 2 (1882), 11. The attempt of some ancient scholars (ap. *Schol. Dan.*) to refer *superis* to Mercury, Apollo, and Jupiter, and *quietos* to the dead (cf. 4, 351) is fanciful. With the phrase cf. *Luc.* 6, 492: *quis labor hic superis*.

379. ea cura, etc.: *Serv.: Cicero in libris de deorum natura* (1, 63) *triplicem de diis dicit esse opinionem: deos non esse, cuius rei auctor apud Athenas exustus est; esse et nihil curare, ut Epicurei; esse et curare, ut Stoici; secundum quos paulo post* (4, 382) *'si quid pia numina possunt'; nam modo secundum Epicureos ait 'ea cura quietos.'* With Dido's allusion to divine ἀραξία cf. the first of the κῆρυαι δόξαι of Epicurus (*Diog. L.* 10, 139 = Usener, *Epicurea* (1887), 71; Bailey, *Epicurus* (1926), 94): τὸ μακάριον καὶ ἀφθαρτον οὐτε αὐτὸ πρᾶγματα ἔχει οὐτε ἄλλω παρέχει (translated by *Cic. N. D.* 1, 45, where see the notes of Mayor and of Plasberg). For other passages cf. Usener, *op. cit.*, 241-244; Pease on *Cic. De Div.* 2, 40; 2, 104; Bignone,

380. sollicitat. neque te teneo neque dicta refello:
 i, sequere Italiam ventis, pete regna per undas.

ii M. peto γ¹.

[379] 380-381. neque te . . . undas: *Albericus Casin. Flores rhet.* (cf. Willard in *Anniv. Essays . . . by Students of C. H. Haskins* (1929), 363). 380. neque teneo: *Gl. Ansil.* 389, 357.

[380] 381. i . . . undas: *Donat. in Ter. Ad.* 134; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1, 659 — insequere Pb, id est sequere L —; *Isid. Etym.* 2, 21, 18. 381. i . . . ventis: *Quintil. Inst.* 9, 2, 48; [Serg.] *Expl. in Donat.* 1 (G. L. K. 4, 100; 4, 520); *Pomp. Comm.* (G. L. K. 5, 100) — uentos A —; *Serv. Aen.* 7, 426 — insequere F —. 381. i . . . Italiam: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 2, 340 — i om. MPa, id est Pb —. 381. i . . . undas: *Iul. Rufin. De Figur.* 27, p. 45 Halm. 381. sequere Italiam: *Gl. Ansil.* 519, 488. 381. pete regna: *Gl. Ansil.* 441, 1279.

Epicuro (1920), 55; Bailey, *op. cit.*, 347; to which add: *Lucr.* 2, 646-651; 5, 82; 6, 58-78 (in 6, 73 he calls the gods placida cum pace quietos); *Cic. Off.* 3, 102; *Virg. Ecl.* 8, 35: *nec curare deum credis mortalia quemquam*; *Hor. S.* 1, 5, 101; *C.* 3, 3, 35-36: *adscribi quietis / ordinibus patiar deorum*; *Juv.* 6, 394-395; *Plut. Quaest. conv.* 3, 6, 4; *Galen, Hist. Philos.* 16 (*Doxogr. Gr.* 609); *Iren. Cont. Haeres.* 3, 24, 2; *Sallustius, De Diis*, 9; *Serv. Aen.* 1, 11: *Epicurei dicunt deos humana penilus non curare*; 1, 227; *Mart. Cap.* 2, 150; *Reinach in Rev. des Ét. gr.* 29 (1916), 238-244.

This passage — anachronistic in attributing Epicurean doctrines to a lady of the heroic age (unless *Il.* 24, 525-526, which *Buscaroli* (*ad loc.*) cites, be held sufficient justification); cf. *Pease in Cl. Journ.* 22 (1927), 246-248 — is inadequate, as *Carcopino* well observes (*Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (1919), 756), to prove that Virgil still continued an Epicurean (cf. *Pease in Cl. Weekly*, 15 (1921), 2-5), and in 4, 382 and 4, 607-612 Dido is herself inconsistent with her attitude here, as *Servius* notes.

With the phraseology cf. 11, 253-254: *quae vos fortuna quietos / sollicitat*; *Dracont. Romul.* 2, 79-80: *quae causa quietas / sollicitet*; *Ioannes Scottus, Carm.* 2, 4, 15-16 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 533): *iustissima cura / illam sollicitat*; *Joseph of Exeter* (*Iscanus*), *Bell. Tr.* 3, 133-135: *haec scilicet angil / cura deos, aevi lacitos vexare recessus, / et rerum librare vices*. The adjective *quietos* is perhaps suggested by *Od.* 5, 122: *θεοὶ πεῖρα ἰώοντες*;

others suggest *Eur. Tr.* 985: *μένονσ' ἄν ἡσυχος σ' ἐν οὐρανῷ*.

380. sollicitat: in its three other Virgilian cases (*G.* 3, 131; *Aen.* 11, 254; 12, 404) used, as here, as a 'run-over' word.

380. te teneo: cf. *Il.* 1, 173-174: *φεῦγε μάλ', εἰ τοι θυμὸς ἐπέσσυται· οὐδὲ σ' ἐγὼ γε / λίσσομαι εἶναι ἐμείο μένειν*; *Ov. H.* 7, 174: *nec te, si cupies, ipsa manere sinam*; *Racine, Androm.* Act 4, Sc. 5: *Je ne te retiens plus*. With the alliteration cf. 4, 47, n. (*surgere regna*). On the whole passage see the laudatory appreciation by Charles James Fox quoted by Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 712.

380. dicta refello: *Donat.: et nunc seu verae sunt adsertiones tuae seu falsae, nec teneo te nec ea quae dicis obiectu cuiuspiam disputationis expugno*.

381. i, sequere Italiam: *Serv.: satis artificiosa prohibitio, quae fit per concessionem; quae tamen ne non intellecta sit persuasio permiscenda sunt aliqua quae velent latenter, ut 'ventis', 'per undas.'* *Quintil.* 9, 2, 48, quoting the line, remarks: *ειρωνεία est . . . cum similes imperantibus vel permittentibus sumus, etc.* Note also the rhetorical figure of *permissio* described by Auct. ad *Herenn.* 4, 39; cf. *Roscher in Philologus*, 60 (1901), 85, n. 4; *Schmid in Phil. Woch.* 48 (1928), 617. Parallels, often in the form of *i nunc* followed by an imperative, are: 7, 425-426; 9, 634: *i, verbis virtutem inlude superbis*; *Hor. Ep.* 1, 6, 17; 2, 2, 76; *Liv.* 1, 26, 11; *Sen. Rhel. Suas.* 6, 2; *Curt.* 8, 1, 52; *Petron.* 115, 14; *Sen. H. F.* 89 (= *Med.* 1007); *Tr.* 1165; *Med.* 197 (and *Canter, Rhel. Elements in the*

382. spero equidem mediis, si quid pia numina possunt,

sperere (corr. in spero) p. poscunt M (possunt M¹).

382-383. spero . . . scopulis: Anth. Lat. no. 17, 244-245 (1, p. 70 Riese) — quidem A; suplicia ausurum A — 382-383. mediis . . . scopulis: Non. p. 398 M. (p. 640 L.) — medii siq. (corr. B); ausurum L — 382. si . . . possunt: Serv. Aen. 4, 376; 4, 379; Auson. Cento nupt. 77, p. 213 Peiper — quid mea carmina λ (cf. 9, 446); Mythogr. Vat. III, 9, 9.

Trag. of Seneca (1925), 137; 148); De Benef. 4, 38, 2; 6, 35, 5; N. Q. 1, 16, 3; Pers. 4, 19; Mart. Epig. 23, 6; Juv. 6, 306; 10, 166; 10, 310; 12, 57; Stat. Theb. 9, 784; Plin. Ep. 4, 27, 4; S. Zeno, 1, 9, 3 (Patr. Lat. 11, 329); Sidon. Ep. 1, 3, 1; Carm. 2, 288; 7, 486; C. I. L. IV, 5296, 3; VI, 9604; Vida, Christias, 5, 924; Tasso, Ger. lib. 16, 58, 1: vattene pur, crudel; Racine, Iphig. 1397: fuyez donc, retournez dans votre Thessalie. Cf. also 4, 361, above, to which Dido probably here refers; 5, 629; Il. 1, 173: φεύγε μάλ', εἰ τοι θυμὸς ἐπισσυσται, κτλ.; Ov. H. 7, 10: Itala regna sequi; Manil. 5, 42-43: ventisque sequetur / fortunam.

381. ventis: with the ablative cf. 5, 2: fluctusque alios aquilone secabat. Schol. Dan.: sane multi 'Italiam' distinguunt, ut sequatur 'ventis pete regna per undas'; but in view of Quintilian's citation (9, 2, 48) and other considerations ventis seems better phrased with the preceding clause (despite the arguments of Henry, Aeneidea, 2 (1878), 724-725, and other editors to the contrary, and 2, 25: vento petiisse Mycenae). We then have two symmetrical clauses, each containing an imperative (sequere, pete), an object (Italiam, regna), and a modifier (ventis, per undas), nor does the addition of ventis to the former clause in any way prevent it from sarcastically echoing the Italiam non sponte sequor of 4, 361, as the latter clause suggests the quaerere regna of 4, 350; cf. Kvčala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis (1881), 108-110. In 3, 253-254 there is similar doubt whether ventisque vocatis is to be construed with what precedes or with what follows.

381. pete regna: cf. 12, 190: nec mihi regna pelo.

381. per undas: a frequent verse-ending; e.g., 1, 119; 5, 595; 5, 796; 6, 370; 7, 299; Cul. 215; etc.

382. spero: Dido's sentiments toward Aeneas pass from hopes (spero) to predictions (4, 384-387) and later (4, 607-621) to imprecations upon him and even (4, 622-629) upon his race; cf. Gross, Krit. u. exeg. z. Vergils Aeneis (1883), 20-21. In Ov. H. 7, 61-63, she starts more mildly: perditam ne perdam, timeo, noceamve nocenti, / neu bibat aequoreas naufragus hostis aquas. / vive, precor. sic te melius quam funere perdam, etc.

382. mediis . . . scopulis: Serv.: aut manifestis, ut (6, 111) 'medioque ex hoste recepi'; aut illa saxa dixit quae sunt inter Africam et Sardiniam Siciliamque.

382. si quid . . . possunt: cf. 9, 446: si quid mea carmina possunt.

382. pia numina: cf. 2, 536-537: di, siqua est caelo pietas, quae talia curet, / persolvant grates dignas; and with the phrase Ov. Ars am. 3, 347: o ita, Phoebae, velis ita vos, pia numina vatam; Auson. Ep. 19, 37 (p. 256 Peiper): faveant pia numina divum. On the meanings of pius cf. 4, 393, n. (pius); and for the meaning of numina in Virgil Dietsch, Theologumenon Vergilian. Particula (1853), 3-4. The clause echoes, as Buscaroli (ad loc.) notes, the expression of scepticism in 4, 371-372. One signification of pietas is the devotion of men to the gods, comparable to that of children to their parents, and as the latter relation may be reciprocal, so the gods are sometimes considered as pii toward men who show pietas toward them. Virgilian instances of this divine 'piety' are cited by Hahn in Cl. Weekly, 19 (1925), 34: 2, 536-537 (as quoted above); 5, 688-689: si quid pietas (sc. Iovis) antiqua labores / respicit humanos; 5, 783: Iunonem pietas nec mitigat ulla (if this pietas, as some editors hold, is on the part of Juno herself); 12, 839: supra homines, supra ire deos pietate videbis; cf. also 1, 603: si qua pios respectant numina

383. supplicia hausurum scopulis et nomine Dido

scopolis a¹.

[382*] 383-384. et . . . vocaturum: Charis. Inst. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 1, 63; 1, 117); Cledon. Ars (G. L. K. 5, 35). 383. supplicia hausurum: Gl. Ansil. 548, 878 — ausurum — 383. hausurum: Gl. Ansil. 275, 147; q.v.

(words which Dido may be here, rather bitterly, recalling); 6, 529-530; Page in Cl. Rev. 7 (1893), 417. Aeneas, with his reputation for pietas, might be supposed to be particularly under the care of the gods (as Horace says of himself in C. 1, 17, 13-14: di me tuentur, dis pietas mea / et musa cordi est), but in his ostensible devotion to one set of duties (cf. 4, 597-599), thinks Dido, he has been recreant in his duty toward her. As, then, Althaea is described by Ovid (M. 8, 477) as impietate pia, so Aeneas is commended by Dido to the attention of whatever gods there be who punish disloyalty; cf. C. I. L. X, 8249 (a defixio from Minturnae): dii i(n)feri, vobis com(m)en(n)do si quicqua(m) sa(n)ctitates (= sanctitatis) h(ab)etes (= habetis) ac tadro (= trado) Ticene (= Tychemem) Carisi.

In this phrase numina may = di (cf. Dietsch, l. c.; Fabricius, De Iove et Fato in P. Vergili Maronis Aen. (1896), 7); though Löfstedt (Syntactica, 1 (1928), 48-49, n. 2) observes that numina is a plural construction, found in verse first in Virgil (and in prose in Livy), and sometimes equivalent in meaning to the singular, numen; cf. 4, 204, n. (numina divom).

383. supplicia hausurum: cf. 4, 14, n. (exhausta); for the plural cf. Spitta, Quaest. Vergilianae (1867), 17. The phrase is recalled by Ov. H. 7, 62: neu bibat aequoreas naufragus hostis aquas; Stat. Achill. 1, 667: hausurum poenas; and Greenough and Kirtledge (ad loc.) quote Cowley, Davideis, 1, 16: "I drove proud Pharaoh to the parted sea; / He, and his host drank up cold death by Me." Serv.: hausurum: luiturum, daturum. It seems likely, in view of the context, that the reference is to death by drowning, though Conington would interpret hausurum of suffering to the full, comparing αντλῆιν, exanclare, and Cic. Tusc. 1, 86:

quot, quantas, quam incredibilis hausit calamitates; cf. also Hor. S. 1, 2, 78-79: unde laboris / plus haurire mali est, etc. The usual future form is hausurum, but hausurum occurs in Sil. 7, 584; 16, 11.

383. Dido: Serv.: potest et vocativus esse et accusativus. Virgil is not free from such ambiguities; cf. Bell, The Latin Dual (1923), 298-299. Speijer (Observationes et Emendationes (1891); known to me only from Güthling in Jahresb. f. Altert. 76 (1893), 197-198) holds this to be a vocative, and compares several other passages, including Prop. 1, 18, 31: resonent mihi 'Cynthia' silvae; cf. also Ecl. 6, 44: ut lilus 'Hyla, Hyla' omne sonaret. On the other hand note the thrice repeated accusative Eurydicen in G. 4, 525-527; Creusam in Aen. 2, 769-770; Italiam in 3, 523-524; and cf. Cic. Phil. 2, 30: Ciceronem exclamavit. For Dido's reference to herself in the third person cf. 4, 308, n. (Dido); and for apostrophe by those in peril using the names of persons earlier associated with them (Penquitt, De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu (1910), 16, n. 2) the mention of Solon by Croesus on the pyre (Hdt. 1, 86; Luc. Charon, 13), of Daedalus by Icarus (Ov. M. 8, 229-230: oraque caerulea patrium clamantia nomen / excipiuntur aqua), of Alcyone by Ceyx (Ov. M. 11, 544-545; 11, 562-567, 566-567 reading: dum natat absentem, quotiens sinit hiscere fluctus / nominat Alcyonem), and the case in Prop. 2, 26, 11-12: at tu vix primas extollens gurgite palmas / saepe meum nomen iam peritura vocas; also the imitation of our passage by Tasso, Ger. lib. 16, 59, 3-4: per nome Armida chimerai sovente / negli ultimi singulti; udìr ciò spero. We may also compare the prayers that lovers or others may, all too late, recall those whom they have injured; e.g., Aesch. Eum. 558-559: καλεῖ δ' ἀκούοντας οὐδὲν (ἐν) μέσῳ / δυσπαλεῖ τε δῖνα; Apoll. Rh. 4, 383-384: μνησαιο δὲ καὶ ποτ'

384. saepe vocaturum. sequar atris ignibus absens

[383] 384. sequar . . . absens: *Schol. Lucan.* 7, 808 (ed. Weber). 384. atris ignibus: *Gl. Ansil.* 71, 71.

ἐμεῖο, / στρεπτόμενος καμάτοις; *Sen. Med.* 20-23: *vival, per urbes erret ignotas, egens, / exul, pavens, invisus, incerti laris, / . . . / me coniugem optet*; Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 726. The view of Kowalski (*De Didone Graeca et Latina* (1929), 21) that a pun was here intended between Δειδῶ and δεῖδω seems oversubtle.

384. sequar, etc.: cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 703-704: ἡ σὸι γε φίλοις σὺν παῖσι θανούσα / εἴην ἐξ Αἰδῶ στυγερῇ μετόπισθεν Ἑρινύς; 3, 1113-1116; 4, 385-387: ἐκ δὲ σε πάτρης / αὐτῆς ἐμαί σ' ἐλάσειαν Ἑρινύς οἷα καὶ αὐτὴ / σὴ πάθον ἀτροπῇ; *Ov. H.* 7, 69-70: *coniugis ante oculos deceplae stabili imago / tristis et effusus sanguinulenta comis*; *M.* 8, 141-142 (Scylla to Minos); *insequar invilum, puppimque amplexa recurvam / per freta longa trahar*; 14, 727-728: *ipse ego, ne dubites, adero, praesensque videbor, / corpore ut exanimi crudelia lumina pascas*; *Suet. Ner.* 44; *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 16, 58, 3-6: *me tosto, ignudo spirto, ombra seguace, / indivisibilmente a tergo avrai, / nova Furia, co'serpi e con la face / tanto l'agiterò, quanto l'amai*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 726-728) thinks Aeneas will call upon the name of Dido, not so that she may follow him, but because the remorseful recollection of her will ever haunt him, and he compares *Ov. H.* 7, 65-70. Yet souls who have unwillingly left the body by a violent or untimely death are especially likely to become revengeful revenants; cf. *Tylor, Prim. Culture*, 4 ed., 2 (1903), 27.

384. atris ignibus: 'with murky brands'; *Donat.*: *imaginaberis me absentem; quasi te facibus persequar praesens*; *Serv.*: *alii 'furiarum facibus' dicunt, hoc est, 'invocatas tibi inmittam diras'; alii sociorum, ut paulo post (4, 594) 'ferre cili flammis.' melius tamen est ut, secundum Urbanum, accipiamus 'atris ignibus' rogatibus, qui visi tempestatem significant, ut Aeneae, sicut in quinto (5, 7) legimus, contigit. hoc ergo nunc quod factura est dicit, id est, occidam me et rogatibus te persequar flammis 'absens,' quasi mortua. rogatibus autem mali ominis, quod 'atris' dixit;*

etc. Henry separates the two clauses connected by *et* so that *sequar* would refer to the time before Dido's death and *adero* to that after it (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 729), but he then finds that *atris ignibus* can be explained neither as the flames of Dido's funeral pyre (Aeneas did not so understand them, as is shown by 5, 4-5; cf. Norden in *Hermes*, 28 (1893), 512) nor as those held by the avenging Fury which she might become after her death (cf. 4, 472: *armatam facibus matrem*; *Cic. Pro Sex. Rosc.* 67: *agitari et perterreri furiarum laedis ardentibus*; *Suet. Ner.* 34: *exagitari . . . verberibusque furiarum ac laedis ardentibus*). Accordingly he falls back upon an unsatisfactory explanation of them as "the fires of a guilty conscience." Penquitt (*De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 16-19) would reject the interpretations of Servius, as either not accounting properly for the words *atris* and *absens* or else implying that Dido was already thinking of a voluntary death, which does not become clear till 4, 450, and, in its manner, more definite in 4, 474 (yet cf. 4, 308, n. (*nec, etc.*), which may be enough to justify this reference). His positive attempts to connect the words with the idea of a magical *sympathia*, as in the story of Meleager and the brand, are hardly successful; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 135, n. o, who decides in favor of the first interpretation suggested by Servius. I think that the true explanation may be found in recognizing an intentional ambiguity or a bit of tragic irony: Aeneas is to think—and perhaps Dido at this time herself believed—that the remorseful thoughts connected with her would follow him like a fury; the reader, however, may also anticipate the murky flames of her funeral pyre; cf. 4, 661-662: *hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto / Dardanus et secum nostrae feral omina mortis*; 5, 3-7: *moenia respiciens, quae iam infelicitis Elissae / conlucent flammis . . . / . . . / triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt*. Norden, however (in *Hermes*, 28 (1893), 511-

385. et, cum frigida mors anima seduxerit artus, omnibus umbra locis adero. dabis, improbe, poenas;

con c. frigidam *M* (frigida *M*²). animam a. inprobe *M*.

385. et . . . artus: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* 11 (G. L. K. 4, 253); *Serv. Aen.* 3, 140; *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 148 (1, p. 55 Riese); *no.* 719a, 39 (2, p. 190 Riese) — *animas eduxerit cod.* —; *Cento Probae*, 478 — *tum cum (tunc PA, et π); pars anima A; animas eduxerit π* —. 385. et . . . mors: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 2, 8, 11. 385. frigida mors: [*Acro*] in *Hor. Serm.* 2, 1, 62. 385. seduxerit: *Gl. Ansil.* 515, 179; q.v.

386. omnibus . . . poenas: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 3, 75 — *inprobe Pa* —; 5, 163; *Comm. Crug. in Hor. Epod.* 5, 89. 386. dabis . . . poenas: *Anth. Lat. no.* 11, 54 (1, p. 43 Riese) — *inprobe A* —; *no.* 17, 245 (1, p. 70 Riese). 386. dabis poenas: *Gl. Ansil.* 159, 16.

514) would hold the passage to be curable only by supposing that line 387 is a *tibicen* which Virgil would later have removed. Cf. also Smith on *Tibull.* 1, 5, 51, and Hopfner in *P.-W.* 14 (1928), 330-331, on the haunting of living miscreants by ghosts of ἀωποι, βλαῖοι, and ἀταφοί.

On 'black fires' cf. 4, 120, n. (*nigrantem*); 7, 456-457 (*Allecto's torch*): *facem iuveni coniecit et atro / lumine fumantis fixit sub pectore laedas*; 8, 198-199: *atros / ore vomens ignis*; 10, 77: *quid face Troianos atra vim ferre Latinis*; 11, 186-187: *subiectisque ignibus atris / conditur in tenebris altum caligine caelum* (cf. *Serv. ad loc.*); *Hor. C.* 4, 12, 26: *nigrorumque memor, dum licet, ignium*; *Epod.* 5, 81-82: *quam non amore sic meo flagras uti / bitumen atris ignibus*; 5, 91-96; *Ov. F.* 2, 561-562: *conde tuas, Hymenaeae, facis, et ab ignibus atris / aufer*; *Prop.* 4, 3, 13-14: *quae mihi deductae fax omen praetulit, illa / traxit ab everso lumina nigra rogo*; *Luc.* 2, 299-301: *iuvat ignibus atris / inseruisse manus constructoque aggere busti / ipsum atras tenuisse faces*; 3, 98: *ignibus atris*; *Octavia*, 118: *facibus atris armat infirmas manus*; *Stat. Theb.* 6, 81: *ignibus atris*; *Sedul. Pasch. Carm.* 3, 300-301: *ignibus atris / opprimat*; *Claud. In Rufin.* 1, 49: *quid facibus nequiquam cingimur atris*? *Ater* and *niger* are so universally associated with death (4, 454 and n. on *nigrescere*; 4, 472; 6, 429; 11, 28; *Hippocr. De Morb. sacr.* 2: *θανατώδες γὰρ τὸ μέλαν*; *Consol. ad Liv.* 360: *mors . . . atra*; *Prop.* 2, 11, 4; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1906), 1021, 47-50; Penquitt, *op.*

cit., 19) as to need no elucidation. Price (in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 4 (1883), 16) would connect *niger* with IG. *nik, nak* ('slay'), and compare *nex, nox, noceo, vœvus*. On *ignes = faces* cf. 2, 276; 9, 570; etc.

384. absens: cf. 4, 83; *Ov. Ex Pont.* 2, 10, 49-50: *hic es et ignoras; et ades celeberrimus absens; / inque Gelas media visus ab urbe venis*; etc. For the contrast between this line and the next (*ignibus — frigida, adero — absens*) cf. Norden, *op. cit.*, 512.

385. frigida mors: cf. *Val. Fl.* 5, 26-27: *mors frigida contra / urguet*; also *Lucr.* 3, 401: *et gelidos artus in leti frigore linquit*; 3, 530: *gelidi vestigia leti*; 3, 930: *frigida quem semel est vitae pausa secuta*; 4, 924: *aeterno corpus perfusum frigore leti*; *Virg. G.* 4, 506: *illa quidem Stygia nabal iam frigida cumba*; 4, 525: *frigida lingua* (of the dead Orpheus); *Aen.* 11, 828; 12, 951: *illi solvuntur frigore membra*; *Hor. C.* 2, 8, 11-12: *gelidaeque divos / morte carentis*; *Ov. M.* 2, 611: *corpus inane animae frigus letale secutum est*; 15, 153: *gelidae formidine mortis*.

385. anima seduxerit artus: *Serv.*: *hypallage pro 'animam artubus seduxerit'*; cf. *Bell. The Latin Dual* (1923), 317. Kvěčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 113-114), however, would explain the phrase by supposing that the original force of *seducere* has been so weakened that it means merely 'to separate,' and compares a weakening in *prohibere* and *defendere*, with similar instances explicable by this change of meaning rather than by hypallage.

386. omnibus, etc.: cf. *Stat. Theb.* 3, 69-

387. audiam et haec manis veniet mihi fama sub imos.'

audiat me *P* (audiam et *P*¹). manis *M*, manes *M*^{2b}. imas *c*, subimus *p*.

387. audiam . . . imos: [Prob.] *De ult. Syll.* 7 (*G. L. K.* 4, 239) — manis; ueniat; fama s. i. —; *Cledon. Ars* (*G. L. K.* 5, 18) — manes —; *id.* (*G. L. K.* 5, 57) — manis —; *Pomp. Comm.* (*G. L. K.* 5, 225) — manes; ueniat *Ca*; famas sub *B* —. 387. audiam . . . haec: *Cento Probae*, 492 — audiant *Pa*, audite *PbV*, audire *C*, audiam hec *Ra*, annuo et hoc *Ch* —. 387. manis sub imos: *Gl. Ansil.* 357, 665 — sibi mos —.

77 (Mozley in *Cl. Weekly*, 27 (1933), 37: "Statius says all that Vergil leaves to be imagined"); *Orestis Trag.* 835: *omnibus ipsa locis adero tibi saevior umbra*; Metastasio, *Achil.* 3, 3 (Deidamia to Achilles): *ombra seguace / presente ovunque sei / vedrò le mie vendette*.

386. adero: Serv.: *dicunt physici biothanolorum animas non recipi in originem suam, nisi vagantes legitimum tempus fati compleverint; quod poetae ad sepulturam transferunt, ut* (6, 329) *'centum errant annos.'* *hoc ergo nunc dicit Dido: occisura me ante diem sum; vaganti mihi dabis poenas; nam te persequar semper; si autem fuero recepta in originem poenas tuas audiam quas videre non poterō*; etc. Cf. the Sophoclean threat (*Trachin.* 1201–1202 (Heracles to Hyllus)): *εἰ δὲ μή, μὲν δ' σ' ἐγὼ / καὶ νέρθεν ὦν ἀπαῖος εἰσαὲ βαπὺς*; Hor. *Epod.* 5, 91–96: *quin ubi perire iussus exspiravero, / nocturnus occurram furor, / petamque voltus umbra curvis unguibus, / quae vis deorum est manium, / et inquietis adsidens praecordiis / pavore somnos auferam*; Ov. *H.* 7, 69–70; *Ibis*, 141–142: *tunc quoque, cum fuero vacuas dilapsus in auras, / exanimis mores oderit umbra tuos*; 153–162; 195–196; Val. Fl. 3, 389–390; Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 16, 58, 3–6 (quoted at 4, 384, n. (*sequar, etc.*), above); and, for the notion of avenging furies, the passages cited by Kvěčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 112–113.

386. dabis, etc.: cf. Val. Fl. 4, 13: *dabit impia poenas*; [Quintil.] *Decl.* 314, p. 236 Ritter: *tu forsitan, cum miserum patrem trucidares, tollentem ad sidera manus risisti. inane hoc supra nos vacuumque cura caelestium putabas. sunt illa vera quae extremo miseri spiritu dicebantur: 'dabis mihi, scelerate, poenas; persequar quandoque et occurram'*;

Aonius Palearius, *De Anim. Immortal.* 3, 324: *dabis, improbe, poenas*; Politian, *Manto*, 296: *dabis, heu, poenas, dabis, improbe*; Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 16, 59, 2: *me pagherai le pene, empio guerriero*; also, for the use of *improbe*, *Anth. Lat.* no. 83, 34 (1, p. 114 Riese): *licet, inprobe, tendas*. Schol. Dan.: *inprobe: scelestē*.

Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 730) well opposes the desire of Ribbeck (followed by Norden in *Hermes*, 28 (1893), 512–513) to delete either line 386 or 387 as inconsistent; in his attempt, however, to show (pp. 731–732) that Dido plans to take no part herself in Aeneas's punishment he is less convincing, as also in his contention that the *umbra* of this line is not the real shade of Dido, which (unless, as Norden, *l. c.*, points out, she already plans to die by a death of violence) will be in Hades, but an image of her in the remorseful mind of Aeneas; for the dead were thought of as having greater freedom of movement than Henry seems to admit, and such revenants were not limited to the *βαιοθάνατοι*; cf. Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 21–22.

387. audiam: Penquitt (*op. cit.*, 22) explains: *de infortunio tuo certior fiam vel viva (audiam) vel mortua (manis sub imos)*. I should make no such distinction. Aeneas will be punished; Dido will learn of this, and the report will reach her even in Hades.

387. haec . . . fama: i.e., *huius rei fama*; cf. 1, 463: *feret haec aliquam tibi fama salutem*; 2, 171: *ea signa dedit, i.e., eius rei signa*.

387. manis . . . sub imos: cf. 3, 565: *subducta ad manis imos desedimus unda*; 11, 181: *manis perferre sub imos*; 12, 884: *manisque deam demittat ad imos*; Ov. *F.* 2, 52: *qui sacer est imis manibus imus erat*; Sil. 3, 484: *ad manis imos*; Auson. *Parent.* 16, 5: *de manibus imis*; also, above, 4, 243, n. (*Tartara*); *G.* 1, 243: *manesque profundi*.

388. his medium dictis sermonem abrumpit et auras aegra fugit, seque ex oculis avertit et aufert,

euertit *m*.

388. medium sermonem: *Gl. Ansil.* 362, 124. 388. sermonem abrumpit: *Gl. Abba*, 129, 164 — abripuit —.

389. seque . . . aufert: *Cento Probae*, 530.

For *manes* applied to a place underground cf. Van Bleek, *Quae de Hominum post Mortem Condicione doceant Carm. sepulc.* *Lat.* (1907), 49; 58, n. 4. We need hardly suppose, with some editors, that Dido will hear in the underworld what her *umbra* does to Aeneas on earth, for *dabis . . . poenas* need not imply Dido as the sole executrix of punishment. Like a fury her shade will haunt him; he will be punished — perhaps by the intervention of the *pia numina* —, and she will hear of this among the *manes*. It is unfair to expect a logical apportionment of punishment and an exact differentiation of the places involved. Aeneas might have given that, but hardly Dido in her passionate, swooning excitement, and instead of blaming Virgil's inconsistency (as does Peerlkamp, *ad loc.*) we should praise his psychological insight.

387. veniet . . . fama: for tidings of the living brought to the dead cf. *Od.* 11, 457–461; 24, 106–119; *Pind. Ol.* 8, 79–84; 14, 18–22; *Nem.* 4, 85–86; *Theocr.* 12, 17–21; *Sil.* 11, 255–256: *mihī fama sub umbras / le feret oppressum Capuae cecidisse ruinis*.

388. his . . . dictis: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); 4, 54: *his dictis*; Schol. Dan.: *sane multi 'dictis' participium, non appellationem volunt, hoc est, cum haec dicta essent*, but, as Kvěčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 114) says, Virgil's usage points to substantial use here. Note the interlocked order of the first four words.

388. medium . . . sermonem: cf. 1, 385–386; 4, 277, n. (*medio sermone*); 9, 657: *mortalis medio aspectus sermone reliquit*; 12, 318; *Sil.* 2, 328–330: *mediumque loquentis / bis conatus erat turbando abrumpere vocem*.

388. sermonem abrumpit: cf. Sen. *De Ira*, 2, 24, 1: *inchoatum sermonem cito abruptit*; Tac. *Ann.* 4, 60: *plerique inceptum sermonem abrumpere*; Quintil. 4, 3, 13:

abrupto quem inchoaverat sermone; Suet. *Tib.* 21: *sermones superveniente eo abrumperet*. Kvěčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 115) well notes that *sermonem* here = *colloquium*, and compares Varr. *L. L.* 6, 64: *sermo . . . a serie . . . sermo enim non potest in uno homine esse solo, sed ubi oratio cum altero coniuncta*; cf. also *Aen.* 6, 160. Terzaghi (*Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 45, and n. 65) points out that the abrupt ending of Dido's speech leaves the reader's imagination free to complete the thought in many ways and to speculate how Aeneas might have replied, had the lady not had the last word in this, their final dialogue. Analogous is Dido's withdrawal from him — without any words on her part — in 6, 472–474, and Terzaghi would detect the influence of these abrupt departures in certain scenes in Dante. This parting scene has been thought by some to be shown in a mosaic from Hadrumetum; cf. Reinach, *Répertoire de Peintures Gr. et Rom.* (1922), 176, no. 4 (and works there cited). On parting scenes as a specialty of the erotic poets (e.g., *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 886–909; 4, 350–390) cf. DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 17.

388. auras, etc.: cf. *G.* 3, 417: *caelumque exterrita fugit*; *Aen.* 4, 451: *taedet caeli convexa lueri*. It is not clear at 4, 304 where this interview had taken place, but probably out of doors, and Dido's withdrawal would be into the inner apartments of the palace. Note the parallel between this line and the next: *abrumpit et auras* corresponding to *avertit et aufert*.

389. aegra: cf. 1, 351–352: *aegram / . . . lusit amantem*; 4, 35, n. (*aegram*); Enn. *Sc.* 254: *Medea animo aegro (al. aegra) amore saevo saucia*; Val. Fl. 7, 5: *contigit aegra toros*; Preston, *Stud. in the Diction of the Sermo amatorius in Roman Comedy* (1916), 5–8.

390. linquens multa metu cunctantem et multa parantem
dicere. suscipiunt famulae conlapsaque membra

met (*corr. in metu*) γ. et om. π. parentem γ¹p, uolentem Mc (*cf. G. 4, 501; Aen. 2, 790*),
parantem Pabγp¹r Serv. (*exc. cod. F*).
succipiunt P, suscipiunt Mprγabc.

390-391. multa . . . dicere: Serv. Aen. 4, 388 — parantem N, p. L, p̄ H, uolentem F, om.
M —. 390. cunctantem: Gl. Ansil. 157, 192; q.v.

[390] 391-392. suscipiunt . . . reponunt: Schol. Lucan. 5, 799. 391. suscipiunt . . .
membra: Caper, Orthogr. (G. L. K. 7, 98) — succipiunt —.

389. ex oculis: used by Virgil of disappearances, natural or supernatural: G. 4, 499 (Eurydice); Aen. 1, 89 (the sky); 4, 278 (Mercury); 9, 658 (Apollo); 11, 814 (Ar-runs).

389. avertit et aufert: cf. Sen. Ad Marc. de Consol. 23, 3: *eripit se auferitque ex oculis perfecta virtus*; N. Q. 3, 26, 3: *quaedam flumina palam in aliquem specum decidunt et sic ex oculis auferuntur*; Anon. Vita Leudegarii, 1, 336 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 3, 15): *te tollis et auferis*.

390. linquens: Schol. Dan.: *multi pro 'relinquens Aeneam,' alii pro 'deficiens' accipi volunt more antiquo, sicut 'delinquere' pro 'deficere.'*

390. multa . . . multa: in this line note the repetition of *multa* and of the ending *-antem*, as well as the alliteration (*multa metu*), the whole giving, as Page (*ad loc.*) suggests, a somewhat stammering effect. The first *multa* is perhaps adverbial; cf. Gk. πολλά; G. 3, 226; 4, 301; Aen. 3, 610: *haud multa moratus*; 4, 395, and n. (*multa gemens*); 5, 869; Val. Fl. 1, 757: *multa leo cunctatus*; etc.

390. metu: from fear of making a bad matter worse by his explanations; yet cf. Rand, *The magical Art of Virgil* (1931), 360, who considers this due to his anxiety for her.

390. parantem: cf. 10, 554-555: *et multa parantis dicere*; Cic. Pro Sest. 144: *plura etiam dicere parantem . . . repressit*; Val. Fl. 8, 444-445: *si fata parantem / redere dicta virum furcata mente refugit*. The reading *volentem* is an easy one, but is more likely to have crept in from G. 4, 501-502: *et multa volentem / dicere*; Aen. 2, 790-791: *lacrimantem et multa volentem / dicere dese-*

ruit; 7, 449-450: *cunctantem et quaerentem dicere plura / reppulit*. Between the general critical principle of the *lectio difficilior* and the undoubted repetition by Virgil of phrases he had already used, and in view of the fact that each reading has good manuscript support and makes good sense a decision is difficult; cf., however, Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 115, for the presumption that a variant which differs from a parallel passage is to be preferred. With the hesitation of Aeneas cf. 4, 76, n. (*incipit, etc.*); 4, 283-286. In the Sixth Book he has another opportunity to speak, when it is too late (cf. Funaioli, *L' Ollreolomba nell' Eneide di Virgilio* (1924), 69); here his silence, like that of Dido, has its own dramatic impressiveness (cf. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 60), perhaps greater than that of a formal rebuttal, no matter how well founded its arguments might have been.

391. dicere: perhaps an ἀπό κοινοῦ construction with *cunctantem* and *parantem*; cf. Lohmann, *De Graecismorum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 75.

391. suscipiunt: Nettleship (ap. Conington, *ad loc.*) has a long defence of the reading *succipiunt*, for which, however, the manuscript evidence is hardly so good. With the thought cf. 4, 664: *conlapsam aspiciunt comites*; 8, 584: *famuli conlapsum in lecta ferebant*; 9, 708: *conlapsa ruunt immania membra*; 9, 753-754; 11, 805-806: *concurrunt trepidae comites dominamque ruentem / suscipiunt*; Ov. M. 6, 295; 7, 826: *subito conlapsa dolore*; 9, 708; 10, 186; Apul. M. 8, 7; while Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 737) compares Xen. *Cyrop.* 6, 4, 11: *οἱ εὐνοῦχοι καὶ αἱ θεράπαινα λαβοῦσαι ἀπήγον αὐτήν*

392. marmoreo referunt thalamo stratisque reponunt.
At pius Aeneas, quamquam lenire dolentem

stristis M (stratis M¹).
linire γ¹.

[391] 392. stratisque reponunt: Auson. *Centio nupt.* 82, p. 214 Peiper.

(Panthea) εἰς τὴν ἀρμάμαξαν καὶ κατακλί-
ναντες κατεκάλυψαν τῇ σκηνῇ. The swooning of Dido may be considered as a touch designed to show her real womanhood as distinguished from her queenliness, which has already been revealed. La Cerda (*ad loc.*) cites examples of the swooning of lovers in the cases of Penelope (*Od.* 4, 716-720), Laodamia (*Ov. H.* 13, 23-26), and Cornelia (*Luc.* 8, 58-61). On the rapid metre, appropriate for the occasion, cf. Maxa in *Wiener Stud.* 19 (1897), 105.

391. famulae: Virgil's avoidance of the words *servus* (not found in his works) and *serva* (occurring only twice) has been remarked by Haarhoff, *Vergil in the Experience of S. Africa* (1931), 64-67; cf. Heitland, *Agricola* (1921), 237.

392. marmoreo: the adjective suggests the wealth of Carthage (cf. 4, 75, n. (*opes*), above), as well as the beauty of the African marbles (cf. Hor. C. 2, 18, 3-5; Fiehn in *P.-W.* 2 Ser. 3 (1929), 2268-2269).

392. referunt . . . reponunt: the two compounds in the same line are noteworthy, as in 3, 170: *refer . . . requirat*. Page (*ad loc.*) renders: "carry back to her marble chamber and duly place upon the couch."

392. thalamo: dative, as noted by the Scholia Danielis; cf. 2, 19: *includunt caeco lateri* (and other parallels cited by Page on that line). From now on Dido no longer ranges through the city, but remains within the rooms, courtyards (4, 504), and towers (4, 586) of the palace.

392. reponunt: with the ending of the line cf. 4, 403: *tectoque reponunt*. The verb denotes a careful placing of the queen by attentive servants.

393. at: cf. 4, 1, n. (*at*); 4, 279, n. (*at*); Gladow, *De Verg. ipsius Imitatore* (1921), 11.

393. pius: in twenty places in the *Aeneid* Aeneas (*insignem pietate virum* of 1, 10; cf.

1, 544-545; 6, 403-405; 6, 688; 11, 291) is characterized by this epithet *pius*, not to mention less direct allusions, in all but one (5, 418) of these instances in the nominative case, preceded by *at* (1, 305; here; 6, 9; 6, 232; 12, 311), another monosyllable (*hoc, quam, quem, quid, sum, tum*; cf. Moseley in *Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 390; Parry, *L'Épithète traditionnelle dans Homère* (1928), 38-39; Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 74-80, on the metrical aspects of the case), a trisyllable (*actutum*), or a quadrisyllable (*praecipue*). In 7, 5 still another element is introduced: *at pius exsequiis Aeneas*. That the epithet was no perfunctory one (cf. Kroll, *Stud. z. Verständniss d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 276), but recognized as appropriate for Aeneas is seen both by the care with which Virgil employs it and by many allusions in other writers to this quality of Aeneas; cf. *Il.* 20, 297-299: *ἀλλὰ τίη νῦν οὗτος (Aeneas) ἀναίτιος ἀλγέα πάσχει, / μὰψ' ἔνεκ' ἀλλοτρίων ἀχέων, κεχαρισμένα δ' αἰεὶ / δῶρα θεοῖσι δίδωσι, τοὶ οὐρανὸν εὐρὺν ἔχουσιν* (cf. Glover, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 88-89); Xen. *Cyneg.* 1, 15: *Αἰνείας δὲ σώσας μὲν τοὺς πατρώους καὶ μητρώους θεούς, σώσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα, δόξαν εὐσεβείας ἐξηνέγκατο ὥστε καὶ οἱ πολέμιοι μόνω ἐκείνῳ ὦν ἐκράτησαν ἐν Τροίᾳ ἐδοσαν μὴ συληθῆναι*; Lycophr. 1270: *τῷ καὶ παρ' ἔχτροις εὐσεβέστατος κριθεῖς*; Apollod. *Épít.* 5, 21: *Αἰνείας δὲ Ἀγχίστην τὸν πατέρα βαστάσας ἔφυγεν, οἱ δὲ Ἕλληνες αὐτὸν διὰ τὴν εὐσέβειαν εἶσαν*; Auct. ad Herenn. 4, 46 (of paradoxical expressions): *ut si quem impium, qui patrem verberaverit, Aenean vocemus*; Hygin. *Fab.* 254: *Aeneas item in Illo Anchisem patrem humeris et Ascanium filium ex incendio eripuit* (in a list of *piissimi*); Diod. 7, 2, 4: *ἐφαίνετο γὰρ ὁ ἀνὴρ ἐν τοῖς μεγίστοις κινδύνοις πλείστην φροντίδα πεποιημένος τῆς τε πρὸς γονεῖς δούλητος καὶ τῆς πρὸς θεοὺς εὐσεβείας*; Ov. *Am.* 2, 18, 31; *Ars am.* 3, 39-40: *et famam pietatis*

habet tamen hospes et ense / praebuit et causam mortis, Elissa, tuae; M. 13, 626; F. 1, 527 (= 3, 601): iam pius Aeneas; 2, 543: Aeneas, pietatis idoneus auctor; 6, 434: seu pius Aeneas; Sen. De Benef. 3, 37, 1: Aeneas . . . tulit illum (sc. Anchisen) per ignes et (quid non pietas potest)? pertulit, etc.; Sil. 7, 474: tum pius Aeneas; Ael. V. H. frg. 148: ὁ δὲ Αἰνέας τὸν πατέρα ἐπιθέμενος τοῖς ὤμοις ἐξῆγε φόρτον ὡς υἱεὶ φιλοπάτορι καὶ τοῦτον ἐνάγκαλον; Tert. Ad Nat. 2, 9: pius Aeneas ob unicum puerum et decrepulum senem Priamo et Astyanacte destitutus; Quint. Smyrn. 13, 342-349; Aug. C. D. 1, 3: Aeneas ipse, pius totiens appellatus; 3, 14 (sarcastic): apud Vergilium pius Aeneas, etc.; Auson. Epitaph. 13, 4 (of Deiphobus): non habeo tumultum, nisi quem mihi voce vocantis / et pius Aeneas et Maro composuit; 19, 5: pius Aeneas; Dante, Inf. 1, 73-74: quel giusto / figliuol d'Anchise; Convito, 2, 11; etc.; Carter, Epitheta Deorum (1902), 5. Lists of those famous for pietas are found in Hygin. Fab. 254; Val. Max. 5, 4-6; Plin. N. H. 7, 121-122.

Piety has been well defined by Santayana (*The Life of Reason*, 3 (1928), 179) as "man's reverent attachment to the sources of his being and the steadying of his life by that attachment." Nearest among these sources are parents; then come family, ancestors, fatherland, humanity, and the whole cosmos (*id.*, 179). By reciprocal notions the idea may be extended to sentiments felt by parents toward their children, by the gods toward men (cf. 4, 382, n. (*pia numina*), above), or the care of a country for its citizens.

The first of these types is defined by Cic. *Pro Planc.* 80: *quid est pietas nisi voluntas grata in parentes; De Invent.* 2, 161: *pietas per quam sanguine coniunctis patriaeque benevolis officium et diligens tribuitur cultus; Partil. orat.* 78: *iustitia . . . erga deos religio, erga parentes pietas; Rep.* 6, 16: *iustitiam cole et pietatem, quae cum magna in parentibus et propinquis, tum in patria maxima est.* Among the stock examples, named by Hyginus, Valerius Maximus, and Pliny (*ll. cc.*), are Hypsipyle, Harpalyce, Erigone, Agave, Xanthippe, Tyro, Pythia, Cleops and Bitias, Coriolanus, the elder Africanus, Manlius Torquatus, M. Cotta, and many others; also

the famous tale of the Catinaean brothers (*Aetna*, 623-644, and to the passages cited by Ellis (*ad loc.*) add: Apul. *De Mundo*, 34; Solin. 5, 15; Nonnus Abbas ad Greg. Naz. *Or. 1 c. Iul.* 46; Cosmas Hierosol. ad Greg. Naz. *Carm.* 62; DeWitt, *Virgil's Biographia litteraria* (1923), 102-103), and the case of Metellus, who was given the cognomen of Pius (Dio Cass. 28, 95, 1). This sense of the word is especially recognized in 3, 480: *o felix nati pietate* (said to Anchises).

On pietas directed toward the gods cf. Cic. *N. D.* 1, 116: *est enim pietas iustitia adversum deos; 1, 117: religionem, quae deorum cultu pio continetur; 2, 153: cognitionem deorum e qua oritur pietas; Top.* 90: *aequitas tripartita dicitur esse: una ad superos deos, allera ad manes, tertia ad homines pertinere. prima pietas, secunda sanctitas, tertia iustitia aut aequitas nominatur; Fin.* 3, 73: *pietas adversum deos; Off.* 2, 3, 11: *deos placatos pietas efficiet et sanctitas; Donat. Aen.* 12, 310: *Aeneas pius, id est, deorum cultor; Aug. C. D.* 10, 1: *pietas quoque proprie Dei cultus intelligi solet, quam Graeci εὐσέβειαν vocant. haec tamen et erga parentes officiose haberi dicitur; etc.* In this sense pius and pietas are often used by Christian writers, as well as by pagan (Hor. *C.* 1, 17, 13; 2, 13, 23; 2, 14, 2-7; Ov. *Am.* 3, 13, 9; etc.). The opposites are impius and impietas; e.g., Lucr. 1, 81-83; Hor. *C.* 4, 4, 46-47; 4, 8, 17; while Mezentius, the *contemptor divom* (7, 648), though not specifically called impius is so characterized as to contrast him with the piety of Aeneas and the Trojans; cf. Serv. *ad loc.*; Hahn in *Cl. Weekly*, 25 (1931), 9-13; 17-21.

For piety toward one's fatherland cf. Cic. *Rep.* 6, 16 (quoted above) and the instances collected by Val. Max. 5, 6; also Hor. *C.* 3, 3, 58; Amm. Marc. 27, 6, 9; Isid. *Etym.* 9, 3, 5, who calls it an especial virtue in rulers; Green, *Stray Studies from England and Italy* (1876), 281. Its opposite—impietas—is most often seen in violence and particularly in civil warfare; e.g., *Ecl.* 1, 70; *G.* 1, 468; 1, 511; *Aen.* 1, 294; 6, 612-613; 12, 31.

The reciprocal devotion of parents for children occasionally appears as pietas (e.g., Ov. *M.* 8, 508; Claud. *Laus Seren.* 133; *C. I. L.* VI, 25351, where pius is used of a

father), and is further extended to the relations of brothers and sisters (e.g., Antigone, Electra, and Ilione in Hygin. *l. c.*; the cases in Val. Max. 5, 5; Ov. *M.* 8, 477, where Althaea, for avenging the death of her brothers by that of her son, is impietate pia; *Anth. Lat.* no. 428, 3 (1, p. 327 Riese): *esse pulas fratres; tanta pietate fruuntur; Pygmalion (Aen.* 1, 349) shows the reverse quality and is impius), to husbands and wives (Ti. Gracchus the elder (Cic. *De Div.* 1, 36, and passages cited in my note *ad loc.*); Hyppermestra (Ov. *H.* 14, 84)), and to the relation between client and patron (Plin. *N. H.* 7, 122) or that between close friends (*Aen.* 5, 296; 9, 294). On the pietas of the gods toward men cf. 4, 382, n. (*pia numina*); also 2, 536: *di, si qua est caelo pietas, quae talia curet; Cir.* 219; Coripp. *Ioh.* 1, 11: *iam Pietas caelo terras prospexit ab alto.*

The possession of this quality may characterize a group or a race; cf. Cic. *De Cons. ap. De Div.* 1, 21; *Aen.* 1, 526; 2, 690; 7, 21; 12, 838-839; Hor. *Epod.* 16, 63-66; Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 1, 273; Gernentz, *Laudes Romae* (1918), 85-86 (on pietas and fides as stock qualities in encomia of Rome). Further, the pietas of Aeneas may typify that of Augustus, who states (*Mon. Ancyr.* 34; cf. *Mon. Antioch.* 34) that a gold shield had been set up in his honor (in 27 B.C.) in the curia Iulia because of his *virtus, clementia, iustitia, and pietas*; cf. Tac. *Ann.* 1, 10, 1: *pietatem (sc. Augusti) erga parentem*; Moseley in *Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 398-400; *id.*, *Characters and Epithets* (1926), 99-101; Drew, *The Allegory of the Aeneid* (1927), 78-79; Bellessort in Goelzer and Bellessort's ed. of *Aen.* 1-6 (n. d.), xvi-xvii; Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 161; 170; 188.

Other meanings are, to be sure, at times found in pius and pietas; e.g., it may = *gratus* (cf. Catull. 73, 2; Ov. *Tr.* 5, 4, 43), or *innocens, omni carens scelere* (Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 1, 378; cf. *piare, piacula*, etc.; Tromp, *De Romanorum Piaculis* (1921), 4), or be used of the blessed dead (e.g., 5, 734; 8, 670; Hor. *C.* 2, 13, 23; Ov. *M.* 11, 62; etc.), or emphasize the quality of mercy or pity (Henry, *Aeneidea*, 1 (1873), 182-183, who traces at length its later separation into the two derivatives, 'piety' and 'pity'), yet, in

the case of pius Aeneas, I believe the meaning is essentially that of 'devotion.' Whether that is the original signification of the word its etymology is too disputed to allow one to assert.

Among many later discussions of the term may be mentioned as typical Dante, *Convito*, 2, 11: *ma pietade non è passione, anzi è una nobile disposizione d'animo, apparecchiata di ricevere amore, misericordia, e altre caritative passioni*; Ruskin, *Val d'Arno* (1873), Lect. 9, 223 (Libr. Ed. 23 (1906), 130); Henry, *Aeneidea*, 1 (1873), 175-187, emphasizing the tenderness and pity implied in the word; Nettleship, *Suggestions introd. to a Study of the Aeneid* (1875), 11: "not one heroic quality merely, but the character of the son who loves his father, of the king who loves his subjects, of the worshipper who reverences the gods"; Liverani, *La Pietà di Enea* (1896), not seen by me; De Crescenzo, *Studi su i Fonti dell' Eneide: Pius Aeneas* (1902), 1-39; Conway, *Vergil* (1903), 5, who translates pius as 'faithful'; Fowler, *Relig. Experience of the Roman People* (1911), 466, who makes pietas a sense of duty; Glover, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 222-226, who to the *humani nihil a me alienum puto* of Ter. *Heaut.* 77 would add a *nihil divini*, and call the result pietas; Yeames in *Cl. Journ.* 8 (1913), 195: "love combined with devotion to duty"; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 29-30; 33; 55; 302, of filial devotion and submission to the divine will; Fowler, *Aeneas at the Site of Rome* (1918), 89-90, of tenderness added to devotion to the decrees of fate and of Jupiter; Warren, *Vergil in Relation to the Place of Rome in the Hist. of Civilization* (1921), 14-15, who compares the pietas of Aeneas with that of King Arthur; Tromp, *De Romanorum Piaculis* (1921), 4-10; Moseley in *Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 387-400; *id.*, *Characters and Epithets* (1926), 73-88, emphasizing Aeneas's religious devotion; Fowler, *Death of Turnus* (1927), 75-76; 146-148: "a calm reasonableness of mind, taking effect in constant and active goodwill towards man and god"; Prescott, *Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 330-331: "full performance of one's duties to one's family and fellowmen as well as towards the gods"; Santayana, *op. cit.*, 180: Aeneas "was bearing

394. solando cupit et dictis avertere curas,
multa gemens magnoque animum labefactus amore,

auortere *Menel. tert.*
Versum 395 om. cod. Parrhas.

395. multa gemens: *Anth. Lat. no. 8, 109* (1, p. 38 Riese); *no. 15, 51* (1, p. 52 Riese) — multas A —; *Gl. Verg. (C. G. L. 4, 453, 36)*. 395. animum . . . amore: *Anth. Lat. no. 14, 21* (1, p. 49 Riese). 395. animum labefactus: *Gl. Ansil. 54, 276*. 395. labefactus: *Gl. Ansil. 326, 22; q.v.*

the Palladium of his country to a new land, to found another Troy, so that the blood and traditions of his ancestors might not perish. His emotions were only the appropriate expression of his priestly office. . . . If those embers, so religiously guarded, should by any chance have been extinguished, there could never have been a Vestal fire nor any Rome . . . (p. 181). His tenderness, like Virgil's own, was ennobled and made heroic by its magnificent and impersonal object. It was truly an epic destiny that inspired both poet and hero"; Terzaghi, *op. cit.*, 69–97, who finds it often merely a decorative or metrically convenient epithet, but at other times applied to Aeneas's devotion to his father or to the gods; Herrmann in *Aus Unterricht u. Forschung*, 1 (1929), 119, who recognizes in *pietas* devotion to gods and family, but stresses as novel and typically Roman that towards people and fatherland; Ulrich (in *Hist. Untersuchungen* (Breslau), 6 (1930)), *Pietas (pius) als politischer Begriff im röm. Staate bis zum Tode d. Kaisers Commodus*, especially 28–33; Anderson in *Cl. Rev.* 44 (1930), 4, n. 1; Mackail (edition of *Aeneid* (1930), lxvi): "conscientiousness, the steady fulfilment of duty to God and man, is the central quality of Virgil's hero"; Haarhoff (in *Cl. Rev.* 44 (1930), 62), who notes that the order of words in the phrase *pius Aeneas* makes *pius* especially emphatic; Howe in *Cl. Journ.* 26 (1930), 192, emphasizing the loyalty of Aeneas; Meister in *Heidelb. Universitätsreden*, 11 (1930), 20; Alföldi in *Hermes*, 65 (1930), 375–376; Hahn in *Cl. Weekly*, 25 (1931), 9–13; 17–21, contrasting the *pietas* of Aeneas and the Trojans with the *violencia* and *impietas* of their opponents; Malten in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 29 (1931),

54 and n. 2; De Graff, *Naevian Studies* (1931), 7; Fécherolle in *Les Études classiques*, 2 (1933), 167–181 (175–178 on *pius Aeneas*); Kroll, *Die Kultur d. cic. Zeit*, 1 (1933), 6, and n. 8; 26. Cf. also Dryden, *Dedication of Aeneis* (14 (1889 ed.), 161–164).

If the view outlined be correct, we may well translate *pius* (as applied to Aeneas) by 'devoted' (or, when used of his relation to the gods, 'devout'), or 'loyal.' Why, then, for the first time in this book is the term used of him when he is on the point of leaving Dido? The obvious answer is that at this point the hero of the story turns from an affection real but temporary, to which he never should have yielded, to a renewed pursuit of his appointed duty to his family (past, present, and future), his gods, and his state; cf. 4, 68, n. (*infelix*); Yeames in *Cl. Journ.* 8 (1913), 199; Conway, *New Studies of a great Inheritance* (1921), 151, n. 1; Irvine *ad loc.*; Ogle in *Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 268; Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 151, who gives a brief but good analysis of the cases in which Aeneas is described as *pius*; Anderson in *Cl. Rev.* 44 (1930), 4, n. 1, who warns us to understand *pius* aright by considering the context which follows rather than in harking back to the previous paragraph; Conway, *Anc. Italy and modern Religion* (1933), 109. It is no mere accident that in the flight from burning Troy Aeneas had himself rescued Anchises, Ascanius, and the *penates*, and had been the guide to others of his band (2, 747–748; cf. 4, 689–690), for toward all these was his complete and far-reaching *pietas* directed; cf. Prescott, *op. cit.*, 331. Of the present situation the Scholia Danielis remark: *bene autem excusat Aeneam 'pium' dicendo, cum ei et*

396. iussa tamen divom exsequitur classemque revisit.
tum vero Teucri incumbunt et litore celsas

diumm codd. exequitur M.

gemilus dat, et ostendit solacia dolenti velle praestare, et probat religiosum, cum deorum praeceptis pareat. If my analysis is correct, however, this view is wrong, and there is, for Aeneas, a clash between affection and duty which is the essence of tragedy, but none between *pietas* and *religio*.

393. *lenire dolentem*: cf. Apoll. Rh. 1, 265: *κατεπρήνεν ἄντας*; *Aen.* 6, 468: *lenibat dictis animum*; Hor. C. 3, 1, 41–43: *quod si dolentem nec Phrygius lapis / nec purpurarum . . . / delenit usus*; *Ep.* 1, 1, 34–35: *sunt verba et voces quibus hunc lenire dolorem / possis*; *Aug. De catechiz. Rudibus*, 21: *dolorem lenire*.

394. *avertere*: cf. Lucr. 2, 363: *oblectare animum subitamque avertere curam*; *Aen.* 2, 775 (= 3, 153): *curas his demere dictis*; 4, 547: *ferroque avertit dolorem*.

395. *multa gemens*: cf. G. 3, 226: *multa gemens*; *Aen.* 1, 465: *multa gemens largoque, etc.* (where Servius remarks: *Graecum est πολλά στενάζων*); 5, 869: *multa gemens casuque, etc.*; 12, 886: *multa gemens*; Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 64. For the adverbial use of *multa* cf. 4, 390, and n. (*multa . . . multa*).

395. *labefactus*: Schol. Dan.: *pro 'animum labefactum habens'*; cf. 8, 390.

395. *amore*: Schol. Dan.: *num Didonis, quo illa flagrat?* So DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 35, who renders: "his heart was broken at the sight of her great love"; cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 322. In view, however, of the general character of Aeneas and of 4, 448 (*magno persentit pectore curas*) the tragic effect is greatly increased by understanding this to be the love felt by Aeneas, for whom the clash is between love and duty (*pietas*); cf. Rand, *The magical Art of Virgil* (1931), 360; 400.

396. *iussa*: cf. Ter. *Heaut.* 635: *imperium exsequi*; Cic. *Phil.* 9, 9: *exsequi mandata*; G. 3, 40–41: *sequamur . . . iua*, *Maecenas, haud mollia iussa*; *Aen.* 3, 114:

divom ducunt qua iussa sequamur; 6, 236: *exsequitur praecepta Sibyllae*; 6, 461; 10, 155: *classem conscendit iussis gens Lydia divom*; *Aug. Contr. Faust. Man.* 22, 75: *exsequendi . . . iussa bellica*.

396. *revisit*: the prefix recalls the preparations started at 4, 288–290; cf. 4, 288, n. (*vocat*). Henry's assumption (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 737) that Aeneas had long been absent from the fleet seems to rest on no evidence. With the phrase cf. 6, 899: *viam secut ad navis sociosque revisit*; and Mackail (on our line) remarks: "This melancholy line is echoed at the end of Book VI and the transition to the main theme of the *Aeneid*. Here too, though through no ivory gate, Aeneas returns to the task of life from the interlude of a dream-Paradise."

397. *tum vero, etc.*: Servius apparently (and Henry certainly) thinks that the crews did not begin to execute the orders until Aeneas appeared in person among them; cf. 9, 73: *tum vero incumbunt, urget praesentia Turni*. For the absolute use of *incumbere* cf. *Ov. M.* 10, 657: *nunc, nunc incumbere tempus*. With the description as a whole cf. *Il.* 2, 149–154: *τοὶ δ' ἀλαλήτω / νῆας ἐπ' ἐσσεύοντο, ποδῶν δ' ὑπένερχε κοίτη / ἴστατ' ἀειρομένη τοὶ δ' ἀλλήλοισι κέλευον / ἄπτεσθαι νηῶν ἥδ' ἐλκόμεν εἰς ἄλα δῖαν, / οὐρούς τ' ἐξεκάθαιρον. αὐτὴ δ' οὐρανὸν ἴκε / οἴκαδε ἰεμένων ὑπὸ δ' ἥρεον ἔρματα νηῶν*; *Sil.* 5, 218–219; 5, 501. For the zeal of the Trojans to depart cf. 4, 193, n. (*hiemem*); 4, 581–583; also Pacuv. *Trag.* 409: *projectione laeti*.

Noteworthy in this line and the next is the contrast between the heavy, spondaic movement of ships being dragged down the beach and the light, dactylic effect of those once afloat (*natat uncta carina*). Norden (2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 423) collects other instances in the *Aeneid* in which spondees represent the toilsome details of the operation of ships, and quotes Aristid. Quint. *De Mus.* 2, 4: *ναυτιλίας τε καὶ εἰρεσίας καὶ τὰ χαλεπώτατα τῶν χειρωνακτικῶν ἔργων*. Norden

398. deducunt toto navis. natat uncta carina,
frondentisque ferunt remos et robora silvis

totoque *M* (toto *M*²). naues *b*. nata iuncta *p*.
que *om. p*. feront (*corr. in ferunt*) *c*. ramos *dell*. robore *b*¹.

398. natat . . . carina: *Eutyph. Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 483) — uicta carita (*corr. al. m. in uncta carina*) *P* —; *Serv. Aen.* 1, 538.

399. frondentis: *Gl. Ansil.* 255, 216; *q.v.*

believes that Virgil (like Cic. *Arat.* 346) derives this metrical effect from some lost passage in Ennius.

397. litore: Schol. Dan.: *de litore*. Note the interlocking order: *litore celsas . . . toto navis*.

397. celsas: the high part was the stern (4, 554 (where see *n.* on *celsa in puppi*); other cases are listed by Segebadé, *Vergil als Seefahrer* (1895), 3-4), from which the adjective is sometimes, as here and in 8, 107, extended to the ships as a whole. The lofty effect of the Trojan ships is emphasized by Procopius (8, 22, 9: τὸ δὲ γὰρ ὕψος τοσαύτη ἐστὶν ὅσον αὐτὴν ἐπέσσεσθαι μὴ ἄδύνατα εἶναι), who describes at length the ship of Aeneas still preserved in his day at Rome! The number of vessels in the fleet was twenty at the start (1, 381), but was now reduced to nineteen (cf. 1, 583-585; Cassius Hemina ap. Solin. 2, 14 says Aeneas reached Italy with not over 600 companions); for inconsistencies in Virgil's later enumeration cf. Guillemin, *L'Originalité de Virgile* (1931), 18; note also *Serv. Aen.* 1, 170.

398. deducunt: cf. G. 1, 255: *armatas deducere classis*; *Aen.* 3, 71: *deducunt socii navis et litora complent*; *Ov. Ep.* 20, 67; *M.* 6, 444-445: *iubet ille carinas / in freta deduci*; 8, 104: *deductas . . . carinas*; *Hor. C.* 1, 4, 2: *trahuntque siccas machinae carinas*; *Gesta Apollonii*, 763 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 505): *deducere litore naves*; Segebadé, *op. cit.*, 8. The expression is the opposite of *subducere* (e.g., 1, 551; 1, 573; 3, 135; etc.).

398. natat, etc.: cf. *Enn. Ann.* 386 (= 478): *labitur uncta carina*; *Catull.* 4, 3: *natantis impetum trabis*; *Aen.* 8, 91: *labitur uncta vadis abies* (these borrowings being noted by *Macrob. Sat.* 6, 1, 51); 8, 93: *innare carinas*; *Prop.* 2, 25, 24: *cum . . . carina*

natet; *Stat. Achill.* 1, 452: *vidit tranare rates*; *Sil.* 12, 448: *innabat . . . sine remige classis*; *Tac. Ann.* 1, 70, 1; *Vida, Poet.* 3, 397: *labitur uncta vadis abies, natat uncta carina*; *Aonius Palear. De Anim. Immortal.* 2, 134: *volat uncta carina*; *Tennyson, In Memoriam*, 9: "perplex thy sliding keel."

398. uncta: Schol. Dan.: *pice delibuta*; cf. *Torr, Anc. Ships* (1895), 34-35 and *n.* 88.

399. frondentis, etc.: *Serv.*: *non qui erant sed qui esse poterant* [*sc. remi*], *ut* (4, 536) 'quos ego sim totiens iam dedignata maritos.' The allusion to leafy oaks leads Roiron (*Étude sur l'Imagination auditive de Virgile* (1908), 225) to inquire whether (1) winter were now over and spring coming on (cf. *Ecl.* 3, 57: *nunc frondent silvae*); or (2) the poet had fallen into inconsistency of detail; or (3) on the African coast there were not at all seasons of the year trees in leaf — a question which perhaps need not be settled. In 1, 552 Ilioneus had asked permission of Dido *silvis aptare trabes et stringere remos* (*Od.* 6, 269: ἀποξύνουσιν ἑρεμὰ). Apparently these had not yet been prepared but were now brought in the rough to be finished on shipboard, like the *robora . . . infabricata*. *Mandra (Time Element in the Aen. of Verg.* (1934), 213) cites evidence from the 'Service botanique de Tunisie' that there are not now and probably never were near Carthage trees large enough to furnish timber for oars of about 35 feet, but he gives no reason for supposing that Aeneas's oars were of such a size, and, as he admits, Virgil was a poet rather than a botanist. The expression is imitated by *Val. Fl.* 8, 287: *illi autem intorquent truncis frondentibus undam*; and *Henry (Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 738) compares *Claud. De Cons. Stil.* 3, 324-325: *rudibus fagis texuntur et ornis / frondentes caveae*.

400. infabricata fugae studio.
migrantis cernas totaque ex urbe ruentis,

infabricataque (*corr. in infabricata*) *p*.
migrantes *ab*. ruentes *bc*.

400. infabricata: *Gl. Ansil.* 299, 632; *q.v.*; *Gl. Abol.* 138, 245. 400. fugae studio: *Gl. Ansil.* 257, 49 — fuge —.

401. migrantis . . . ruentis: *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 14, 10 — migrantes; ruentes —; *Charis. Inst. gram.* 4 (G. L. K. 1, 270) — ruentes —; *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 460 — migrantes *B*, migratis *AC*, migrati *T*, gratis *V*; c. t. e. u. r. (e. t. c. u. r. *TC*, cernas totaque ex urbe ruentes *B*) —. 401. migrantis cernas: *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 66 — cernasque *A*, ternasque (*corr. in cernasque*) *V* —; *in Ter. Eun.* 375 — migrantes *B* —; *Serv. Aen.* 4, 491 — migrantes (migrantes *M*) —.

399. remos: the variant *ramos* of some inferior MSS is ignored by *Servius* and leaves us uncertain why such branches should have been brought. It may be due to confusion with *ramis . . . frondentibus* in 3, 25.

399. robora: whether for joints, planks, masts, or yards is uncertain; cf. Segebadé, *op. cit.*, 3, n. 2 (who thinks them reserve masts and yards); During, *De Vergilii Ser-mone epico* (1905), 12, n. 1 (whose view that they were for oars involves an awkward tautology). Perhaps 5, 752-753 may indicate that there was more than one purpose in sight: *ipsi transtra novant flammisque ambesa reponunt / robora navigiis, aptant remosque rudentisque*.

399. silvis: Roiron (*Étude sur l'Imagination auditive de Virgile* (1908), 153) observes that Virgil often mentions woods near the seashore, citing fourteen instances in his works.

400. infabricata: on the half-line cf. 4, 44, n. (*germani, etc.*); 4, 402, n. (*ac velut*). Sparrow (*Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 41-45) does not include this in his list of 'effective hemistiches', perhaps because he thinks it due to incompleteness rather than intention (*id.*, 32-33). Whatever its cause, however, it seems very effective, and appropriate to the hasty and unfinished character of the action described; cf. also Zille, *Virgils Aeneide*, Viertes Buch (1865), 50-51.

The adjective is first used by Virgil (cf. *Ladewig, De Vergilio Verborum Novatore*, 1 (1870), 4; *Güthling, Adnot. ad Verg. Aeneidem* (1877), 19), and occurs ten times in En-

niodius; cf. *Hartel's index in C. S. E. L.* 6, 675.

400. fugae: *Serv.*: *celeris profectiois*; comparing G. 3, 201; to which add G. 3, 142; *Aen.* 1, 317.

401. migrantis: the suggestion of *Mackail (ad loc.)* that this line should follow 407 hardly improves the abrupt way in which it is here introduced, without any connective, and *Mackail* himself admits that "alteration of the vulgate order is precarious." The position of the participles should be noticed, at the two ends of the line.

401. cernas: *Serv.*: *honestia figura si remertitiae personae in secundam referas, hoc est, 'si quis cernat.'* For the present subjunctive used for vividness where the imperfect would have been more regular (as in 3, 187), cf. 8, 691-692: *alta petunt; pelago credas innare revolsas / Cycladas*; *Ov. M.* 1, 242: *in facinus iurare putes*; 10, 654; 11, 517: *inque fretum credas totum descendere caelum*; and other cases cited by *Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 179, n., in which the present subjunctive follows historical presents. Cf. the optative in *Il.* 4, 223: ἐνθ' οὐκ ἂν βρίζοντα ἴδοις Ἀγαμέμνονα δῖον. *Henry (Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 739) pictures the reader as observing from a distance (or a height; cf. 4, 408-410) the movements of the Trojans, which are appropriately compared to the swarming of ants, and compares *Basil. Hexaem.* 6, 9: εἰ ποτε ἀπὸ ἀκρωτέας μεγάλης πεδίων εἶδες πολὺ τε καὶ ὕπτιον, ἡλκα μὲν σοι τῶν βοῶν κατεφάνη τὰ ζεύγη; πηλικοί δὲ οἱ ἀροτῆρες αὐτοί; εἰ μὴ

402. ac velut ingentem formicae farris acervom

ueluti Μασπ. acervum Μασπ, acervom (corr. in acervum) γ.

402-403. velut . . . reponunt: Claud. Mamert. *De Statu Animae*, 2, 3 (C. S. E. L. 11, 109) — ueluti; acervum; conpopulant (compopulant DEFMB, conpopulant (corr. in cum populant) S, cum populant BG) — 402-403. ingentem . . . reponunt: Lact. *De Ira*, 7, 11 — acervum (acervum B¹, corr. B²); cum populant (corr. ex conpopulant ?) B; hiemes P¹ — 402. ingentem . . . acervom: [Acro] in *Hor. C.* 2, 2, 24 — formice Ar, euanuit γ; acervum —

μυρμήκων τινά σοι παρέσχον φαντασίαν; cf. also Ambr. *Hexaem.* 4, 26: *de summo vertice montium si subiectum oculis tuis campum spectare desideras, atque illic armenta pascentia, nonne formicarum similia corpora iudicabis?*

402. ac velut: Sparrow (*Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 32-33) notes that in all the cases in Virgil in which a simile is introduced by *ac velut*(i), with the exception of 2, 626 and the present line, there is found an 'apodosis' describing the incident or scene which has provoked the comparison, and he considers its absence here a sign of incompleteness. Mackail (*ad loc.*) stresses other such signs in the passage, including "the feebleness of line 412, the awkward repetition of *cogis* . . . *cogitur*, and the absence of any introductory line to the speech which follows, lines 416-436." Perhaps, however, as in 2, 626, the lack of an 'apodosis' is in considerable measure due to the extent to which the poet has become involved in the details of the simile, a cause of not infrequent difficulty to writers.

On the following simile cf. Hornbostel, *Die Gleichnisse bei Vergil* (1870), 14; Houben, *De Comparationibus Vergilianis* (1876), 4; 8; Kopetsch, *De Comparationibus Vergilianis* (1879), 8. It is probably suggested by Apoll. Rh. 4, 1452-1456: *ὥς δ' ὅποτε στεινὴν περὶ χηραμόν εἰλίσσονται / γειομόροι μύρμηκες ὀμιλαδόν, ἣ ὅτε μυῖται / ἀμφ' ὀλίγην μέλιτος γλυκεροῦ λίβα πεπτηνύται / ἀπλητον μεμάασιν ἐπήτριοι· ὥς τότ' ἀολλεῖς / πετραῖα Μυῖται περὶ πίδακι δινεύεσκον.* Jerome, in a passage (*Vil. Malch.* 7) too long to quote, recalls the present lines, using such phrases as *aspicio formicarum gregem angusto calle fervere, venturae hiemis memores, suppositis humeris adiuvabant*; cf. *Dial. adv. Lucif.* 22: *hinc ferventi agmine segetem formica populatur*;

while Plin. *N. H.* 29, 28 alludes either to these lines or to G. 1, 186; 1, 379-380, when he says *at non Vergilio fuit* (sc. *fastidio*) *nominare formicas* (on the interest of Alexandrian writers in describing small animals cf. Biese, *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls bei den Griechen* (1882), 88-90).

The laborious thrift of ants in collecting and storing food appears frequently in proverb (Otto, *Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 141) and fables (Marx in *P.-W.* 1 (1894), 1821), as well as in other types of writing; e.g., *Pseudophocylidea*, 165-171: *μύρμηκες, γαίης μυχάτους προλελοιπότες οἴκους, / ἔρχονται βιότου κεκρήμενοι, ὅππότε ἄρουνται / λήϊα κειράμεναι καρπῶν πλήθωσιν ἀλωάς / οἱ δ' αὐτοὶ πυροῖο νεοτριβέες ἄχθος ἔχουσιν, / ἣ κριθῶν αἰεὶ δὲ φέρων φορέοντα διώκει, / ἐκ θέρεος ποτὶ χεῖμα βορὴν σφετέρην συνάγοντες / ἄντροι· φῶλον δ' ὀλίγον τελέθει πολύμοχθον;* Arist. *Hist. Anim.* 9, 40, p. 623 b 13-14: *οἱ μὲν οὖν μύρμηκες θηρεύουσι μὲν οὐδὲν, τὰ δὲ πεποιημένα συλλέγουσιν;* Theocr. 17, 107: *μυρμήκων ἅτε πλοῦτος αἰεὶ κέχυται μογεόντων;* Virg. G. 1, 185-186: *populatque ingentem farris acervom / curculio atque inopi metuens formica senectae;* Hor. S. 1, 1, 33-35: *parvola (nam exemplo est) magni formica laboris / ore trahit quodcumque potest atque addit acervo / quem struit, haud ignara ac non incauta futuri;* Ov. *Ars am.* 1, 93-94: *ut redit ilque frequens longum formica per agmen, / granifero solitum cum vehit ore cibum;* M. 7, 624-626: *hic nos frugilegas aspeximus agmine longo / grande onus exiguo formicas ore gerentes / rugosoque suum servantes cortice callem;* F. 1, 685: *vos quoque, formicae, subiectis parcite granis;* Colum. 10, 322: *neu formica rapax populari semina possit;* Plut. *De Soll. Anim.* 11 (important, but too long to quote, as is Plin. *N. H.* 11, 108-

403. cum populant hiemis memores tectoque reponunt,

hyemos c¹. reponant π.

[402*] 403. populant: Gl. *Ansil.* 451, 274; Gl. *Aa*, 324, 823; q.v.

110); M. Aurel. 7, 3: *μυρμήκων τάλαιπωπλαι καὶ ἀχθοφορῆαι;* Juv. 6, 360-361: *frigusque famemque / formica tandem quidam expavere magistra;* Ser. Sammon. 79: *dulcibus e latebris patiens formica laborum;* Cels. ap. Orig. *Contr. Cels.* 4, 83; Ambros. *Hexaem.* 6, 16; [Basil.] *In illud, Ne dederis*, etc. (*Patr. Gr.* 31, 1504 B); Avian. 34, 5, 1-20 (the original of *La cigale ayant chanté*); several passages in Augustine noted by Vasold, *Augustinus quae hauserit ex Vergilio*, 2 (1909), 29; Symphos. *Aenig.* 22, 1-3: *provida sum vitae, duro non pigra labore, / ipsa ferens umeris securae praemia brumae. / nec gero magna simul, sed congero nulla vicissim;* Isid. *Etym.* 12, 3, 9: *formica dicta ab eo quod ferat micas farris* (borrowed from Servius on our line). *cuius sollertia nulla*, etc.; Milo, *De Sobrietate*, 1, 864 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 641): *providitque sagax formica ut farris acervum*, etc.; Arsen. *Violetum*, pp. 12-13 Walz; also *Prov.* 6, 6-8; 30, 25. Maphaeus Vegius, *Aen.* 13, 220-229, has an elaborate simile drawn from ants, and showing the influence of this passage.

The notion that ants collect grains has been doubted by some writers (cf. Marx in *P.-W.* 1 (1894), 1820), but is confirmed by modern observation; cf. Lubbock, *Ants, Bees, and Wasps*, 3 ed. (1882), 59-61; Linsenbarth in *Neue Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Paed.* 143 (1891), 706-707; Royds, *Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil* (1918), 29-31; Frazer on Ov. *F.* 1, 685. Crowds of men are elsewhere compared to bees (*Il.* 2, 87-90; Cic. *De Har. Resp.* 25; *Aen.* 1, 430-436 — a simile to be closely compared with the present —; 6, 707-709 (of shades); Ov. *F.* 3, 555-556), wasps (*Il.* 16, 259-265), or flies (*Il.* 2, 469-471; 16, 641-643), and at least the first named of these were sometimes regarded as typifying (or even embodying) the souls of the dead; cf. Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 73. Ants, the γῆς στρατός of Anth. Pal. 9, 438, 1, are also thought of as embodying the soul

(Cook, *Zeus*, 1 (1914), 532, n. 12) and at times interchangeable with men; cf. Myrmex and the Myrmidons, described by Tümpel in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 2 (1897), 3312-3314; Frazer on Apollod. *Bibl.* 3, 12, 6; to which add: Rufin. *Comm. in Symbol. Apost.* 11 (*Patr. Lat.* 21, 350); Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 7, 310. The Scholia Danielis on our line set these tales forth at length, and also remark: *ad studium respicit comparatio hoc loco, non ad personas.*

Perhaps the comparison to ants suggests not only the industry of the Trojans at this time but also that, at the distance from which Dido viewed them, they seemed scarcely distinguishable one from another. In fact, though many individual Trojans are named in the *Aeneid*, the number to whom any distinct individuality attaches is small, and the host in general might well appear like those ἀήσυροι μύρμηκες with whom Aeschylus (*Prom.* 452-453) compares primitive men.

Whether in addition there is a faint suggestion of an omen in the mention of ants is uncertain; in dreams they appear as a good omen to rulers (Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 22) but a bad one to all others (*op. cit.*, 1, 24; 2, 22; 3, 6; Suet. *Tib.* 72; *Nero*, 46; Plut. *Cim.* 18).

402. ingentem: cf. 4, 89, n. (ingentes); Hor. S. 2, 3, 111: *ingentem frumenti . . . acervum.*

402. formicae farris: note the alliteration.

403. populant: Serv.: *antique dixit; nam hoc verbum apud veteres activum fuit, nunc tantum deponens est.* The uses of the active and the deponent of this verb seem more or less evenly divided in Latin, but Virgil does not use it in a deponent sense; cf. G. 1, 185 (quoted above); etc. The Scholia Danielis add: *et bene rei parvae per metaphoram sublimitatem dedit, ut non videatur de formicis sed de exercitu loqui.*

403. hiemis: cf. G. 4, 156-157 (of bees): *venturaeque hiemis memores aestate laborem /*

404. it nigrum campis agmen praedamque per herbas
convectant calle angusto, pars grandia trudunt

predam *M* (praedam *M*⁴). herbam *b*.
pras *M* (pars *M*⁶).

404-405. praedamque . . . angusto: *Non. p.* 197 *M.* (p. 290 *L.*) — herbam —. 404. it . . . agmen: *Sen. N. Q.* 1, praef. 10; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 11, 142 — sit nigrum *F*; agmen campis *T* —. 404. nigrum agmen: *Gl. Ansil.* 391, 59.

[404] 405. convectant: *Gl. Ansil.* 145, 1963; *Gl. Aa.* 206, 926; *Gl. Abol.* 115, 256; *q.v.* 405. pars . . . trudunt: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 212 — tradunt *C* (trudunt *C*²) —.

experiuntur et in medium quaesita reponunt;
Hor. S. 1, 1, 35 (quoted above).

403. tecto: primarily of human structures but also applied to those of birds, bees, and wild beasts; cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Trophen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 30; Kunz, *Realien in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1894), 19. The Scholia Danielis gloss: *suo tecto, id est, cavernis*.

403. reponunt: cf. 4, 392.

404. it, etc.: Serv.: *hemistichium Ennii* (*Ann.* 474) *de elephantis dictum, quod ante Accius est usus de Indis*. There is an almost comic effect in applying to ants this phrase the associations of which were originally so different (cf. Norden, *Ennius u. Vergilius* (1915), 44, n. 1), which is increased by the heavy and stately metre of the line and the two following; cf. Maxa in *Wiener Stud.* 19 (1897), 88; Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 424; Page, ed. of *Buc. and Georg.* (1922), xxxv, n. Ambr. *Hexaem.* 6, 16, recalls the passage: *nigro convectatur agmine praeda per campos, fervent semitae comitatu vianitium et quae comprehendere angusto ore non possunt humeris grandia frumenta truduntur*; and Vida, *Scacchia*, 443, reads *it nigrum campis agmen*. Le Breton, *De Animalibus apud Vergilium* (1895), 60, thinks the short word *it* appropriate for the short legs of the ants; but this would not explain why the hemistich had been previously used of *Indi* and of elephants, so that it is better to find a certain ritual character in the line; cf. 4, 130, n. (*it*); 4, 665; 11, 192; etc.

404. nigrum: appropriately used of ants, but perhaps also as an ominous color; cf. Artemid. *Oniocr.* 3, 6: *δλεθρον προσγαρεύουσιν* (sc. *μύρμηκες*), *ὅτι γῆς εἰς παῖδες καὶ*

ψυχροὶ καὶ μέλαινες; Fowler, *The Death of Turnus* (1927), 92-93, discussing 12, 450: *campoque atrum rapit agmen aperto*. Cf. also the *graniferum agmen* of *Ov. M.* 7, 638; and the *nigra cohors* (ants) of Maphaeus Vegius, *Aen.* 13, 220.

404. praedam . . . convectant: cf. 7, 749: *convectare iuvat praedas et vivere rapto*; 9, 613: *comportare iuvat praedas et vivere rapto*; *Jul. Val.* 3, 23: *praeda totius Indiae . . . convectata*.

404. per herbas: a frequent verse-tag; cf. *Lucr.* 1, 260; *G.* 3, 162; 3, 436; *Aen.* 3, 221; and the phrase *per herbam*; 3, 236; etc.

405. convectant: a rather rare verb, of which this is the first instance; cf. Ladewig, *De Vergilio Verborum Novatore*, 1 (1870), 3; *Plin. N. H.* 11, 109, in speaking of ants, uses *convectant*.

405. calle angusto: cf. *Arist. Hist. Anim.* 9, 38, p. 622, b 25: *καὶ ὡς αἰ μὴν ἀτραπὸν πάντες βαδίζουσι* (sc. *οἱ μύρμηκες*); *G.* 1, 380: *angustum formica terens iter*; *Ov. Tr.* 5, 6, 39-40: *quam multae gracili terrena sub horrea ferre / limite formicae grana repleta solent*; *Sen. N. Q.* 1, praef. 10: *formicarum discursus est in angusto laborantium*; Ambros. *Hexaem.* 3, 40: *calle . . . angusto*; *Hier. Vit. Malchi*, 7: *formicarum gregem angusto calle fervere*; and on their paths cf. *Plin. N. H.* 11, 110. Servius distinguishes *via*, *semita*, and *callis*, defining the last as *semita tenuior, callo pecorum praedurata*.

405. pars . . . trudunt: cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 22-24; *Ecl.* 1, 65; *G.* 2, 14; 4, 159; 4, 378; *Aen.* 1, 212; 2, 400; 5, 108; 5, 661; 6, 218; 6, 222; 6, 642-644; etc.

406. obnixae frumenta umeris, pars agmina cogunt
castigantque moras, opere omnis semita fervet.
quis tibi tum, Dido, cernenti talia sensus,

humeris *γὰρ*.
operae *M* (opere *M*⁴).
tunc *M.* taliae *p*.

406-407. pars . . . fervet: *Gl. Ansil.* 101, 870.

[406] 407. castigantque . . . fervet: *Non. p.* 251 *M.* (p. 380 *L.*) — opera (opere *B*¹) —. 407. opere . . . fervet: *Anth. Lat. no.* 7, 7 (1, p. 33 *Riese*).

408-409. quis . . . gemitus: *Prisc. Inst.* 17, 80 (*G. L. K.* 3, 153) — tunc *N*; sensu (*corr. in sensus*) *Rr* —. 408. quis . . . sensus: *Donat. in Ter. Ad.* 668 — tibi *n.* (i.e., nunc ?) *d. c. t. s.* —.

405. grandia: relatively, of course, to the size of the ants themselves.

406. obnixae: cf. 9, 725: *obnixus latis umeris*; *Plin. N. H.* 11, 108: *gerunt* (sc. *formicae*) *ea* (sc. *onera*) *morsu*; *maiora aversae postremis pedibus moliuntur, umeris obnixae*; *Mar. Victor, Aleth.* 2, 174-175: *nigra cohors, maiora suis in pabula trudens / semina corporibus*.

406. agmina cogunt: a technical military term; cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 1345, 84-1346, 10; *Val. Fl.* 3, 496-497; also such expressions as 9, 27: *postrema coercent*; 9, 463: *acies in proelia cogit*; *Hor. C.* 1, 10, 18-19: *virgaque levem coerces / aurea turbam*; *Tac. Hist.* 2, 68: *agminis coactores*; *Lowell, Epistle to G. W. Curtis*, 180: "Checks the retreat, and spurs our lagging lines"; *Arnold, Rugby Chapel*, sub fin.: "Ye fill up the gaps in our files, / Strengthen the wavering line."

407. castigantque: cf. 6, 567: *castigatque auditque dolos*; *Caes. B. C.* 1, 3, 1: *segiore castigat atque incitat*; *Mart.* 10, 104, 16-17: *iam tumidus vocat magister / castigatque moras*; *Plin. N. H.* 11, 25: *cessantium inertiam nolant, castigant, mox et puniunt morte* (sc. *apes*); *Sen. Ep.* 99, 32: *ut castigare exiguum illam moram*; *Gualterus, Alexandreis*, 4, 502: *castigare moras*; *Vida, Scacchia*, 523: *castigatque moras*. On this verb used in reproof of various faults cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 3 (1912), 533, 82-534, 22; and on *moras* for *morantes* *McCartney in Cl. Weekly*, 13 (1920), 220.

407. semita: cf. 4, 405, n. (*calle angusto*).

407. fervet: *Schol. Dan.*: *aptum verbum festinationi, ut e contrario 'frigidum' tardum*

(cf. *Serv. Aen.* 1, 436: *fervet: concelebratur, ut contra 'frigel' cessat dicimus*); *G.* 4, 169 (= *Aen.* 1, 436): *fervet opus* (cf. *Claud. In Eutrop.* 2, 450: *flagrat opus*); *Aen.* 4, 409: *litora fervere late*; 8, 676-677: *totumque instructo Marte videres / fervere Leucaten*; *Mart.* 2, 64, 7: *fora litibus omnia fervent*; *Stat. Theb.* 3, 120: *fervet iter gemitu*; 10, 560: *fervent discursibus arces*; *Sil.* 6, 316-317: *multusque per arva / fervebat Mavors*; 8, 620; *Rufin. Hist. Monach.* 21: *nusquam sic vidimus opus fervere misericordiae*; *Aug. Ep.* 41, 1: *fervet iter sanctarum fornicarum*; *Enarr. in Ps.* 147, 13: *fervens in ipsis bonis operibus misericordiae*; *Serm.* 88, 18: *cum quisque Christianus coeperit . . . fervere bonis operibus*; *Vida, Christianis*, 3, 12-13; 3, 49: *fervere cuncta vident*; *Dryden, Annus mirabilis*, 144, 1-2: "All hands employ'd, the royal work grows warm: / Like labouring bees on a long summer's day." With the hemistich cf. also the account of the bees in 6, 709: *strepit omnis murmure campus*.

408. quis, etc.: cf. *Il.* 24, 367: *τίς ἄν δῆ τοι νόος εἴη*; *Soph. Philoct.* 276-278: *σὺ δῆ, τέκνον, πολὺν μ' ἀνάστασιν δοκεῖς / αὐτῶν βεβῶτων ἐξ ὕπνου στήναι τότε; / ποῖ' ἐκταρῶσαι, ποῖ' ἀποιμῶσαι κακά*; *Ov. M.* 1, 358-359: *quis tibi . . . / nunc animus, miseranda, foret*; 7, 582: *quid mihi tunc animi fuit*; *Sedul. Pasch. Carm.* 2, 127-130: *quis tibi tunc, Ianio, cernenti talia sensus? / quosve dabas fremitus, cum vulnera fervere late / prospiceret arce ex summa, vastumque videres / misceri ante oculos tantis plangoribus aequor*; *Leopardi, A Silvia*, 28-31: *che pensieri soavi, / che speranze, che*

409. quosve dabas gemitus, cum litora fervere late
prospiceres arce ex summa totumque videres

quosuidebas (*corr. in quosue dabas*) *Mc.*
et *M* (ex *M*¹).

[408] 409. quosve: *Gl. Ansil.* 482, 133; *q.v.* 409. dabas gemitus: *Gl. Ansil.* 159, 9.
409. cum . . . late: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* 7 (*G. L. K.* 4, 241).
410. arce . . . summa: *Gl. Ansil.* 61, 102.

cori, o Silvia mia! / quale allor ci apparia / la vita umana e il fato! Our line furnishes another case of the intrusion into the epic of the subjective attitude of the poet; cf. 4, 65, n. (*heu, etc.*), above; also, for the apostrophe, Hampel, *De Apostrophac apud Romanorum Poetas Usu* (1908), 15–16. Parallels for the omission of the copula in such a rhetorical question are given by Winter, *De Ellipsi Verbi esse*, etc. (1907), 6; 14–15. The Scholia Danielis remark: *totum hoc magna prophonesi dictum est; plus enim est in re quam in verbis; quamvis enim totum dictum non sit, tamen et cogitatur et capitur ab auditore; haec est enim magna emphasis quae perpetuam personam complectitur. Terentius (Ad. 668) 'quid illi tandem credis fore animi misero, qui cum illa consuevit prior?'*

408. *tum*: it might seem preferable to stress *tunc* in the lines of Sedulius just quoted (though even there cod. *E* has been corrected to *tum*, and cod. *Arntz*. m¹ reads *nunc*), and to assume that *tunc* was corrupted in one direction into *tum* and in another into *n(unc)* of Donatus, rather than to suppose that *tunc* and *n(unc)* were derived from *tum*. Yet when we examine the 23 occurrences of *tunc* in the Virgilian corpus and note that in none of the 8 in which it precedes a vowel is there any serious suggestion of variant readings, while in every one of the 15 in which it precedes a consonant there is opposing MS evidence favoring *tum*, it prompts the suspicion that there may be, in Virgil at least, a real distinction in use between the two words based on that particular consideration; cf. also Wagner, *Lect. Vergilian.* (1859), 79–80.

408. *cernenti talia*: cf. *Anth. Lat.* no. 17, 349 (1, p. 75 Riese): *talia cernentem*.

409. *quosve, etc.*: cf. Hrab. Maur. *Carm.*

9, 20 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 171): *quosve dares gemitus*.

409. *gemitus*: cf. 1, 485: *ingentem gemitum dat*; 2, 53: *gemitumque dedere cavernae*; 9, 709: *dat tellus gemitum*; 11, 377: *dat gemitum*; 12, 713: *dat gemitum tellus*. On the tears and groans of Dido cf. lines 413, 437, 439, 548, 553, 649; see also Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 159.

409. *fervere*: cf. 4, 407, and n. (*fervel*), above; Serv.: *infinitus hic a tertia est coniugatione, id est, a 'fervo, fervis'; nam secundae coniugationis verba perditio 'e,' quod habent ante 'o,' in tertiam migrant, ut 'ferveo, fervo,' 'fulgeo, fulgo' (also Brev. Exp. in G. 1, 456); Non. p. 503 M. (p. 808 L.), who cites examples from Naevius, Afranius, Lucilius, Accius, Lucretius, Varro, and Virgil, to which add: *Lucr.* 2, 41; 2, 928 (*effervere*); 6, 442; *G.* 1, 456; 1, 471 (*effervere*); 4, 556 (*effervere*); *Aen.* 4, 567: *iam fervere litora flammis*; 8, 677 (and the Schol. Dan.); 9, 693; *Petron.* 123, 214; *Val. Fl.* 1, 121; 6, 588; *Quintil.* 1, 6, 7: *si quis antiquos secutus 'fervere' brevi media syllaba dicat deprehendatur vitiose loqui, etc.*; *Stat. Theb.* 3, 314: *late defertere campo*; 4, 664 (*effervere*); 7, 795 (*effervere*); *Sil.* 8, 619–620: *lantis agminibus Rhoeteo litore quondam / fervere*; 9, 243: *loto fervere campo*; *Avien.* 3, 1053; [*Claud.*] *Carm. min. App.* 5, 22; also the infinitives *fulgere* (6, 826, and Serv.; *Sen. N. Q.* 2, 56, 2; etc.) and *stridere* (*G.* 4, 556); *Wotke* in *Wiener Stud.* 8 (1886), 144.*

410. *prospiceres*: cf. *Catull.* 64, 241: *at pater, ut summa prospectum ex arce pelebat*; Serv.: *regum enim fuit habitare in arcibus propter tutelam*. So Priam's palace is placed in 2, 760. With the situation cf. *Catull.* 64, 52–54: *namque fluentisono prospectans litore*

411. misceri ante oculos tantis clamoribus aequor!
improbe Amor, quid non mortalia pectora cogis!
ire iterum in lacrimas, iterum temptare precando

412. *improbe . . . cogis*: *Anth. Lat.* no. 17, 12 (1, p. 62 Riese) — *improbe*; *pectora om. A* (add. a) — 412. *quid . . . cogis*: *Anth. Lat.* no. 8, 27 (1, p. 35 Riese) — *cocis* (*cogis m. rec.*) A — 412. *mortalia pectora*: *Anth. Lat.* no. 719, 8 (2, p. 185 Riese).

413. *ire . . . lacrimas*: *Anth. Lat.* no. 11, 80 (1, p. 44 Riese); no. 16, 79 (1, p. 59 Riese) — *lacrimis A* (*lacrimas A*¹) — no. 17, 14 (1, p. 62 Riese). 413. *temptare precando*: *Anth. Lat.* no. 15, 72 (1, p. 53 Riese) — *temperare A* —

*Diae / Thesea cedentem celeri cum classe
luetur / indomitos in corde gerens Ariadna
furores, etc.*

410. *arce ex summa*: cf. 2, 41; 4, 586, n. (*e speculis*); 6, 519; *Ov. Rem. Am.* 57–58: *nec moriens Dido summa vidisset ab arce / Dardania vento vela dedisse rates*.

411. *misceri*: cf. 4, 160, n. (*misceri*).

411. *ante oculos*: in the same position in the verse in 1, 114; 2, 531; 2, 773; 7, 420; 11, 887; *Lucr.* 1, 62; 1, 342; 1, 998; etc.; cf. also *Aen.* 2, 270; 3, 150; 5, 109; 11, 311; 12, 638.

411. *clamoribus*: Serv.: *navarum scilicet*; cf. 3, 128: *nauticus exoritur vario certamine clamor*; 5, 140–141: *ferit aethera clamor / nauticus*; *Val. Fl.* 1, 186–187: *non clamor anhelis / nauticus*; 2, 112: *sonat aequore clamor*. In our passage, however, there cannot yet be any reference to the formal *celeuma*, for the actual start of the Trojans does not occur until 4, 581.

412. *improbe Amor*: Serv.: *exclamatio a poeta contra amorem*. A similar subjective intrusion into the epic is found in *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 445–446: *σχέτλι' Ἐρως, μέγα πῆμα, μέγα στίγος ἀνθρώποισιν, / ἐκ σθένος οὐδόμεναι τ' ἔριδες στοναχαί τε γόοι τε, κτλ.*; cf. *Aen.* 3, 56–57: *quid non mortalia pectora cogis, / auri sacra fames*; *Ov. F.* 2, 331: *quid non amor improbus audeat*; *Prop.* 1, 1, 6; 2, 33, 42; *Claud. Carm. min.* 8, 1: *quid non saevus Amor flammarum numine cogat*; *Epithal. de Nupt. Hon.* 111–113: *quae proelia sudas, / improbe? quis iacuit telis? iterumne Tonantem / inter Sidonias cogis mugire iuencas*; *Prud. Hamartig.* 149: *improba mors, quid non mortalia pectora cogis*; *Anth. Lat.* no. 253, 6–7 (1, p. 202 Riese): *improbe dure puer, crudelis crimine matris, / pompam ducis,*

Amor, nullo satiate triumpho; *Maphaeus Vegius, Aen.* 13, 146–147: *o nimium dominandi innata cupido, / mortales quo caeca vehis*; *Cayado, Ecl.* 5, 111: *Amor improbe*. In *Ecl.* 8, 49–50 *Amor* is further described as *puer improbus*; cf. 10, 29: *crudelis Amor*. The *improbus . . . amor* of *Hor. S.* 1, 3, 24 is of a different kind. The purpose of the highly subjective apostrophe is doubtless, as Kappes and Wörner (*ad loc.*) suggest, to explain and ease the sudden change in Dido's plans, which makes necessary the humbling of her pride; cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 322; see also Hampel, *De Apostrophac apud Romanorum Poetas Usu* (1908), 16; 28.

412. *quid*: on the double accusative with *cogo* cf. Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1 2 ed. (1912), 303, with many illustrations.

412. *mortalia pectora*: cf. *Ov. M.* 4, 201; 6, 472.

412. *cogis*: the verb is awkwardly repeated two lines below, doubtless because Virgil had, like many authors, a naturally and unconsciously repetitive mind; cf. Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 60. Perhaps, however, the duplication might be justified on the ground that two sides of the same process are described: Love constrains and Dido is constrained.

413. *ire*: cf. 5, 782: *cogunt me, Neptune, preces descendere in omnis*; *Ov. M.* 5, 668: *ibimus in poenas*; *F.* 6, 89: *in lilem . . . issent*; *Flor.* 1, 20, 2: *in sudorem eunt*; *Stat. Theb.* 6, 234–235: *ibat / in cineres*; 11, 193: *ibant in lacrimas*; Serv.: *hinc est amoris improbitas, quae cogit lacrimis rogare dudum superbam*.

413. *iterum . . . iterum*: cf. the repeti-

414. cogitur et supplex animos summittere amori,
ne quid inexpertum frustra moritura relinquit.

cogitor *P* (cogitur *P*²). submittere *b*.

fr. ustra γ, om. m. relinquit *M* (relinquat *M*⁷; Fairclough in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 63 (1932), 218), relinquit *c*.

414. cogitur . . . animos: *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 72 (1, p. 53 Riese) — animum —. 414. animos summittere: *Gl. Ansil.* 54, 269 — animo —.

415. ne . . . relinquit: *Non. p.* 296 *M.* (p. 458 *L.*); *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 311 — nequit *A*; inexpertum (expertum *C*) f. m. r. —; *Auson. Epigr.* 79, 8 (p. 341 *Peiper*). 415. ne . . . frustra: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* 10 (G. L. K. 4, 252) — inexpertum f. —. 415. inexpertum: *Gl. Ansil.* 299, 613; 299, 615; q.v.

tion of *bis* in *G.* 1, 48; 2, 150; *Aen.* 2, 218; 6, 134. Dido's earlier tears appeared at 4, 314.

413. in lacrimas: Knight (in *Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 202, n. 16) compares the phrase *pedibus ire in sententiam*.

413. temptare precando: cf. 4, 113: *animum temptare precando*.

414. animos: Schol. Dan.: 'animos quidam pro 'iras' accipiunt, ut 'animosus' dicitur pro 'iracundus', etc. For many Virgilian cases of *animus* in the plural meaning 'courage,' 'spirit,' etc., cf. Spitta, *Quaestiones Vergilianae* (1867), 40; Braumüller, *Ueber Troien u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 15; Bowra in *Cl. Quart.* 23 (1929), 69. Here the context, and especially the word *supplex*, indicate that *animos* means 'her proud spirit'; cf. 11, 366: *pone animos*; and other cases cited in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1900), 104, 46–57.

414. summittere: cf. Cic. *Ad Fam.* 11, 3, 3: *neque enim decet . . . periculo ulli submittere animum nostrum*. Palmer, in the introduction to his discussion of Ov. *Heroides*, 7, thinks that this is the point in the story at which that poem is laid.

415. ne quid, etc.: cf. Liv. 25, 23, 4: *ne quid inexpertum relinqueret*; Curt. 3, 6, 14: *nec Philippus quicquam inexpertum omisit*; 4, 4, 2: *ne quid inexpertum omitteret*; 8, 14, 29: *nec quicquam inexpertum . . . timor omitebat*; 9, 2, 27: *qui nihil inexpertum, nihil metu omissum relinquit*; Sen. *Ep.* 101, 4: *nullum relinquens inexpertum genus quaestus*; Gualterus, *Alexandreis*, 6, 418–419: *nihil est quod . . . virtus / linquat inexpertum*; Vida, *Christias*, 4, 206: *nihil ut inexpertum mori-*

bundo in corpore linquat; also *Ter. Andr.* 311: *omnia experiri certumst prius quam pereo*.

Interpretations of the passage differ according as *frustra* is phrased with *inexpertum* . . . *relinquat* or with *moritura*. The Scholia Danielis take the former view: *rogabat, inquit, non spe inpetrandi, sed ne esset quod sibi posset inputare si non rogasset, quamquam frustra rogaret; id est, ne derelinqueret medium aliquod intemptatum; et hoc 'frustra,' quia moritura erat*; cf. the explanation of Page (*ad loc.*): "If she left anything unattempted which might have saved her, she would die though she need not have done so." But Servius probably comes nearer the truth: *et 'frustra' ex iudicio poetae est*; i.e., this is another of those subjective, more or less parenthetical, intrusions by the poet (cf. 4, 65, n. (*heu*, etc.), above) of which we have had examples in 4, 408–412. We need not assume that Dido had as yet planned her own death (cf. 4, 308, n. (*nec*, etc.), above; Gross, *Krit. u. exeget. zu Vergils Aeneis* (1883), 23), and still less that she felt it would be to no purpose; *frustra moritura* — which might, without injustice, be set off as a parenthetical expression — is analogous to Virgil's use of *infelix* in 4, 68 (where cf. the note), as an expression of the poet's own sympathy. A close parallel is *G.* 4, 458–459: *immanem ante pedes hydum moritura puella / servantem ripas alta non vidit in herba*, where *moritura* reveals the reflection of the poet rather than the consciousness of Eurydice herself (cf. Klouček, *Vergiliana* (1883), 5), who, like Dido in the present line, is recognized by Virgil as doomed to death.

416. 'Anna, vides toto properari litore circum;
undique convenere; vocat iam carbasus auras,

properi *P*.

(u)ndique *P*.

416. Anna . . . circum: *Prisc. Inst.* 14, 33 (G. L. K. 3, 41) — arua ? *K* (corr. *k*); *properare R*; littore *D* —; 14, 51 (G. L. K. 3, 55) — littore *H*, littorae (corr. in littore) *L* —; *Clemens, Ars gram.* 165, 13 (*Philol., Supplbd.* 20, 3 (1928), 105).

415. frustra: Knapp (in *Cl. Weekly*, 24 (1931), 188, n. 18) notes the connection of the word with *fraus* (Walde, *Lat. etym. Wörterb.* 2 ed. (1910), s. v.), and sees in its use "the suggestion that the person of whom it is said was deceived, cheated of his expectation, e.g., by his own blundering or by the Fates."

416. Anna: the only introduction of the speech is that implied in *precando* (4, 413), cf. 3, 85; Wilms, *Qua Ratione Verg. in Aen. aut locuturum aliquem aut locutum esse indicaverit* (1865), 18. Anna's presence has not been recently noted, but it is Virgil's fashion not to emphasize the whereabouts and actions of minor characters until such time as they are needed in the story; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 338. Dido here makes no reproaches against Anna, like those in her soliloquy (4, 548–549), for her advice in 4, 31–52 (cf. Heinze, *op. cit.*, 128, n. 1), perhaps because she has not yet completely abandoned hope (4, 429–434), but Anna is now the only medium through which that hope might be realized. I cannot agree with the Scholia Danielis in their statement: 'Anna' *prope invidiose, quia ipsa nuptias suaserat*. The speech is free from the recurrent sarcasm of her second speech to Aeneas (4, 365–387), unless we are to see such in *pulchro* (4, 432).

416. vides: Schol. Dan.: *est maior vis adfirmantis cum dicit 'vides.' petitio autem haec etiam deliberationis modum a quibusdam putatur tenere*; cf. Val. Fl. 2, 400–402: *ipsa quoque Hypsipyle subitos per litora cursus / ut vidit, totaque viros decedere Lemno, / ingemit*; etc.

416. toto . . . litore: cf. 4, 397–398: *litore . . . / . . . toto*.

416. properari: for the impersonal use cf. 6, 45: *ventum erat*.

416. circum: Servius says: *circum litus; nam postposita praepositio et accentum mutavit et suas perdidit vires*; while the Scholia Danielis more precisely state: 'circum' *non est praepositio sed adverbium loci*; cf. 10, 118: *portis circum omnibus instant*. Markland's attempt (on *Stat. Silv.* 2, 5, 12) to construe *circum* with the words following it, though adopted by various editors and seemingly in part supported by the occasional grouping of *circum* and *undique* (e.g., 2, 598–599; 3, 635; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 3 (1912), 1114, 73–81), has been well refuted by Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 741–742) and rejected by Hirtzel, Janell, and Goelzer.

417. undique convenere: = 2, 799; cf. 5, 293 (= 9, 720; *Cir.* 452): *undique conveniunt*; 7, 551: *undique ut auxilio veniant*; Schol. Dan.: *bene non addidit qui; intellegitur*. Schüler (*Quaestiones Vergilianae* (1883), 27–28) notes that the fleet is now ready to set sail but does not leave during lines 450–553 (or, in fact, till 4, 582), and wonders why it lingers all this time, which he supposes a delay of several days. I cannot myself see, however, that we need assume so long a time; cf. 4, 460 n. (*exaudiri*). It is now still daylight, so that Dido can see and point out to Anna the activities of the Trojans; night supervenes (4, 461), during which Dido has bad dreams (4, 465–473), which lead her to address her sister and prepare the pyre, ostensibly for magical purposes (4, 494–521). Probably during the latter part of this same night, while Dido is awake (4, 522–553), Aeneas sleeps (4, 554–555) on the eve of his departure (4, 555), sees Mercury in a dream (4, 556–570), and rouses his men (4, 571–581), who set forth just at daybreak (4, 582–586); cf. Heinze, *op. cit.*, 341; 343–344, who doubts whether all the events noted could have occurred in this time, and yet finds no clear

418. puppibus et laeti nautae imposuere coronas.

(p)puppibus P. naute γ. inposuere Mp.

418. puppibus . . . coronas: Donat. in Aen. 1, 190 — inposuere —. 418. inposuere coronas: Anth. Lat. no. 11, 29 (1, p. 42 Riese) — inposuere —.

indication on Virgil's part of a longer interval. Virgil's desire for concentration of time is rather clear.

417. *vocat*: on the variety of phrases used by Virgil for setting sail cf. Segebade, *Vergil als Seefahrer* (1895), 9, n. 1; these include 3, 70 (= 5, 764): *vocal auster in altum*; 3, 269; 3, 356–357: *aurae / vela vocant tumidoque inflatur carbasus auster*; 3, 454–455: *cursus in altum / vela vocet*. Norden (2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 433), commenting on Ennius's use of *carbasus* (Ann. 576) and Virgil's employment of *convenere* in a passage (11, 236) of Ennian flavor, considers our line also a possible imitation of some lost line of Ennius. Cf. also what Dido declares in Ov. *H.* 7, 171: *cum dabit aura viam, praebebis carbaso ventis*.

417. *carbasus*: Serv. Aen. 3, 357: *genus lini est, quod abusive plerumque pro velo ponitur*; cf. the glosses cited in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 3 (1912), 429, 2–7; Torr, *Anc. Ships* (1895), 96 and n. 207. Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) suggests a reminiscence in Ov. *Rem. Am.* 531–532: *referent tua carbaso venti; / quaque vocant fluctus hac tibi remus eat*.

418. *puppibus*: Schol. Dan.: *Probus sane sic adnotavit 'si hunc versum omittet, melius fecisset'*; yet the criticism overlooks the fact that the rejoicing is that of the Trojans rather than of Aeneas, who, it has been clearly indicated, departs with an inward struggle rather than with unmixed joy. As Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) observes, in this detail of enthusiasm the sailors are probably doing what was customarily done (and may we compare some modern conventional signs of joy at the departure of an ocean liner?) rather than anything that Aeneas had specifically ordered. The line is repeated from G. 1, 304, where, as usually, the ceremony takes place after port has been reached (either in thanksgiving, or, as Köchling, *De Coronarum apud Antiquos Vi atque Usu* (1914), 82, thinks, to avert the

evil eye; cf. also Eitrem, *Opferillus u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 67, n. 3; Deubner in *Arch. f. Religionswiss.* 30 (1933), 73), rather than, as here, before setting sail. Sparrow (*Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 97–98) cites other parallels; cf. Prop. 3, 24, 15: *ecce coronatae portum tetigere carinae*; 4, 7, 59–60 (doubtfully apposite): *ecce coronato pars altera vecta phaselo / mulcet ubi Elysias aura beata rosas*; Ov. *Am.* 3, 11, 29–30: *iam mea votiva puppis redimita corona / lenta tumescentes aequoris audit aquas*; *Rem. Am.* 811: *fessa date sarta carinae*; *Ep.* 15, 211–212: *sive redis, puppique tuae votiva paranda / munera*; *M.* 15, 695–696: *Aeneadae gaudent, caesoque in litore tauro / torta coronatae solvunt retinacula classis*; *F.* 4, 335; 6, 779 (in rituals of thanksgiving); *Vitruv.* 2, 8, 15: *Rhodii . . . cum prospexissent suas naves laureatas venire* (as a sign of victory); *Sil.* 11, 484–485: *lauro redimita subibat / optatos puppis portus*; *Val. Fl.* 1, 301: *visa coronatae fulgens tutela carinae*; *Curt.* 4, 4, 5: *navigia conscendunt redimita floribus coronisque*; *Suet. Vell.* 10: *delicatissimis navigiis et variarum coronarum genere redimitis* (during a river trip); *Dracont. Orest.* 233: *regia puppis adest variis ornata coronis*. In few, if any, of the above cases can we be sure that the garlanding took place as ships set sail. In *Aesch. Suppl.* 345 (*αἰδοῦ σὺ πρῶτον πόλεος ὧδ' ἔσπεμμένην*) this question is not clear, and it is perhaps only in *Plat. Phaedo*, 58 a–c, *Xen. Hell.* 5, 1, 3, and in *Ov. M.* 15, 696: *torta coronatae solvunt retinacula classes*, that it is plainly done before the ships start. Cf., however, *Paschalius, Coronae* (1671), 98–99.

Even granted, however, that garlands may have sometimes been placed at the beginning of a voyage, it has been queried whether the Trojan sailors, in the haste of departure, would have had time for this rite; cf. Schol. Dan.: *multi funium coronas accipi volunt, qui*

419. hunc ego si potui tantum sperare dolorem,

tantum potui dett.

419–420. hunc . . . potero: *Macrob. Sat.* 4, 6, 6; *Serv. Ecl.* 9, 3. 419. hunc . . . dolorem: *Donat. in Ter. Phorm.* 239; 250; *Serv. Aen.* 1, 543; 11, 275; *Schol. Dan. Ecl.* 8, 26; *Charis. Inst. gram.* 4 (G. L. K. 1, 270); *Diomed. Art. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 1, 449) — dolorem om. ABM —; *Aug. Enchirid.* 1, 8 (*Patr. Lat.* 40, 234); *Prisc. Inst.* 18, 203 (G. L. K. 3, 307) — tantum potui N —; *Donat. Ars gram.* 3 (G. L. K. 4, 394); *Pomp. Comm.* (G. L. K. 5, 293); *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 453) — spererare B —; *Isid. Diff.* 1, 513; *Humbert. Adv. Simoniacos*, 2, 15 (*Patr. Lat.* 143, 1082) — hinc —; [*Serg.*] *frag. ap. G. L. K.* 4, 564, n.; *Iulian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris*, 3, 1 — po. renouare do. F —. 419. hunc . . . potui: *Philargyr. in Ecl.* 9, 3. 419. tantum . . . dolorem: *Quintil. Inst.* 8, 2, 4.

solent, quotiens navigatur, in modum coronarum componi; nam fugientes quemadmodum naves coronabant? Kvěčala, on the contrary (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 118), thinks that, since a day and a night intervened before setting sail, this crowning of the ships is far too early! Sparrow (*l.c.*) suggests that this line was one of Virgil's *tibicines*, inserted temporarily to support the structure of the poem and later to be replaced by something else. I should retain the line without change.

The term *puppis* is often figuratively used for *navis* (cf. *Braumüller, Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 20; *Quintil.* 8, 6, 20 speaks of this use as poetic), but it is more likely here used literally of the sterns of the vessels, or, better, of the images of protecting deities placed on them; cf. 10, 171: *aurato fulgebat Apolline puppis*; *Kunz, Realien in Vergils Aeneis*, 1 (1894), 16; *Segebade, Vergil als Seefahrer* (1895), 8.

418. *et*: postpositive; cf. 4, 33, n. (*Veneris nec*); 4, 124, n. (*el*); 4, 190, n. (*gaudens*).

418. *laeti*: cf. 4, 295, n. (*laeti*); *Schol. Dan.*: *id est, aut minime timentes; aut adeo non necessitate nec iussu abeunt sed volentes. et hoc aut ad spem retinendi aut ad indignationem commovendam dictum est*; etc.

419. *hunc*: before this verse Ribbeck placed lines 548–549, and assumed a lacuna after them — a procedure which made no improvement in the text and which Janell has very properly disregarded.

419. *si potui*: various interpretations of this sentence are collected by Kvěčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 119–121; by

Klouček, *Vergiliana* (1883), 6–7; and by Murley (in *Cl. Weekly*, 23 (1929), 67–68). Of these that of Heyne, by which *si potui* is interpreted to mean *si debui*, and that of Servius (*si potui autem pro 'si potuissem'*), which Murley follows but for which he offers no convincing parallels, must certainly be rejected. The best sense is gained by taking the words literally, as do Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 742–743) and Conington (*ad loc.*): “if I was able (as I was; on this use of *si* cf. *Ecl.* 2, 27; *G.* 1, 7) to anticipate this great grief I shall also be able to bear it.” With the sentiment Servius compares 6, 105: *omnia praecepi atque animo mecum ante peregi*, and Henry cites Dante, *Parad.* 17, 27: *chè saetta prevista vien più lenta* (which commentators compare to a Latin verse ascribed to Ovid but not found in his works: *nam praevisa minus laedere tela solent*), suggesting that in 4, 298 (*omnia tuta timens*; cf. also 4, 296–297) Dido had shown a misgiving that her felicity was too great to continue.

419. *tantum . . . dolorem*: to Anna this is the grief which Dido will feel at Aeneas's departure; whether for Dido herself there is a *double entendre*, implying also her impending suicide, is perhaps doubtful (cf. Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 23–24), though she may have anticipated dying from unrequited love. Perhaps Virgil may have intended a bit of tragic irony, so that the reader, foreseeing Dido's death, might read into the words what even she herself did not yet suspect. Another form of *double entendre* is found in the explanation of Thiel, followed by Gebhardi (cf. Klouček, *op. cit.*, 6) and

420. et perferre, soror, potero. miserae hoc tamen unum
exsequere, Anna, mihi; solam nam perfidus ille

e)t P.

(ex)sequere P.

[419] 420-421. miserae . . . mihi: Donat. in Ter. Ad. 291 (p. 68 Wessner). 420. hoc . . . unum: Gl. Ansil. 282, 9.

[420] 421-422. solam . . . sensus: Non. p. 32 M. (p. 46 L.) — te collet ego lere arc L¹ —; Donat. in Ter. Andr. 301 — nam p. (perfidus V) i. t. c. a. (a om. V) e. t. c. s. (var. lectt. in Wessneri adn. crit.) —. 421-422. solam . . . colere: Non. p. 250 M. (p. 377 L.); Donat. in Ter. Phorm. 92 — nam om. V; ille t. c. a. R —; Prob. Inst. Art. (G. L. K. 4, 144); Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 305. 421-422. solam . . . te: Donat. in Ter. Eun. 407 (p. 360 Wessner) — solam om. V —.

Plessis and Lejay, that Anna understood the words to mean "as I have had the strength to anticipate this grief, so I shall be able to bear it", while Dido herself meant "as little as I was able to bear it in anticipation, so little shall I be able to endure it." This is more subtle but less easy to read into the words of the text.

With the line cf. its echo in 6, 463-464: *nec credere quivi / hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem*; also 9, 426: *tantum potuit perferre dolorem*; and, for the use of *dolor*, Pichon, *De Sermonem amatorio* (1902), 132-133.

419. *sperare*: most grammarians who quote this line (see above) do so because of supposed *acyrologia* (ἀκρολογία) in its use of *sperare*, Donatus describing it as *inpropria dictio*, and Serv. (*ad loc.*) remarking *nam speramus bona, timemus adversa* (cf. Sacerd. l. c.), while Priscian compares a similar use of ἐλπίσιν. Cf. also 4, 292, n. (*speret*). Parallels may be found in other writers, especially in verse.

420. *perferre*: cf. G. 2, 343 (= Aen. 5, 617; 5, 769; 9, 426): *perferre laborem*; Aen. 6, 437 (= 12, 177): *perferre labores*; 8, 291-293: *labores / . . . / pertulerit*; 9, 289: *lacrimas perferre parentis*; also 5, 710: *superanda omnis fortuna ferendo est*; Sen. Thyest. 307: *leve est miserias ferre, perferre est grave*. For *ferre* and compounds as applied to lovers cf. Pichon, *De Sermonem amatorio* (1902), 145-146.

420. *miserae . . . mihi*: cf. 4, 20, n. (*miseri*); 4, 117; 4, 429; also, for the adjective joined with a pronoun in the first

person, Ecl. 2, 58; G. 4, 494; Aen. 2, 70; 4, 315; 9, 285; 10, 849. Donat. ad Ter. Adelph. 291 remarks: *proprium est mulierum, cum loquuntur, aut aliis blandiri . . . aut se commiserari*. On the somewhat unusual form of elision shown in *miserae hoc* cf. Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 455.

420. *tamen*: i.e., I shall bear it, but it will be an unhappy experience for me, so that I beg you to carry out for me this one thing.

421. *exsequere*: cf. 4, 396; 6, 236.

421. *mihi*: Schol. Dan.: *pro me exsequere, id est, pro mea causa*.

421. *solam, etc.*: whether Dido in her realization that she did not herself share the inner confidence of Aeneas (Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 135, n. 1) — one of the most tragic features of this tragic story — turns in desperation to her sister and ascribes to her a greater influence over his feelings than Anna really possessed (which would be psychologically true and artistically effective; cf. Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 323), or Virgil here shows a slight trace of a varying tradition found in Varro (ap. Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 682 and ap. Serv. Aen. 5, 4; cf. Ov. F. 3, 545-654), according to which Aeneas and Anna were in love, is not certain; cf. Wörner, *Die Sage von den Wanderungen des Aeneas*, etc. (1882), 19; Pichon in *Rev. de Philol.*, n. s., 33 (1909), 254; Crump, *Growth of the Aeneid* (1920), 58, n. 3; Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 10, n. 2. This second tradition, however, would have been hard to reconcile with that used by Virgil without assuming some

422. te colere, arcanos etiam tibi credere sensus;
sola viri mollis aditus et tempora noras.
i, soror, atque hostem supplex adfare superbum:

(te) P. archanos ac¹.

ii MP (i M¹). adferre c¹.

[421*] 422. arcanos: Gl. Ansil. 61, 95 — archanos —.

423. sola . . . noras: Non. p. 346 M. (p. 549 L.) — molles —; Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 293 — sula F; molles; moras F —; Eugraph. in Ter. Heaut. 364. 423. mollis aditus: Gl. Ansil. 374, 198.

424. i . . . superbum: Non. p. 463 M. (p. 742 L.) — supplexa A^a —; Serv. Aen. 4, 496; Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 416.

jealousy on Dido's part of the success of Anna's affection for Aeneas, and of this there seems no trace, though La Cerda (*ad loc.*) would suspect it. It is more probable that Anna had acted as a go-between, but that the account of this relation would have extended the story too much; cf. Heinze, *op. cit.*, 393-394. Less plausibly Irvine (*ad loc.*) remarks: "Aeneas was never quite at ease with his mistress and more at home with her less passionate sister. This surely suits his character well. Virgil's Dido could never have made a Roman wife for Aeneas; Virgil's Anna might have done so."

421. *nam*: for the postpositive use Norden (2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 403) compares 1, 444; 1, 518; 1, 731; 3, 379; 6, 667; 9, 803; 10, 585; 12, 206; and instances from other poets. The slight cacophony, *solam nam*, has been unfavorably criticized.

421. *perfidus*: cf. 4, 305, n. (*perfide*); Ecl. 8, 91: *perfidus ille*.

421. *ille*: Donat. ad Ter. Andr. 301, notes that this pronoun is used *amatorie*, and La Cerda (*ad loc.*) cites as examples of such use 4, 28-29; Ter. Andr. 301; Prop. 1, 5, 8; 1, 17, 23.

422. *colere*: Serv.: *colebat*; infinitivus pro indicativo; this and *credere*, representing repeated action (Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 137), are the only such infinitives in Book IV (cf. the cases cited from Virgil by Ley, *Vergilian. Quaest.* 1 (1877), 22; Schlicher in *Cl. Philol.* 9 (1914), 392-393; cf. *id.* p. 380), unless we consider *queri* and *ducere* (4, 463) as such, rather than as dependent on *visa* (4, 461).

Nonius (p. 250 M. = p. 377 L.) defines *colere* as *diligere*, citing this instance (cf. 4, 421, n. (*solam, etc.*), above), but the word is ambiguous in meaning and may refer to nothing more than attention or respect.

422. *arcanos*: cf. Cic. *De Fin.* 2, 85: *at quicum ioca seria, ut dicitur, quicum arcana, quicum occulta omnia*; Hor. C. 3, 21, 15-16: *arcanum iocoso / consilium regeis Lyaeo* (cf. Val. Max. 2, 2, 1; Liv. 35, 35, 4); Macrobi. Sat. 1, 24, 13: *arcanorum sensuum investigato aditu*; etc.). In the other Virgilian instances of the word (1, 262; 6, 72; 7, 123) it is applied to the hidden decrees of fate rather than the intimate thoughts of human beings.

423. *sola, etc.*: cf. Ioan. Saresb. *Politr.* 3, p. 484 a: *huius caulelae meminuit Maro, cum ad Eneam revocandum sororem a Didone missam asserit, quae sola viri molles aditus et tempora norat*.

423. *mollis aditus*: = Sil. 4, 489.

423. *aditus et*: = 9, 67; cf. 4, 293-294: *templaturum aditus et quae mollissima fandi / tempora*; on the plural cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877) 16; Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 409. Conington (*ad loc.*) thinks *virī aditus et tempora* a kind of hendiadys for *tempora virī adeundi*. Cf. also Sall. *Iug.* 35, 5: *loca atque tempora* (sc. eius) *cuncta explorat*; Hor. S. 1, 9, 56: *difficiles aditus primos habet*; Ov. M. 9, 611-612: *non adiit apte nec legit idonea, credo, / tempora*; [Quintil.] *Decl.* 9, 2: *qui dum tempus opportunum, faciles aditus capto. On tempora* (καποί) cf. also 4, 477, n. (*hinc atque hinc*).

424. i, etc.: not sarcastic, as in 4, 381.

425. non ego cum Danaïs Troianam excindere gentem

excindere *codd.* (excingere (*corr. in excindere*) *p.*, excidere *detl.*).

425-426. non . . . iuravi: *Quintil. Inst.* 9, 2, 39 — excindere —; *Macrob. Exc. Bob.* (G. L. K. 5, 638) — dum Danaïs; excidere g. a. i. —; [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 1, 15, 7 — ergo *A.*; excindere —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 7, 332 — excindere —. 425. non . . . Danaïs: *Macrob. Exc. Paris.* (G. L. K. 5, 617).

Anna here suggests the ἀγγελος of tragedy (cf. DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 41), save that we learn the message when it is committed to her rather than when it is delivered by her. Virgil in the *Aeneid* mentions writing only at 3, 444-445 (in Homer mentioned only in *Il.* 6, 169), so that a personal messenger is essential, as well as here more effective.

A MS of S. X/XI in the Laurentian Library (no. 23 of the Ashburnham catalogue), perhaps originating at St. Gall and copied from an earlier one, shows musical neums for 4, 424-436 and 4, 651-658 (among other passages so noted, all in direct discourse), and Combarieu, *Fragments de l'Énéide en musique d'après un manuscrit inédit* (1898), 67-69 and Plate IV, transposes these passages into modern notation (with harmonization on pp. 82-85 by Missa).

424. *hostem*: cf. 4, 323, n. (*hospes*); 4, 549: *his, germana, malis oneras atque obicis hosti*; *Serv.*: *postquam ex aperto denegavit se Carthaginē esse mansurum*; *Schol. Dan.*: *nonnulli autem iuxta veteres 'hostem' pro 'hospite' dictum accipiunt* (citing *Plaut. Curc.* 5) . . . *nec enim vere 'hostem' diceret quem revocare cupiebat*. But the context shows that Dido means one more unsympathetic than a mere stranger; either she considers him an enemy in his attitude toward her (rather than because of hers toward him) or, as is quite possible, she is too distracted and confused in mind to distinguish logically, in which case the last clause of the explanation of the Scholia Danielis would demand from her a consistency of which she is at this moment incapable.

424. *supplex*: La Cerda (*ad loc.*) remarks that though Scaliger had called this an *odium* verbum yet nullam indignitatem perpendit qui amat.

424. *superbum*: because of his obduracy; cf. *Cic. Tusc.* 1, 17, where failure to answer is called *superbum*; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 271. Editors differ as to whether a period or a colon should follow *superbum*, i.e., whether the following lines are Dido's explanation to Anna of why she deserves friendly consideration from Aeneas rather than treatment as an enemy, or the substance which she desires conveyed to him. Certainly 429 and the following lines contain such a message, and it may well be that from the data given her by 425 ff. Anna is expected to construct her appeal. With the phrase cf. *Stat. Theb.* 2, 524: *hostemque superbum*.

425. *non ego*, etc.: *Schol. Dan.*: *sensus illi contrarius* (3, 602) 'scio me Danaïs e classibus unum', which is followed by the line *et bello Iliaco fateor petiisse penates*. Cf. 1, 527-528: *non nos aut ferro Libycos populare penatis / venimus aut raptas ad litora vertere praedas*; 4, 227, n. (*non illum*); 12, 189; and *Il.* 21, 95-96: *μή με κτεῖν', ἐπεὶ οὐχ ὁμογάστριος Ἑκτορός εἰμι, / ὅς τοι ἑταῖρον ἔπεφνεν*; *Catull.* 64, 221; *Hor. C.* 1, 15, 7-8; 2, 20, 5; *Ov. H.* 5, 156: *non ego cum Danaïs arma cruenta fero*; 7, 165-166: *non ego sum Phthia magnisque oriunda Mycenis, / nec stelerunt in te virque paterque meus*; *Ep.* 20, 117; *Rem. Am.* 5: *non ego Tydides, a quo tua saucia mater*; *M.* 1, 182; *Ex Pont.* 2, 9, 67: *non ego caede nocens in Ponti litora veni*; *Tibull.* 1, 2, 83; 1, 2, 85; 1, 6, 73; 3, 5, 7; *Petron.* 133, 3: *non sanguine tristi / perfusus venio, non templis impius hostis / admovi dextram*; *Stat. Theb.* 11, 344-345: *non ego te contra Stygiis feralia sanxi / vota deis*; *Silv.* 5, 5, 66; *Sil.* 6, 504-505: *non ego Amyclaeum ductorem in proelia misi, / nec nostris tua sunt circumdata colla catenis*; *Claud. De Rapt. Pros.* 2, 255-256: *non ego, cum rapido saeviret Phlegra tumultu, / signa deis adversa*

426. Aulide iuravi classemve ad Pergama misi,
nec patris Anchisae cineres manesve revelli;

aulidae p. aut *pergama* c¹.

anchise γ. cinerem *M p* (cf. Fairclough in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 63 (1932), 220). mane b¹. reuulsi *cod. Oblongus Pierii* (cf. *Serv. inf. cit.*).

[425*] 426. Aulide iuravi: *Schol. Lucan.* 5, 236 (ed. Weber). 426. iuravi: *Gl. Ansil.* 322, 179; q.v. 426. classemve: *Gl. Ansil.* 121, 94.

427. nec . . . revelli: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 10, 150; *Donat. Aen.* 5, 80 — manise —. 427. manesve revelli: *Diomed. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 372). 427. revelli: *Gl. Ansil.* 497, 1794; q.v.

tuli. *Quintil.* 9, 2, 39 calls this figure *aversio, quae a proposita quaestione abducit audientem*. Virgil here uses direct rather than indirect discourse, to avoid the cumbersome character of the latter; cf. Kvčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 122.

425. *Troianam . . . gentem*: cf. 6, 767: *Troianae gloria gentis*.

425. *excindere*: cf. 2, 177; 7, 316: *amborum populos excindere regum*; 9, 137: *sceleratam excindere gentem*; *Tac. Ann.* 2, 25: *excindit . . . hostem*; *Hist.* 5, 16: *ul . . . hostem in aeternum excinderent*. To a Roman reader Dido's statement might suggest, by contrast, the famous oath of the young Hannibal (cf. the passages collected by Lenschau in *P.-W.* 7 (1912), 2323, noting especially *Sil.* 1, 114-119); cf. also 4, 625-629, *infra*.

For the infinitive depending upon *iurare* cf. 4, 487, and n. (*solvere*); also Cato ap. *Plin. N. H.* 29, 14; *Sil.* 2, 351-352: *flammis urere gentem / iurabat Phrygiam*; *Claud. De Bell. Goth.* 81-82; Krause, *De Vergilii Usurpatione Infinitivi* (1878), 92 (who suspects imitation of Greek usage; cf. ὀμνείν with the infinitive); Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 668.

426. *Aulide*: *Serv.*: *Aulis insula* (for this same mistake elsewhere cf. Oberhammer in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 2409), *in qua coniurarunt Graeci se non ante reversuros quam Troia caperetur*; *Il.* 2, 303-304 (translated by *Cic. De Div.* 2, 63): ὅτ' ἐς Αὔλιδα νῆες Ἀχαιῶν / ἡγερῆοντο κακὰ Πριάμῳ καὶ Τρῳαί φέρουσαι; 2, 496; *Hor. C.* 1, 15, 5-8: *mala ducis av domum / quam multo repetet Graecia milite, / coniurata tuas rumpere nuptias / et regnum*

Priami vetus; *Mela*, 2, 45: *Aulis, Agamemnoniae Graiorumque classis in Troiam coniurantium statio*; *Paus.* 2, 22, 2: *Λυκίας . . . ἔφη τοὺς ἐπὶ Ἴλιον στρατεύσαντας ἐνταῦθα ὁμόσαι παραμένειν πολεμοῦντας ἔστ' ἂν ἡ τὸ Ἴλιον ἔλωσιν ἢ μαχομένους τελευτῇ σφᾶς ἐπιλάβῃ*; *Solin.* 7, 24: *Aulidis portum, saeculis traditum Graiae coniurationis memoria*; and, for a description, cf. Oberhammer, *l. c.*

426. *ad Pergama*: cf. 4, 344, n. (*Pergama*).

427. *nec*, etc.: in *Ov. H.* 7, 161-162 Dido declares: *Ascaniusque suos feliciter inpleat annos, / et senis Anchisae molliter ossa cubent*. *Servius* on *Anchisae . . . revelli* remarks: *quod dicitur ex oraculo fecisse Diomedes, et secum eius ossa portasse, quae postea reddidit Aeneae cum multa adversa perferret; hinc est* (5, 80-81, where cf. *Serv.*) 'salvete recepti nequiquam cineres.' sciendum sane *Varronem dicere Diomedem erula Anchisae ossa filio reddidisse, Catonem autem adfirmare quod Anchises ad Italiam venit* (cf. *Serv. Aen.* 1, 267). *tanta est inter ipsos varietas et historiarum confusio*. There seem to be no other traces of this tradition of the violation of the tomb of Anchises, though the accounts of the place of his death vary greatly (cf. *Rosbach in P.-W.* 1 (1894), 2108), placing it at Aeneia, on Mt. Anchisia in Arcadia, at Anchisus in Epirus, in Latium, or, according to Virgil, at Drepanum (3, 708-711; 5, 55-57; 5, 759-761; *Hygin. Fab.* 273). The *Diomedes* story is not told in Book III, where it would naturally be expected, and, in fact, from the account of the death of Anchises (3, 708-715), it would seem that this immediately preceded Aeneas's coming to

428. cur mea dicta negat duras demittere in auris?
quo ruit? extremum hoc miserae det munus amanti:

negat *MP²γabc*, negat *M¹P*. demittere *Pγabcπ*. auris *M*, aures *M²b*, aures (*corr. ex auris*) *γ*, auras *c*.

428. cur . . . auris: *Schol. cpv in Hor. Epod. 17, 53* — demittere; aures —. 428. mea dicta: *Gl. Ansil. 361, 6*. 428. duras: *Gl. Ansil. 191, 159; q.v.*

429. munus amanti: *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 97 (1, p. 44 Riese)*.

Carthage, leaving no time for this violation to have occurred. Yet Dido speaks as though Aeneas had told her of the sacrilege (cf. Georgii, *Über das dritte Buch der Aeneide* (1877), 68). The allusion may be explained either as an inconsistency not yet removed (cf. Henselmanns, *Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis* (1914), 18) or as a purely hypothetical case of a crime particularly atrocious because affecting the status of the dead in the next life, the mention of which by Dido happens to show some coincidences with the Varroian tradition.

427. patris Anchisae: cf. 4, 351, n. (*patris Anchisae*).

427. cineres manesve: cf. 4, 34: *cinerem aut manis* (and note on *cinerem*). As between the readings *cinerem* and *cineres* Ribbeck (*Prolegomena crit.* (1866), 309) observes that Virgil uses *cinerem* only before a vowel; cf. Maas in *Archiv f. lat. Lexikog.* 12 (1902), 516; Unterharnscheidt, *De Veterum in Aeneide Coniecturis* (1911), 36. So, for the singular, cf. *G. 1, 81: cinerem immundum; Aen. 4, 34: cinerem aut; 5, 743 (= 8, 410; 11, 211): cinerem et*. The ashes had doubtless been buried beneath a tumulus; cf. the treatment of those of Misenus (6, 212–235); Saunders in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 46 (1925), 357.

427. manes: cf. 4, 34, n. (*manis . . . sepultos*). According to some (e.g., Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 311; Plessis and Lejay, *ad loc.*), *revelli* is used with *manes* by zeugma (= *laesi*), but in other cases cited by Marbach (in *P.-W.* 14 (1928), 1057; including 3, 63; Liv. 31, 30, 5; Tibull. 3, 2, 15; Prop. 2, 13, 32; Plin. *N. H.* 11, 148; Plin. *Ep.* 7, 27, 11; Val. Max. 6, 9, 9) *manes* may be used of a corpse, and it is doubtless

so employed here, Dido allowing for either the cremation or the inhumation of Anchises.

427. revelli: Serv.: *non 'revulsi'; nam 'velli' et 'revelli' dicimus; 'vulsus' vero et 'revulsus' usurpatum est tantum in participiis contra naturam*; cf. Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 761. The feeling of the ancients toward *τὸ μὲν πύχλα* is seen in many literary passages (e.g., Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 27; Hor. *Epod.* 16, 13–14; Ov. *M.* 1, 386–387; *Anth. Pal.* 8, 253) as well as in numerous sepulchral inscriptions; e.g., Desau, *Inscr. Lat. selectae*, 2 (1906), nos. 8172–8207 b.

428. cur, etc.: *Schol. Dan.: non interrogat sed queritur* (i.e., this is a rhetorical rather than a real question). *quidam 'revelli' iungunt, ita ut sequatur 'cur mea dicta negat'*; so various modern editors, and Irvine (*ad loc.*) compares Plin. *Ep.* 3, 5, 16: *repeto me correptum ab eo cur ambularem*.

428. duras, etc.: cf. Sall. *Iug.* 102, 11: *hoc in pectus tuum demitte*; Liv. 34, 50, 2: *ut eas voces velut oraculo missas in pectora animosque demitterent*; Hor. *Epod.* 17, 53: *quid obseratis auribus fundis preces*; Ov. *H.* 7, 27: *ille (i.e., Aeneas) quidem male gratus et ad mea munera surdus*; *M.* 9, 468–469: *spes tamen obscenas animo demittere non est / ausa suo*; Sil. 6, 519: *ultima vox duras haec tunc penetravit ad auris*; Claud. *De VI Cons. Hon.* 368: *nec duras tantis precibus permovimus aures*; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 136. The phrase is recalled by Walahfridus Strabo, *Ad Wenib. Abb.* 9 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 359): *si dicta piis dimittis in aures*.

428. demittere: for *negare* followed by an infinitive cf. the numerous cases cited by Krause, *De Vergilii Usurpatione Infinitivi* (1878), 34–35 (including *G. 3, 207–208*:

430. expectet facilemque fugam ventosque ferentis.
non iam coniugium antiquom, quod prodidit, oro,

expectet *P*. faciem *P* (*facilem P¹*). uestos *M* (*uentos M¹*). furentis *a¹*. anticum *P*, antiquum *MP¹γabc*.

430. facilem fugam: *Gl. Ansil. 231, 128; Gl. Arma, 20, 109* — *falicem* —.

431. non . . . oro: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 78 (1, p. 64 Riese)* — *antiquum* —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 2, 340 — *antiquum (antiquum uel quod Pa)* —.

negabunt / verbera lenta pati et duris parere lupatis); Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 675.

429. quo ruit: cf. *Il.* 8, 94: *πῆ φεύγεις*; Hor. *Epod.* 7, 1: *quo, quo scelesti ruitis*; Ov. *H.* 7, 41: *quo fugis? obstat hiems*; and for the phrase *Aen.* 2, 520: *quo ruis*; 5, 741: *quo deinde ruis*; 10, 811: *quo, moriture, ruis*. That Dido still loves Aeneas to such an extent that, as in 4, 309, she dreads his exposure to the stormy sea, is emphasized by Rébel-liau, *De Verg. in informandis muliebribus quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 81, n. 2; cf. Serv.: *properat sine respectu salutis; nam hoc dicit, quod peto etiam ipsi prodest; amoris scilicet impatientia*. Conington (*ad loc.*), on the other hand, remarks: "She tells him in effect that the last request she will ask him is that he will abandon an intention fraught with danger to himself — an artful way of pleading for her own interest." Perhaps the real answer to the dilemma is that to a lover in her state the two sets of considerations — the safety of Aeneas and her own hopes — are one and inseparable; disunited, perhaps, by philologists but not by the poet.

429. extremum hoc: cf. *Ecl.* 8, 60 (= *Cir.* 267): *extremum hoc munus morientis habeto*; 10, 1: *extremum hunc . . . laborem*; also 4, 435, below: *extremam hanc*. Note the alliteration of *m* in this line.

429. miserae: cf. 4, 20, n. (*miseri*); 4, 315, n. (*miserae*); 4, 420, n. (*miserae . . . mihi*); *Carm. Lat. epigr.* no. 386, 5 Bücheler: *miserae solacia linquit amanti*.

429. munus amanti: = 6, 526. With the thought cf. Ov. *Rem. Am.* 277–280: *ne properes, oro; spatium pro munere posco; / quid minus optari per mea vota potest? / et*

freta mota vides et debes illa timere; / utilior velis postmodo ventus erit.

430. expectet, etc.: cf. Ov. *H.* 7, 73: *da breve saevitiae spatium pelagique tuaeque; Ars am.* 2, 125–126: *o quotiens illum (sc. Ulixem) doluit properare Calypso / remigioque aptas esse negavit aquas*; Rem. *Am.* 279–280: *et freta mota vides et debes illa timere; / utilior velis postmodo ventus erit*; also 4, 52, n. (*hiems*), above; 4, 309; 4, 562.

430. facilem . . . fugam: cf. *G.* 1, 40: *facilem cursum*; 1, 122: *facilem . . . viam*; *Aen.* 3, 529: *ferre viam vento facilem et spirare secundi*; 6, 126: *facilis descensus*; 6, 894: *facilis . . . exitus*. Note the alliteration (*facilem . . . fugam . . . ferentis*). With *fugam* cf. 4, 281; 4, 309–311.

430. ferentis: Serv.: *bene flantes, propitios*; cf. *G.* 2, 311: *glomeratque ferens incendia ventos*; *Aen.* 3, 130: *prosequitur surgens a puppi ventus euntis*; 3, 473: *fieri vento mora ne qua ferenti*; 5, 832: *ferunt sua flamina classem*; 7, 594: *ferimurque procella*; Caes. *B. G.* 3, 15, 3: *quo ventus ferebat*; Hor. *C.* 3, 29, 62–64: *me . . . / tutum per Aegaeos tumultus / aura feret*; Ov. *Ep.* 15, 127: *ventisque ferentibus usus*; Sen. *Dial.* 7, 22, 3: *secundus ac ferens ventus*; Stat. *Theb.* 3, 29: *fert ingens a puppe natus*; Quintil. 10, 3, 7: *si feret flatus danda sunt vela*; Plin. *Panegy.* 31: *venti ferentes*; Tac. *Ann.* 2, 23, 4; and in Greek *φύρον άνεμος* (*Od.* 3, 300; 5, 111; 7, 277), *φορὸς άνεμος* (*Aesch. Choeph.* 813–814; Polyb. 1, 60, 6; Poll. 9, 105), or *ἐπιφορος άνεμος* (*Paus.* 8, 28, 4; Poll. *l. c.*). The North wind prevailing at the time (4, 310) would naturally hinder a voyage from Carthage toward Italy.

431. non iam: cf. 5, 194: *non iam prima peto*; in 3, 192; 3, 260 *amplius* is further

432. nec pulchro ut Latio careat regnumque relinquit;
tempus inane peto, requiem spatiumque furori,

pulcro *Mac* (pulchro *M*¹). lato (*corr. in latio*) γ. regnum .ue γ. relinquit (*corr. in relin-*
quat) c.

furoris *p* (cf. *Chatelain in Bibl. de l'école des hautes études*, 70 (1887), 378–380), *Mentel. m. pr.*

433. tempus . . . furori: *Prisc. Inst.* 6, 58 (G. L. K. 2, 242). 433. tempus . . . peto: *Anth. Lat. no. 17*, 79 (1, p. 64 *Riese*); *Schol. Lucan.* 2, 342 — *om. U* —. 433. inane: *Gl. Ansil.* 292, 29; *q.v.* 433. requiem . . . furori: *Charis. Inst. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 69; 1, 128; 1, 142); *Exc. Charis.* (G. L. K. 1, 547) — furoris —.

added; cf. also *Sil.* 6, 447–448: *non ego complexus et sanctae foedera taedae / coniugumve peto*. *Sabbadini (Il primitivo Disegno dell' Eneide* (1900), 44, n. 2) supposes that lines 431–434 are not part of the original plan of the work but were added by Virgil when he introduced the section on magic rites, but I see no need to assume this.

431. *coniugium*: cf. 4, 172, n. (*coniugium*); 4, 338.

431. *antiquom*: *Schol. Dan.*: *aut primum, aut carum, ut 'nihil antiquius habuit' dicimus; aut antiquitatum et irritum*. It seems a little inappropriate to apply the word in a literal sense to a relation of such comparatively short duration (in 4, 458, where *Sychaeus* is called *coniugis antiqui*, it is more fitting, both in respect of the number of years involved and with reference to his priority to Aeneas as a consort). Since the disavowal by Aeneas, however, in 4, 338–339, the relationship coveted by Dido seemed to have sunk into the distant past and to belong to an order of things now forever gone. *Mackail (ad loc.)* thinks we must understand in the word both 'old' and 'honorable.'

431. *prodidit*: *Serv.*: *quod decepit. et bene; ad diremptionem enim coniugii inmutata voluntas sufficit*; cf. 10, 593. So in *Catull.* 64, 190, *Ariadne* describes herself as *proditā*.

432. *pulchro*: occasionally applied to places; so *Cicero* several times uses it of towns or *agri*, and *Virgil* (*G.* 2, 137) of the river *Ganges* and the city of *Rome* (*G.* 2, 534). Here the sense is sarcastic (cf. 4, 266, n. (*pulchram*); 4, 416, n. (*Anna*); *Glover, Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 197), though there is no other trace of sarcasm in the speech. The note of *Servius* is *quod illi pulchrum videtur*

(which is what we might indicate by putting 'beautiful' in quotation marks), and he compares the use of *sordida rura* in *Ecl.* 2, 28.

432. *Latio*: seekers for inconsistencies in *Virgil* have been troubled because Aeneas has not mentioned *Latium* to Dido; hence how could she use the term? Cf. *Lindenthal, Ist das V. Buch d. Aeneis nach dem VI. geschrieben?* (1904), 12; *Gercke, Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 38–39; 62; 64; 153; *Henselmanns, Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis* (1914), 14; 35–36. *Kvřala (Vergil-Studien* (1878), 82) thinks this an oversight on *Virgil's* part or else that he meant to have it realized that Aeneas had told Dido more than merely the words related by the poet (and we may suppose that for this the *hiemem . . . quam longa* of 4, 193 would have furnished ample opportunity!). Yet in 1, 205–206 Aeneas says to his comrades: *tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas / ostendunt, illic fas regna resurgere Troiae*, and in 1, 553–554 *Ilioneus* transmits this information to Dido: *si datur Italiam sociis et rege recepto / tendere, ut Italiam laeti Latiumque petamus*. What more definite chain of information for Dido is desired I do not know; cf. 4, 345, n. (*Italiam*), and works there cited. 5, 731 and 6, 67 also recognize *Latium*, and for Italy in general as his goal see 2, 781–782 (*Hesperia* and the *Tiber*); 3, 94–98 compared with 3, 170–171; 3, 253–257; 3, 378–462 (prophecy of *Helenus*); cf. *Masera, ed. of Book IV*, 7.

432. *relinquat*: *Schol. Dan.*: *neglegat*.

433. *tempus inane*: *Serv.*: *sine officio coeundi* (a crass explanation, impossible for one of *Virgil's* delicacy); *nam 'sine beneficio' non procedit, cum spatium petat et requiem*; and the *Schol. Dan.* add: *aut quasi non*

434. dum mea me victam doceat fortuna dolere.
extremam hanc oro veniam — miserere sororis —,

fortuna γ¹. dolore *M* (dolere *M*²) γ¹c¹; cf. 4, 474.

434. dum . . . doceat: *Gl. Ansil.* 190, 130.

435. *extremam . . . veniam*: *Anth. Lat. no. 17*, 80 (1, p. 64 *Riese*) — *oram A* —.

435. *miserere sororis*: *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 491); *Gl. Ansil.* 379, 248.

magnam rem; vel quo vacuus et otiosus est, cum illi tempus inane est. *Henry (Aeneidea*, 3 (1889), 175) thinks the adjective here means 'mere,' as in 1, 464: *pictura pascit inani*; 4, 210: *inania murmura*; 4, 218: *famam . . . inanem*; 4, 449: *lacrimae volvantur inanes*; etc. *Val. Fl.* 3, 656–657 says: *si finibus ullis / has tolerare moras et inania tempora possem*. So *vacuus* is sometimes used in expressions of unoccupied time; e.g., *Cic. Ad Att.* 2, 23, 1: *cum vacui temporis nihil haberem*; *Colum.* 12, 4, 1: *vacua tempora iam contingunt ad ea exsequenda quae deinceps docebimus*; *Luc.* 3, 26: *et nullum vestro vacuum sit tempus amoris*; and I think that *tempus inane* here means "time without action (on your part)" — a moratorium, as it were, so far as regards both Dido's love for Aeneas and his preparations for departure. Important in this connection is *Ov. H.* 7, 173–180: *tempus ut observem manda mihi; serius ibis, / nec te, si cupies, ipsa manere sinam. / et socii requiem poscunt, laniataque classis / postulat exiguas semirefecta moras; / pro meritis et si qua tibi debebimus ultro, / pro spe coniugii tempora parva peto, / dum freta milescent et amor, dum tempore et usu / fortiter edisco tristia posse pati*; cf. *Liv.* 8, 32, 14: *orabant ut rem in posterum diem differret et irae suae spatium et consilio tempus daret*; *Ov. Rem. Am.* 277–278: *ne properes, oro; spatium pro munere posco; / quid minus optari per mea vota potest*; *Sen. Agam.* 129–130: *proin quicquid est, da tempus ac spatium tibi; / quod ratio non quit saepe sanavi mora*; *Dial.* 12, 1, 2: *expectabam itaque dum ipse vires suas frangeret et ad sustinenda remedia mora mitigatus tangi se ac tractari paleretur*; *Stat. Theb.* 10, 704: *da spatium tenuemque moram*; *Tac. Ann.* 2, 82 (and the note of *Furneaux*); *Metastasio, Achill.* 3, 3 (where *Deidamia* begs *Achilles* to postpone departure): *Abbia la mia / vacil-*

lante virtù tempo a raccorre / le forze sue. Chiedo un sol giorno; e poi / vattene in pace; and so Hermione (Racine, Andromaque, Act 4, Sc. 5) begs Pyrrhus to defer his nuptials, if only for one day.

Terzaghi (Virgilio ed Enea (1928), 31) queries whether Dido as yet intends suicide; if she does there is no need of time to accustom her mind to the idea of Aeneas's departure, while, on the other hand, if she can really reconcile herself to that departure there seems no need of planning suicide. This consideration perhaps has some bearing on line 436 below. The asyndeton in this clause furnishes a rather effective abruptness.

433. *requiem, etc.*: *Schol. Dan.*: *ut possim habere spatium quo amoris finem imponam*. The phrase is somewhat strained; it might perhaps mean "a space (of time) for my madness to run its course and then rest (from it)", but this would necessitate *hysteron proteron*, as well as a slight zeugma in the use of *furori*. If, with *Bell (The Latin Dual* (1923), 207), we supply with *furori* a verb like *leniendo* it may mean "rest (i.e., from worry about your departure) and a space of time to calm down my madness." *Conington* thinks the phrase equivalent to *spatium ad requiescendum*, but this interpretation does little to explain *furori*.

433. *furori*: cf. 4, 8, n. (*male sana*); 4, 91; 4, 101; etc.

434. *mea me, etc.*: cf. 4, 314: *tuam te; Serv.*: *mea fortuna, id est, adversa, ut* (6, 62) '*hac Troiana tenus fuerit Fortuna secula*.' *ex eo statu in quo est fortunam dixit*; *Tac. Ann.* 13, 44: *noctem unam ad solacium poscit, qua delentis modum in posterum adhiberet*.

434. *doceat*: in *Curt.* 4, 10, 26 *Darius* says *didici esse infelix*.

435. *extremam hanc*: cf. 4, 429: *extremum hoc miserae dei munus amanti*, and n.

436. quam mihi cum dederit, cumulatam morte remittam.'

dederis γ²αβρμ, *Serv.* (dederit *Servii* cod. F), condederis c. cumulatam M, comulatam (corr. in cumulatam) b. remitto b¹, remitta p, relinquam dett.

436. cum dederit: *Gl. Ansil.* 156, 125. 436. cumulatam: *Gl. Ansil.* 157, 159 — cumulatam —. 436. morte remittam: *Gl. Ansil.* 377, 463.

435. oro: the repetition from 4, 431 is doubtless intentional. For the phrase cf. 1, 519: *orantes veniam*; 11, 358: *veniam . . . oremus*; elsewhere Virgil uses *poscere*, *precari*, or *rogare veniam*. The word *venia* itself in Virgil means 'favor' rather than 'pardon'; cf. Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 392–393; Belling, *Stud. ii. d. Compositiōnskunst Vergils in der Aeneide* (1899), 215, who thinks it was substituted for *gratiam* on account of the metre. So Ter. *Hec.* 605: *da veniam hanc mihi*.

435. miserere: with the parenthesis cf. 4, 116, n. (*advert*); also 4, 478: *gratare sorori*, similarly parenthetical. The reasons for pitying Dido are (a) that the rich queen of a prosperous city should have to become a suppliant to an impoverished exile without a country; (b) because she is in such suffering from her passion; and, possibly, (c) the shadow of her impending doom — though this last Anna does not realize.

435. sororis: cf. 4, 31, n. (*sorori*).

436. quam, etc.: this line is characterized by Conington (*ad loc.*) as the most difficult in Virgil, and by Sabbadini (*Riv. di Filol. class.* 28 (1900), 82) as the most difficult in the *Aeneid*, while Peerkamp (*ad loc.*), doubting the authenticity of lines 435–436, remarks of the latter *haec nemo unquam intellexit, neque intelliget*. Discussion may well begin with the words of Servius (the readings of the Scholia Danielis I have indicated within square brackets): *sensus est: quod beneficium cum mihi cumulatam dederis sola morte derelinquam. et hic intellectus est melior, [quia sorori loquitur,] 'quam mihi cum dederis cumulatam'; quam lectionem Tuca et Varius probant. nam male quidam legunt 'quam mihi cum dederit', id est, Aeneas, 'cumulatam morte relinquam', et volunt intelligi, acceptum ab illo beneficium [mea] morte cumulo et sic relinquam, ut amantes dicere consueverunt, ut*

(*Ecl.* 8, 59–60) '[praeceps] aërii specula de montis in undas / deferar; extremum hoc munus morientis habeto'; [id est, faciam quod illi scio placiturum, occidam me;] nam si eam odio habet Aeneas, restat ut eius morte laetetur. [hoc sorori quoque potest dicere, quae credit eam ex amore concitatam id loqui, nec tamen facere;] sed [elocutio] non procedit; nemo enim dicit 'veniam cumulatam' sed 'cumulatam.' [alii ita intellegunt: reddam illi gratiam, occidam illum; nam alibi (4, 600) ait 'non potui abreptum divellere corpus' sed hoc totum sorori dicit. an perplexe locuta est, ut solent loqui mali aliquid molientes? 'cumulatam' autem 'veniam' numquid solidam et plenam, et cui nihil desit, debemus accipere?]

Among discussions of this passage, in addition to the annotated editions, may be mentioned: Hoegg, *De difficilioribus quibusdam Vergilii Locis* (1833), 10–12; Voss, *Anmerk. u. Randglossen zu Gr. u. Römern* (1838), 210; Doerry, *De difficilioribus quibusdam Vergilii . . . Locis* (1863), 8–9; Thilo, *Quaest. Vergilianae* (1870), 12–14; Kern, *Zum Gebrauch des Abl. bei Vergil* (1881), 28–29; Geist in *Blätter f. d. bayr. Gymn.* 17 (1881), 199–200; Gross, *Krit. u. exeget. z. Vergils Aeneis* (1883), 24–33 (with summary of various other views); Palmer in *Hermathena*, 6 (1888), 304–305; Sandford in *Cl. Rev.* 3 (1889), 419–420; Ehwald in *Philologus*, 54 (1895), 379–380; Hunziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), 126, and n. 219; Belling, *Stud. ii. d. Compositiōnskunst Vergils in der Aeneide* (1899), 214–217; Sabbadini, *Il primitivo Disegno dell' Eneide* (1900), 44, n. 2; id., in *Riv. di Filol. class.* 28 (1900), 82–84; Roiron, *Κριτικά καὶ ἐξηγητικά περὶ τριῶν Ὀδεργολίων στίχων* (1908), 9–48 (rev. by Jahn in *Woch. f. kl. Philol.* 26 (1909), 1314); Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 24–26; Heinze, *Virgils epische*

Technik, 3 ed. (1915), 136, n. o; Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 355; Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 23, and n. 28; Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil* (1933), 65, n. 148.

The difficulties gather about six points: (a) *dederit* versus *dederis*; (b) *cumulatam* versus *cumulata*; (c) whether *cumulatam* should be phrased with what precedes or with what follows; (d) whose death is meant by *morte*; (e) what kind of ablative is *morte*; and (f) the meaning of *remittam*; and these six points may be considered in order. Mac-kail (edition of *Aeneid* (1930), lvii) thinks that Virgil's MS here presented alternative readings between which he had not yet decided, as, perhaps, in 7, 307; 7, 543.

(a) For *dederit* the evidence of M and P is very powerful, even though Servius specifically notes it as a mistaken reading. Further, there is a certain parallelism between the request to be conveyed (*extremum hoc . . . det* in 429) and the statement of what will occur when it is granted: *extremam hanc oro veniam . . . quam mihi cum dederit*; cf. Ribbeck, *Prolegom. crit.* (1866), 94; Cartault, *op. cit.*, 1, 355. In the warmth to which she has worked herself up Dido is more interested in the message than in the reward to be paid for delivering it. The complex theory of Sabbadini (*Il primitivo Disegno dell' Eneide* (1900), 44, n. 2; id., in *Riv. di Filol.* 28 (1900), 83–84; 3 ed. of Books IV–VI (1921), ix–x), according to which Virgil's first version (*dederit*) was later changed to *dederis*, rests upon the assumption that a primitive plan of the book contemplated in Dido's words at this point the idea of suicide, which a recasting changed, somewhat incompletely, to thoughts of resignation, this troublesome line escaping revision and thus remaining in contradiction with its context. The word *dederis* seems to be a correction made by someone who thought the last favor was that to be rendered by Anna in carrying Dido's message, rather than that of Aeneas in complying with it. It is by no means the case, as Page holds (*ad loc.*), that if we read *dederit* the words *miserere sororis* become "a weak or meaningless stop-gap" (cf. 4, 435, n. (*miserere*), above), nor is it likely, as Plessis and

Lejay suggest (ed., cx), that Virgil is here hinting at rivalry between the two sisters for the love of Aeneas (cf. 4, 421–422), and that Dido by her death will leave a free field to Anna, or that the words *miserere . . . remittam* belong to a sketch for such an account, which Varius and Tucca inserted at this point, without regard to the difficulties involved.

(b) The verb *cumulare* well applies to a favor returned (e.g., 11, 50: *cumulatque altaria donis*; Cic. *Brut.* 15: *illud Hesiodium laudatur a doctis, quod eadem mensura reddere iubet qua acceperis, aut etiam cumlatiore, si possis* (cf. *De Off.* 1, 48); *Phil.* 14, 30: *ea quae promissimus studiose cumulatam reddemus*; 14, 35; *Ad Fam.* 2, 6, 2: *nullam esse gratiam quam non . . . animus meus . . . in remunerando cumulare . . . posset*; 5, 11, 1: *nec enim tu mihi habuisti modo gratiam, verum etiam cumulatissime . . . retulisti*; 13, 4, 1: *cumulatissime mihi gratiam retulerunt*; Liv. 24, 48, 3: *adnisiros ut in tempore et bene cumulatam gratiam referant*; Ambros. *Ep.* 89, 1: *non tam remittenda amicitiae munia quam cumulatam arbitror*; Symm. *Ep.* 3, 6: *cumulatissimas gratias ago*; etc.); as applied to *morte* (ablative absolute?) it would have no very good meaning. The loss of the final *m* of *cumulatam* may be readily explained by haplography before the initial *m* of *morte*; cf. Sabbadini in *Riv. di Filol.* 28 (1900), 82. One may, on the other hand, heap a thing up by death; cf. *Octavia*, 903–904: *sin caede mea cumulare parat / luctus nostros*; Dracont. *Orest.* 901: *crimen adulterii cumulat quae morte mariti*; further cf. Belling, *op. cit.*, 216, nn. 1–3, on the uses of *cumulus* and *cumulare* of an addition to that which is merely just or equal. A favor returned *cumulatam* is, so to speak, 'with interest' (cf. Sandford, *op. cit.*, 419–420; Liv. 2, 23, 5: *aes alienum . . . cumulatam usuris*), and Terzaghi, *op. cit.*, 23, n. 28, remarking upon the 'commercial' manner of speech, renders, "I shall restore to him the capital (my affection will offset that which he will show for me by remaining) with interest (my death)." The Delphin edition emends to *cumulatum*: "I will send him away with my death to crown and reward him," as Conington (*ad loc.*) explains it.

(c) If *cumulatam* be construed with the

437. Talibus orabat, talisque miserrima fletus

horabat c. tales b.

first half of the line (as Servius does), Dido very inappropriately for her position would be insisting upon the complete fulfilment of her request, by Aeneas or by Anna, according as we read *dederit* or *dederis*. But she is clearly in no condition to dictate terms to either of them, hence it is far more fitting to apply this adjective to her own promises to reward one or the other of them.

(d) I cannot believe that the death of any other than Dido is meant, for there is no point in any reference to that of Anna, nor do Dido's own actions or her attitude toward Aeneas, which seems still somewhat solicitous, indicate that she is yet plotting such revenge upon him as finds expression in 4, 590-629, or that we have here a parallel to *Octavia*, 95-96: *licet / tantum munus morte rependat*. Nor till 4, 450 (after this embassy has failed) does Dido actually crave death, upon which she resolves at 4, 474-475, nor does it appear that at this time Anna took her predictions seriously (Schol. Dan.: *quae credit eam ex amore concitatum id loqui, nec tamen facere*), for Dido had made very sweeping statements in 4, 24-26; 4, 308; 4, 323; 4, 385-387. Even later than this (4, 500-502) Anna does not believe that Dido's preparations mean suicide (cf. 4, 675-676), nor did Aeneas suppose that she was so deeply affected (cf. 6, 463-464). Doubtless Anna was familiar with the exaggerated protestations of lovers (e.g., *Ecl.* 8, 59-60; *Aen.* 4, 308; 4, 323) and with the small proportion of predicted deaths from love which actually occur, but whether Dido is merely using hyperbolic language or really herself means more than Anna understands it is difficult to say. Holdsworth, *Remarks and Dissertations on Virgil* (1768), 253, suggests that this line is an 'aside,' not heard by Anna and hence causing her no concern. Possible instances of such asides are to be found in tragedy (Professor C. G. Brouzas suggests to me as such Eur. *Electr.* 1142-1146; *I. A.* 1140; *Hel.* 133; *Ion*, 1422; *Hippol.* 1060-1063), and in comedy are more frequent; cf.

Schaffner, *De aversum Loquendi Ratione in Com. Graeca*, 1911. For the extension of this custom from the drama to epic, however, I find no evidence, for what might on the stage be indicated by action as an 'aside' would, in a written work, require some indication analogous to the phrases used in beginning and ending speeches. Conington (*ad loc.*) compares the Ajax of Sophocles, "who talks wildly of death on his first recovery from his frenzy, but afterwards, when he is quite resolved to die, contrives an elaborate blind for Tecmessa and the Chorus," just as Dido at first talks freely of death, but later tries to conceal from Anna her actual intention to die (cf. 4, 546; 4, 477; 4, 500).

(e) If Anna is granted to have heard the allusion to Dido's death but not to have taken it seriously we may explain *morte* as an instrumental ablative, i.e., by her death she would benefit Aeneas by relieving him of the encumbrance which her attentions apparently were to him (cf. Kroll in *Jahrb. f. cl. Philol.* Supplbd. 27 (1900), 141). Heinze, *op. cit.*, 136, n. o, remarks that the sense of these obscure words would have been clear had Virgil written *cumulatam vel morte remittam*, i.e., "I will repay even by my death (were that necessary)", in this creating a hypothetical rather than a real case, to which Heinze compares Ter. *Phorm.* 165-166: *ut me liceat tam diu quod amo frui, / iam depecisci morte cupio*. Perhaps cf. also *Anth. Lat.* no. 4, 27 (1, p. 21 Riese): *cum poenas scelerum tracta vix morte rependat*.

A temporal use ('at my death') would most plausibly refer to her death from natural causes, whenever such might occur. Though this is grammatically possible (cf. 4, 244; 4, 502) and is accepted by some editors (e.g., Mackail), yet, since Dido was not advanced in years — her death is in 4, 697 described as *ante diem* —, she had no obvious reason (save a possible death from love) for supposing that she might not outlive Aeneas (or, if we read *dederis*, Anna). Further, Aeneas might at the present moment

be relieved to have her out of the way, but what advantage her death would bring to him years later is not clear. If we read *dederis* it has been suggested that Dido would make Anna the heir to her wealth, but there is no indication that Anna so understood the statement, as there is none that she thought that Dido would benefit her by committing suicide and leaving the royal power in her hands (as Wagner (*ad loc.*) suggests), and the idea cheapens and ruins the notion of the sympathy between the sisters which Virgil has labored to convey to the reader (cf. 4, 8; 4, 678-679), as well as contradicting the form of the legend by which Anna later migrates to Italy (cf. Conington *ad loc.*). Kern (*op. cit.*, 28-29) would take *morte* as an ablative of separation: 'even from death,' emphasizing the prefix of *remittere*, but this seems unlikely. Hunziker (*op. cit.*, 126, n. 219) translates "meine Dankbarkeit wird erst durch den Tod ein Ende nehmen", doubtless interpreting *remittam* as meaning 'relax' or 'give up'; so apparently also Belling (*op. cit.*, 217). The explanation of Henry *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 745-748, reading *dederis*: "for which favour I will, when dead, repay and more than repay you"; i.e., "my manes will be *pii* towards you, will be *boni et propitii* towards you," or, as he says later, "will be your guardian angel" (comparing *Ecl.* 5, 65; *Aen.* 5, 59; 12, 646-647), is to me unconvincing. Masera (*ad loc.*) interprets the passage to mean that by the requested delay Dido hopes gradually to accustom herself to the grief which his eventual departure will cause, and to die, if die she must, with a sentiment of gratitude to him that he has given her time to prepare for this calamity. Dido's secret purpose, he thinks, was to win time to regain his affection, and did not include the thought of any death save one from grief, and only when Anna returns unsuccessful from her mission did Dido contemplate suicide. This explanation seems one of the best suggested.

Ribbeck's emendation (*Prolegom. crit.* (1866), 94-95; 365) of *monte* for *morte* (which Janell tacitly rejects) is one of the worst ever made by a classical scholar, and over it Henry (*Aeneidea*, 1 (1873), pref. xxii-xxiv) very properly makes merry (cf.

also Thilo, *op. cit.*, 13); that of Palmer (in *Hermathena*, 6 (1888), 304-305), who reads *quam mihi cum dederis ululatum (in) morte remittam* — "I will excuse your raising the dirge at my death", — is almost its equal. That of Schrader (followed by Doerry, *op. cit.*, 9), *cumulata sorte*, seems over-ingenious and needless (cf. Thilo, *op. cit.*, 13); that of Thilo (*op. cit.*, 14) to *cunctatum sponte* is too complicated, while Klouček's (*Zeitschr. f. d. österr. Gymn.* 32 (1881), 590-591) to *cumulatum munere mittam* strays too far from the MSS, like Vivona's (*Riv. di Filol.* 26 (1898), 431, n. 1) *tum ablata morte* (comparing Ov. *H.* 7, 181). Various other emendations may be profitably ignored.

(f) The verb *remittam* seems equivalent to *reddam* or *referam* (cf. 9, 818; 11, 359; Caes. *B. C.* 2, 32, 14: *vestrum vobis beneficium remitto*; Hor. *A. P.* 349; Ov. *M.* 13, 702: *nec leviora datis Troiani dona remittunt*; Ambros. *Ep.* 89, 1 (quoted above); etc.), though some editors (see above) have understood it to mean 'relax'; cf. Sil. 14, 536: *vix morte incepta remittit*; Geist (l. c.) thinks it means "I shall forget it only at my death", and compares Ov. *Ex P.* 3, 27-28: *tunc igitur meriti morietur gratia vestri, / cum cinis absumpto corpore factus ero*. The variant *relinquam* is well rejected by Servius.

For the whole passage, then, the meaning appears to be: "I beg this last favor — pity your (poor) sister —, and when he shall have granted it I will return it, with interest, by my death," or, keeping the possible ambiguity between the ideas of time and instrument found in the ablative *morte*, "my death will return it with interest." Ehwald (*op. cit.*, 379-380) thinks Virgil intended the passage to be obscure and equivocal, and compares Soph. *Electr.* 1451; 1455; Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) thinks that in this language of passion logic should not be expected. A passage which recalls, though it does not illuminate, the present is Mar. Victor, *Aleth.* 3, 385: *nulla cumulatam fruge remittit*.

437. talibus orabat: = 6, 124; 10, 96; Vida, *Christias*, 3, 73; 5, 938; Maphaeus Vegius, *Aen.* 13, 103; cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); 4, 219: *talibus orantem*; Maphaeus Vegius, *Aen.* 13, 447: *talibus orabant*.

437. talis, etc.: Anna, as at 4, 500, and

438. fertque refertque soror. sed nullis ille movetur
fletibus aut voces ullas tractabilis audit;

fretque (corr. in fertque) *M*, fert (t in ras. m. post.) π. refer *P* (refert *P*¹), refret *M* (refert *M*²). set *M* (sed *M*²).

haut *p*, haud *Goth.* *pr.* illas *b*¹.

438-439. sed . . . audit: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 3, 7, 21; *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 76-77 (1, p. 53 *Riese*) — nullis *s A*; mobetur *A* —. 438-439. sed . . . fletibus: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 14-15 (1, p. 62 *Riese*) — moutur *A* —. 438. fertque . . . soror: *Anth. Lat. no.* 13, 16 (1, p. 48 *Riese*) — sor *A* —. 438. fertque refertque: *Gl. Ansil.* 241, 412.

[438] 439. tractabilis: *Gl. Ansil.* 567, 24-25; *q.v.*

like Barce at 4, 641, makes no verbal reply to Dido's command (cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 407), this being in the interest of brevity (*id.*, p. 359). For the polyptoton cf. Breazeale in *Stud. in Philol.* 14 (1917), 313, n. 15.

437. *miserrima*: Gross, *Krit. u. exeget. z. Vergils Aeneis* (1883), 33, thinks the use of this word an indication that Anna suspects the coming catastrophe. That is not, however, in harmony with 4, 675-676, and it is more likely one of those subjective intrusions by the poet, of which we have already seen instances.

437. *fletus*: 'words of lamentation,' or 'tearful tale'; cf. 4, 439; 9, 498; Schol. Dan.: *pro verbis, id est, verba flebilis*; so *lacrims* in 2, 145.

438. *fertque refertque*: = 12, 866 (where it is also followed by a word beginning with *so-*); Luc. 2, 13; Val. Fl. 7, 112; Sil. 3, 60; also Vida, *Christias*, 5, 328; and, in a different metrical position, Ov. *F.* 6, 334; *Anth. Lat.* no. 807, 8 (2, p. 282 *Riese*). Cf. Ov. *Am.* 2, 19, 41: *ferat et referat*; *Tr.* 5, 13, 29: *ferat ac referat*; *Tr.* 1, 7, 6: *fersque refersque*; Theodulfus, *Carm.* 25, 60 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 485): *grates fertque refertque*; and similar phrases: *Aen.* 6, 122: *ilque reditque* (cf. *Hor. Ep.* 1, 7, 55; Ov. *M.* 2, 409; *Ep.* 15, 118; *Tr.* 5, 7, 14; *F.* 1, 126; Tibull. 2, 6, 46; Val. Fl. 1, 725); *Aen.* 5, 709: *trahunt retrahuntque*; 12, 753: *fugit refugitque*; Ov. *M.* 8, 163: *refluitque fluitque*; 8, 537: *refoventque fovenitque*. As in 12, 866 so here the expression probably means that Anna made more than one trip, not that she carried tearful messages both ways; cf. Serv.: *non ab*

Aenea, qui nihil dicit, sed a Didone fert et refert, id est, iterum portat; Placek, *Re in den Compositis in Vergils Aeneis* (1882), 31; yet cf. 4, 449, n. (*lacrimae voluntur inanes*).

438. *nullis, etc.*: so, in 6, 470-471, Dido *nec magis incepto voltum sermone movetur, / quam si dura silex aut stet Marpesia cautes*. Ov. *H.* 7, 27 describes Aeneas as *ad mea munera surdus*; cf. Pope, *Rape of the Lock*, 5, 5-6: "Not half so fix'd the Trojan could remain, / While Anna begg'd and Dido rag'd in vain." The situation recalls that in which Odysseus (*Od.* 19, 209-212) resists the temptation to reveal his identity to Penelope: αὐτὰρ Ὀδυσσεὺς / θυμῷ μὲν γοῶσσαν ἔην ἐλέαιρε γυναῖκα / ὀφθαλμοὶ δ' ὥσεί κέρα ἔστασαν, ἡδὲ σίδηρος, / ἀτρέμας ἐν βλεφάροισι· δόλω δ' ὄγε δάκρυα κείθεν; cf. Anacr. fr. 7 Edmonds: σὺ γὰρ ἦς ἔμοιγ' / ἀστεμφής; *Hor. C.* 3, 7, 21-22: *frustra, nam scopulis surdior Icarus / voces audit adhuc integer*; Ov. *Rem. Am.* 285-286: *illa loquebatur; navem solvebat Ulixes; / inrita cum velis verba tulere noti*. As Aeneas does not have any further interview with Dido so Augustus declined to see Cleopatra, even when she was his prisoner; cf. Conway, *New Studies of a great Inheritance* (1921), 154-155.

438. *movetur*: cf. G. 4, 505: *quo fletu mantis, quae numina voce moveret*; Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 208.

439. *fletibus*: a deliberate and effective repetition of *fletus* in line 437.

439. *aut*: rather than *nec*, the negation in *nullis* applying to both clauses; cf. the partial parallels in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1906), 1567, 43-1568, 11.

439. *voces, etc.*: Serv.: *cur militis non*

440. fata obstant, placidasque viri deus obstruit auris.
ac velut annoso validam cum robore quercum

fa. ta b. aures *Pγab*, auras *c*.

uelud *c*, ueluti π. annosam ualido π. quaecum *M*.

440. fata . . . auris: Serv. *Aen.* 4, 439 — aures —.

441-446. ac . . . tendit: *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 6, 13 — alte; illa haeret; aethereas —. 441-442. ac . . . boreae: *Schol. Lucan.* 1, 389.

auditi? quasi mirum est excusat dicendo 'fata obstant', etc. For *vox* as a 'prayer' Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) compares Ov. *F.* 4, 827.

439. *tractabilis*: cf. 4, 53, n. (*non tractabile*), above; Cic. *Ad Att.* 10, 11, 3: *nihil est enim eo tractabilius*; Plin. *Ep.* 5, 1, 10; 9, 24: *te tam tractabilem video*; Suet. *Aug.* 65: *Agrippam nihilo tractabiliorem*.

439. *audit*: note the slight assonance with *auris* ending the next line.

440. *fata obstant*: Schol. Dan.: *excusat Aeneam, cum eum, ne ingratus videatur, non duritia mentis facit immobilem, sed voluntate divina*. We find here, as elsewhere, the combination of *fata* and *deus*; cf. 4, 651; 5, 707; 8, 398; 8, 512; 8, 574-575; Dietsch, *Theologum. Vergilianum. Particula* (1853), 26-27; Haackermann, *Comm. in Aen. Lib. alterum* (1863), 19. With the beginning of the verse cf. 6, 438: *fas obstat* (where *M*² reads *fata obstant*).

440. *placidas*: proleptic; cf. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 72; Mackail (*ad loc.*) translates 'undisturbed.'

440. *deus*: Serv.: *Iuppiter scilicet; unde et supra* (4, 372) *Dido ait 'Saturnius'*; Schol. Dan.: *vel certe Mercurius*. It is unwise to identify this deity too precisely; cf. 4, 651, n. (*fata deusque*). Further, *deus* is perhaps Virgil's way of dramatically describing to the reader Aeneas's own conscience and the sense of his divine mission; cf. 9, 185.

440. *obstruit auris*: = Val. Fl. 7, 296; cf. Sen. *De Benef.* 3, 17, 2: *cuius aures morbus obstruxit*; Tac. *H.* 4, 69: *obstruxitque civitatis suae aures*; Sil. 17, 84: *surdas coniux obstruxerat aures*; Aug. *Enarr. in Ps.* 74, 12: *ut obstruam aures vestras*; Amm. Marc. 27, 11, 6: *aures eius non cera set plumbo videbantur obstruatae*; Milo, *De Sobrietate*, 2, 126 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 649): *rex impius ob-*

struit aures. On the firmness of Aeneas (emphasized by the two verbs compounded with *ob-*) cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 124, n. o. The reader would naturally recall *Od.* 12, 47-49; 12, 173-177.

441. *ac velut, etc.*: for similes containing (*ac*) *velut* . . . *haud secus* cf. 2, 379-382; 11, 809-815; *Aetna*, 319-327; Houben, *De Comparationibus Vergilianis* (1876), 4; Fraser in *Cl. Journ.* 19 (1923), 48-49; and for this particular simile Hornbostel, *Die Gleichnisse bei Vergil* (1870), 10 (who lists Virgil's comparisons drawn from trees, including *Ecl.* 1, 25; 5, 16-17; 5, 32; 10, 74; *Aen.* 2, 626-631; 5, 448-449; 9, 679-682); 17; Houben, *op. cit.*, 9; Kopetsch, *De Comparationibus Vergilianis* (1879), 9; Caspers, *De Comparationibus Vergilianis* (1883), 16; Schuardt, *Die Gleichnisse in Vergils Aeneis* (1904), 13. The simile is perhaps suggested by two in Homer: *Il.* 12, 131-136: τῷ μὲν ἄρα προπάροιθε πυλάων ὑψηλῶν / ἔστασαν ὡς ὅτε τε δρύες οὔρεσιν ὑψικάρηνοι, / αἳ τ' ἄνεμον μίμνουσι καὶ ὑετὸν ἡμάτα πάντα, / ῥίξῃσιν μεγάλῃσι διηρεκέεσσ' ἀραρυῖαι / ὥς ἄρα τῷ χεῖρεσσι πεποιδότες ἡδὲ βίηφι / μίμνον ἐπερχόμενον μέγαν Ἄσιον οὐδὲ φέβοντο; 16, 765-771 (cited by *Macrob. l. c.*; cf. Keith in *Cl. Journ.* 28 (1933), 608): ὡς δ' Εὐρώς τε Νότος τ' ἐριδαίνετον ἀλλήλοισιν / οὔρεος ἐν βήσσησι βαθὺν πελεμιζέμεν ὕλην, / φηγόν τε μελίην τε τανύφλουτον τε κράνεια, / αἳ τε πρὸς ἀλλήλας ἔβαλον τανυήκεας δῖους / ἥχῃ θεσπεσίῃ, πάταγος δὲ τε ἀγρυμνέων, / ὥς Τρώες καὶ Ἀχαιοὶ ἐπ' ἀλλήλοισι θορόντες / δήλοισιν; cf. *Anth. Pal.* 9, 291, 5-6: οὕτως καὶ ἱερὰι Ζητὸς δρύες ἔμπεδα ῥίξαις / ἑστᾶσιν, φύλλων δ' αὔα χέουσ' ἄνεμοι. So in *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 967-972 Medea and Jason are compared to two trees; cf. Catull. 64, 105-111; also, for similar types of firmness, *Aen.* 7, 586-590; 10,

442. Alpini boreae nunc hinc nunc flatibus illinc
eruere inter se certant; it stridor, et altae

nunc hunc *b*¹. flatibus *b*¹.

443-521: FMP. iruere in ras. F¹. altem *p*, alte *b*.

[441] 442. Alpini boreae: *Asper*, p. 538, 26 *Hagen*; cf. *Gl. Ansil.* 45, 283 — Alpini uenti—.

[441*]

693-696; Sen. *Dial.* 1, 4, 16: *non est arbor solida nec fortis nisi in quam frequens ventus incursat; ipsa enim vexatione constringitur et radices certius figit; fragiles sunt quae in aprica valle creverunt. pro ipsis ergo bonis viris est, ut esse interriti possint, multum inter formidolosa versari et aequo animo ferre quae non sunt mala nisi male sustinenti.* The oak is prominent in this connection; e.g., Hor. C. 3, 10, 17: *nec rigida mollior aesculo*; cf. the common figurative use of *robur*; also Paul. ex Fest. p. 259 M. (p. 309 L.): *id genus arboris grave sit ac durum*; also the examples given in the next note; Ekkehardus, *Waltherius*, 1000-1002 (ed. Grimm): *velut aesculus astilit heros, / quae non plus petit astra comis quam tartara fibris, / contempnens omnes ventorum immota fragores*; Shakesp. *Coriol.* Act 5, Sc. 2, fin.: "He's the rock, the oak not to be wind-shaken"; Dryden, *Annus mirabilis*, 61, 3-4: "All bare, like some old oak which tempests beat, / He stands and sees below his scattered leaves"; Zabughin, *Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital.* 1 (1921), 345. In 7, 586-590 the obduracy of Latinus is compared to that of a wave-beaten sea-cliff.

441. *annoso*: cf. G. 3, 332: *magna Iovis antiquo robore quercus*; Ov. M. 8, 743: *stabat in his ingens annoso robore quercus*; 13, 799: *durior annosa quercu*; Sen. *Agam.* 95: *annosa videt robora frangi*; Oed. 727: *annosa supra robora*; Luc. 9, 452: *annosaeque robora torquens*; Sil. 3, 688: *annoso robore lucus*; Stat. *Theb.* 1, 564-565: *annosa terentem / robora*; Plin. N. H. 16, 130: *falsum arborum et quod aliqui prodidere radices arborum vetustate minui; visa enim est annosa quercus eversa tempestatis vi iugerum soli amplexa*; Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 25: *δρὺς ἄνδρα σημαίνει πλοῦσιον . . . ἢ πρεσβύτερον διὰ τὸ πολυχρόνιον ἢ χρόνον διὰ ταῦτά.* Virgil also applies *annosus* to the ash (10, 766) and the limbs of the elm

(6, 282; cf. Sen. *Oed.* 534-535); cf. *veterrima laurus* (2, 513), *antiquam . . . ornum* (2, 626), and *antiqua cupressus* (2, 714). On Virgil's love for trees cf. Valentine in *Cl. Weekly*, 23 (1930), 76-77.

442. *Alpini*: this, like other Virgilian references to the Alps, may be a suggestion of the observations of the poet's youth in the Po valley; cf. Zwicker, *De Vocab. et Reb. Gallicis sive Transpad. apud Verg.* (1905), 63-64; 79; Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 2 (1926), 895-896, who remarks that these illustrations from nature date chiefly from the period of the *Georgics*, when Virgil's contact with nature was direct and prolonged, and that from the *Georgics* he not infrequently borrowed in his later work. Servius says: *flantes de Alpibus, quae Gallorum lingua alti montes vocantur*; Schol. Dan.: *. . . potentiores montani sunt venti*. On the erotic symbolism of tempests cf. Knight in *Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 203, n. 26.

442. *boreae*: elsewhere in Virgil in the singular; La Cerda (*ad loc.*) detects here a peculiar appropriateness in the plural: *unam quercum, id est, unum Aeneam, boreae lundunt, id est, duae sorores*. We find, however, the pluralizing of other winds, such as *aquilones* (e.g., 4, 310), *austri, cauri, noti*, and *zephyri* (e.g., 4, 223; 4, 562), with no such underlying reason. Conington (*ad loc.*) is troubled by *hinc . . . illinc* as applied to the North wind, and suggests that the plural *boreae* may include winds from NE to NW, or that Virgil may be somewhat careless in his use of the term; cf. 1, 85: *una Eurusque Notusque ruunt*. In a general way any violent or cold wind blowing from the Alps toward the Po valley may be called *boreas*, and slight differences of direction or various distinct gusts might justify the use of the plural. It is hardly necessary to assume, as some editors

444. consternunt terram concusso stipite frondes;
ipsa haeret scopulis et quantum vertice ad auras

cocusso *P* (concusso *P*¹). . . stipite (s in ras.) *b*.
haeret *M*, heret *M*², erat *b*¹*c*¹. scopulis *ab*.

[441*] 444. consternunt: *Gl. Aa*, 205, 872; *q.v.*

[441*]

do, that this oak is itself actually in the Alps.

442. *hinc . . . illinc*: Serv.: *sicut Aeneas ab Anna et Didone*; but there is no indication that Dido again appeared to him in person. Tissot (cited by Bellessort (*ad loc.*)) complains that two weeping women are not appropriately compared to North winds.

443. *eruere, etc.*: cf. 2, 627-628: *instant / eruere agricolae certatim*; Enn. *Ann.* 445 (of winds): *fluctus extollere certant* — a Greek use of the infinitive; cf. *Ecl.* 5, 9; G. 2, 99-100; *Aen.* 2, 64; 5, 194; 6, 178; etc.; and other cases in Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 673; Kroll, *Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 250-251.

443. *it stridor*: cf. 4, 130, n. (il); 4, 665; 8, 595: *it clamor*. Servius says: *ad dolorem Aeneae pertinet de quo ait* (4, 448) 'magno persentit pectore curas.' *Stridor* applies to the creaking or cracking sound of a tree swayed by the wind; cf. 2, 418: *stridunt silvae*.

443. *altae . . . frondes*: probably from the upper part of the tree, where the force of the wind would be more felt; cf. G. 2, 55: *altae frondes*; 2, 305: *frondes . . . in altis*. If we should read *alte*, which is less well attested, it might modify *consternunt* and refer to a deep covering of leaves upon the ground, or might modify *concusso*. The Scholia Danielis say: *aut iugiter, diu; aut ex alto cadentes*. Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 302), accepting *alte*, thinks there is here an amphibole to be resolved as *altae consternunt terram concusso stipite alte concussae frondes*, "thick strew the ground (cf. the *altum cinerem* of 11, 211) the leaves shaken from on high from the shaken trunk." The leaves fall from the top of the tree as the tears from the eyes of Aeneas in 4, 449 (Serv.: *frondes: sicut lacrimae / Aeneae*).

444. *consternunt terram*: cf. 8, 719: *terram caesi strivere iuveni*; 12, 543: *terram consternere*; Cic. *Arat.* 433: *constrauit corpore terram*; Lucr. 5, 1333: *gravi terram consternere casu*; Hor. C. 3, 17, 9-12: *cras foliis nemus / multis . . . / demissa tempestas ab Euro / sternet*.

444. *concusso stipite*: cf. G. 1, 159; 4, 81; and the simile of the ash tree in *Aen.* 2, 629: *concusso vertice*.

445. *haeret scopulis*: Serv.: *sicut ille in consilio perseverat*.

445. *quantum, etc.*: the words *quantum . . . tendit* are repeated from G. 2, 291-292. Cf. 6, 577-578: *tum Tartarus ipse / bis patet in praecipit tantum tenditque sub umbras*; *Il.* 8, 16: *τόσσον ἔνεσθ' Ἀΐδα', δσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης*; Hes. *Theog.* 720: *τόσσον ἔνεσθ' ὑπὸ γῆς δσον οὐρανός ἐστ' ἀπὸ γαίης*; Val. Fl. 1, 580-581: *stat rupes horrenda fretis; quot in aethera surgit / molibus infernas totiens demissa sub undas*; Plin. N. H. 16, 127: *robora suas (sc. radices) in profundum agunt. si Vergilio quidem credimus, aesculus quantum corpore eminet tantum radice descendit*; Ariosto, *Orl. fur.* 21, 16, 3-6: *nè sta sì duro in contra borea il pino / . . . / che quanto appar fuor de lo scoglio alpino, / tanto sotterra ha le radici*; etc.; Milton, *Parad. regained*, 4, 416-417: "Whose tallest pines, / Though rooted deep as high." The deep roots of the oak are also noted by Theophr. H. P. 1, 6, 4: *ἔστι δὲ καὶ τὰ μὲν βαθυρριζα, καθάπερ δρὺς*; 3, 6, 4: *βαθυρριζότατον δ' οὖν δοκεῖ τῶν ἀγρίων εἶναι ἡ πρῖνος*; Apoll. Rh. 1, 1121-1122: *ἰδρυσαν φηγοῖσιν ἐκρηφές ἀκροτάτην / αἱ δὲ τε πασῶν παννύπτραι ἐπιζώνται*; while Philpot, *The sacred Tree* (1897), 93-94, suggests that the prophetic qualities of the oak (as at Dodona) may be due to its roots which go more deeply toward Tartarus than those of other trees. Serv. on the next line remarks: *secundum*

446. aetherias, tantum radice in Tartara tendit:
haud secus adsiduis hinc atque hinc vocibus heros

radicem *MP* (ut in *G.* 2, 292) $\gamma\alpha^2r$, radice *F²a¹bc.* tarthara $\gamma\alpha$. mittit *cod.* Oblongus *Pierii*.

haut *M.* assiduis *b²c.* atque hinc *add. F¹*. adque *c.* herus *F* (heros *F¹*).

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physicos, qui dicunt parem esse altitudinem radicem et arborum.

446. *aetherias*: for its position in the line cf. 4, 23, n. (*impulit*). Lachmann thought that the *aether* permitted of no *aurae*, hence he at this passage and others elsewhere have emended either *aetherias* to *aerias* or *auras* to *oras*. Yet poets often use *aether(ius)* of the upper atmosphere rather than of regions beyond it (cf. Conington on *Aen.* 1, 546), and the phrase *aetheria(s)* . . . *aura(s)* is a frequent one; e.g., *Lucr.* 3, 405; *G.* 2, 291-292; *Aen.* 1, 546-547; 6, 761-762; 7, 557; *Ov. Am.* 2, 14, 41; *Ars am.* 2, 59 (cf. *M.* 4, 700; 5, 511-512; *Manil.* 1, 149; *Sedul. Pasch. Carm.* 5, 425); *Germ. Arat.* 524-525; *Sen. Phoen.* 421; *Mart.* 1, 3, 11; 1, 6, 1; *Sil.* 10, 577; 12, 92; 17, 376; *Il. Lat.* 85-86; 464; 653; *Stat. Theb.* 6, 857; [*Damas.*] 68, 18; *C. I. L. VIII*, 211 (*Carm. Lat. epigr.* 1552 A, 16 Bücheler).

446. *radice*: of the readings *radice* and *radicem*, both with good MS support, the former has in its favor the parallelism to the previous line (*quantum vertice . . . tantum radice*; there is no variant *verticem*), the testimony of *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 6, 13, and probably that of *Plin. N. H.* 16, 127 (quoted at 4, 445, n. (*quantum, etc.*), above). Either is grammatically possible, according as *tendit* is construed as intransitive or transitive. The alliteration of *r* and *t* in this line should be observed.

446. *Tartara*: cf. 4, 243, n. (*Tartara*).

447. *adsiduis*: cf. *Aug. De Sermon. Dom. in Monte*, 2, 52: *illum assiduis precibus tundunt*.

447. *hinc atque hinc*: by Anna alone, but she resorts to different types of appeal, perhaps according to his different moods (cf. 4, 423: *tempora noras*). *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* cites *Lejay* on *Hor. S.* 1, 1, 112 for *hinc atque hinc* as a conversational idiom for *hinc atque illinc*.

Cf. also *Ov. M.* 10, 375-376; [*Cyprian.*] *Carm.* 3, 38: *tunditur hinc illinc*; *Ambros. De Abraham*, 1, 73: *fluctibus . . . hinc atque inde tunditur*.

447. *vocibus . . . tunditur*: cf. *Plaut. Poen.* 434: *pergin auris tundere*; *Prop.* 4, 5, 35-36: *tundat Amycle / natalem Maiis Idibus esse tuum*; and the *Schol. Dan.* cite *Ter. Hec.* 123: *tundendo atque odio denique effecit senex*. In comedy and in prose *obtundere* is frequently so used.

447. *heros*: cf. 4, 12, n. (*genus . . . deorum*). The word (in Book IV only here) is used in the *Aeneid* eleven times of Aeneas, twice each of Entellus and Turnus, and once each of Evander, Helenus, Misenus, and Musaeus (*Moseley, Characters and Epithets* (1926), xxxviii). In Greek $\eta\eta\omega\varsigma$ is applied first to beings intermediate between gods and men, often with one divine and one human parent ($\eta\mu\theta\epsilon\omega\iota$, as Aeneas, Evander, and Turnus in the list just given); cf. *Eitrem in P.-W.* 8 (1913), 1111-1112. It may also be used of the distinguished dead (*id.*, 1138), such as eponymous personages and founders, and as a term of honor for the living (*id.*, 1139-1141). Latin usage is less varied, yet *Cicero* several times uses it of important historical persons, even of contemporaries. In the present case there seems little, if any, emphasis upon the divine element in Aeneas's character, save in so far as that may be considered as coöperating with the divine power which in 4, 440 is described as closing his ears.

448. *persentit, etc.*: cf. *Heliod. Aethiop.* 10, 16: $\delta\delta'$ $\tau\delta\acute{\alpha}\sigma\pi\eta\varsigma$ $\eta\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\epsilon\iota$ $\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu$ $\tau\eta\eta$ $\gamma\upsilon\gamma\alpha\iota\kappa\alpha$ $\delta\delta\upsilon\rho\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\eta$ $\delta\rho\omega\eta$, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\sigma\upsilon\mu\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\iota\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\epsilon}\kappa\alpha\mu\pi\tau\epsilon\rho\omicron$ $\tau\eta\eta$ $\delta\iota\acute{\alpha}\nu\omicron\iota\alpha\iota$, $\tau\acute{\omicron}$ $\delta\mu\mu\alpha$ δ' $\sigma\iota\omicron\iota\epsilon\iota$ $\kappa\acute{\epsilon}\rho\alpha\varsigma$ η $\sigma\iota\delta\eta\rho\omicron\nu$ $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}$ $\delta\rho\omega\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\alpha$ $\tau\acute{\epsilon}\iota\upsilon\alpha\varsigma$, $\acute{\epsilon}\iota\sigma\tau\eta\kappa\epsilon\iota$ $\pi\rho\acute{\omicron}\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ $\omega\delta\iota\upsilon\alpha\varsigma$ $\tau\acute{\omega}\nu$ $\delta\alpha\kappa\rho\upsilon\omega\eta$ $\acute{\alpha}\pi\omicron\mu\alpha\chi\acute{\omicron}\mu\epsilon\nu\omicron\varsigma$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\psi\upsilon\chi\eta\varsigma$ $\alpha\upsilon\tau\acute{\omega}$ $\pi\alpha\tau\rho\iota\kappa\acute{\omega}$ $\tau\epsilon$ $\pi\acute{\alpha}\theta\epsilon\iota$ $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\acute{\alpha}\nu\delta\rho\epsilon\iota\omega$ $\lambda\eta\mu\alpha\tau\iota$ $\kappa\upsilon\mu\alpha\tau\omicron\upsilon\mu\epsilon$

448. tunditur, et magno persentit pectore curas;
mens immota manet, lacrimae volvontur inanes.

persentit *mr.*

lacrimae *F* (lacrimae *F¹*). uoluontur *P*, uoluuntur *FMP²p¹abc.*

448. magno . . . curas: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 443 — *om. L*, in *marg. suppl. l* —. 448. magno pectore: *Gl. Ansil.* 353, 293.

449. mens . . . inanes: *Aug. C. D.* 9, 4 — *inmota*; uoluuntur —; *Schol. Iuv.* 13, 133 — uoluuntur —. 449. mens . . . manet: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 173 (1, p. 68 *Riese*) — *inmota* —. 449. lacrimae . . . inanes: *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 82 (1, p. 53 *Riese*) — uoluuntur *A* (uoluuntur *A¹*) —; *no.* 17, 18 (1, p. 62 *Riese*) — uoluuntur *A* —. 449. inanes: *Gl. Ansil.* 292, 31; *q.v.*

$\nu\eta\varsigma$, $\kappa\alpha\iota$ $\tau\eta\varsigma$ $\gamma\eta\omega\mu\eta\varsigma$ $\acute{\upsilon}\pi'$ $\acute{\alpha}\mu\phi\omicron\tau\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omega\eta$ $\sigma\tau\alpha\sigma\iota\alpha$ $\xi\omicron\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\eta\varsigma$, $\kappa\tau\lambda$.

448. pectore curas: as a verse-tag in *Catull.* 64, 72; *Aen.* 1, 227; 5, 701; *Aetna*, 24; cf. *Lucr.* 5, 1207; 6, 645; *Aen.* 6, 85; *Cir.* 232; *Sil.* 15, 19.

448. curas: cf. 4, 1, n. (*curo*). *Schol. Dan.*: *polest Didonis, polest et suas*; probably *Virgil* means both.

449. mens immota manet: the contrast (cf. Voss, *Bemerkungen zu einigen Stellen des Virgil* (1838), 5-6; *Festa in Nuova Antologia*, 273 (1930), 27) between *pectore*, as the seat of emotion, and *mens*, as that of intelligence and will, is emphasized by the two asyndeta in the line (*Terzaghi, Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 72), that at its beginning and that which divides it into two groups, each of a noun, a verb, and a predicate adjective (*Bell, The Latin Dual* (1923), 367), as well as by the thought of the second clause, expressing the outward symbol of the inner spiritual struggle. For the phraseology cf. *G.* 2, 294 (of the oak): *immota manet*; *Aen.* 1, 257-258: *manent immota tuorum / fata tibi*; 7, 314: *immota manet fatis Lavinia coniunx*; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 227: *mens cunctis inposita manet*; *Prud. Peristeph.* 5, 233: *haec inter inmolus manet*; *Aug. De Ord.* 2, 18: *ut eius corpore huc atque illuc vagante mens immobilis maneat*; *Paul. Petric. De Vita Mart.* 2, 20: *mens humilis crebris precibus inmotu manebat*.

Arnold (Roman Stoicism (1911), 391) quotes this line as one in which "in a happy phrase *Virgil* sums up the whole ethics of Stoicism", that "ruffling of the soul, in which the intelligence and will take no part", and this Stoic attitude may well be illustrated by

two passages in *Seneca: Dial.* 1, 2, 2: *nec hoc dico: non sentii* (sc. *vir bonus*) *illa* (sc. *omnia externa*), *sed vincit et alioqui quietus placidusque contra incurrentia attollitur*; *Ep.* 9, 3: *hoc inter nos et illos interest: noster sapiens vincit quidem incommodum omne, sed sentit; illorum ne sentit quidem*; cf. *Aug. C. D.* 9, 4: *ita mens, ubi fixa est ista sententia, nullas perturbationes, etiamsi accidunt inferioribus animi partibus, in se contra rationem praevalere permittit; quin immo eis ipsa dominatur eisque non consentiendo et potius resistendo regnum virtutis exercet. talem describit etiam Vergilius Aenean, ubi ait 'mens inmotu . . . inanes.'* It may be said that if any one line is the key to the tragedy of the Fourth Book it is this.

449. lacrimae volvontur inanes: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sinum*); 4, 438, n. (*fertque refertque*); *Schol. Dan.*: *utrum inanes quae Didoni nihil prosint? quidam tamen 'lacrimas inanes' vel Aeneae, vel Didonis, vel Annae, vel omnium accipiunt*. Modern scholars likewise disagree. No doubt Dido wept, as in 4, 314; 4, 369, but no longer in the presence of Aeneas. That Anna's message was tearful appears from 4, 437, and the emotional possibilities in her rather materialistic nature are seen at 4, 673; 4, 687. For the view that these tears are Anna's (or those of Anna and Dido) cf. *Forbiger, ad loc.*; *Conington, ad loc.*; *Rébelliau, De Verg. in inform. muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 69, n. 5 (and authors there mentioned); *Keith in Cl. Weekly*, 21 (1928), 113-114 (opposed by *Valentine in Cl. Weekly*, 22 (1928), 24, who thinks the tears those of Dido, Anna, and Aeneas).

450. Tum vero infelix fatis exterrita Dido

450. fatis exterrita: *Gl. Arma*, 20, 110.

Other writers, however, have held these to be the tears of Aeneas, who though charged by Dido (4, 369-370) with heartlessness, does at times show deep feeling (e.g., 4, 332; 4, 395), and when Dido withdraws from him in the underworld (6, 476; cf. 6, 455; 6, 468) *prosequitur lacrimis longe et miseratur euntem*. So Augustine, *C. D.* 9, 4 (quoted above); Serv. *Aen.* 4, 444; Voss (*l. c.*); Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 749-750; Kvěčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 125-128; Gross, *Krit. u. exeg. z. Vergils Aeneis* (1883), 34-38—an excellent treatment; Glover, *Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 197, n. 5; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 487, and n. 2 (who well characterizes his tears as “Kennzeichen edler Menschlichkeit”, and compares 1, 462: *sunt lacrimae rerum et mentem mortalia tangunt*); and Rand, *The magical Art of Virgil* (1931), 361-362, who remarks: “the falling tears match the falling leaves, symbol of the storm that does not touch the substance.”

Further, the figure of Aeneas, as one in whom love and duty clash (cf. 4, 331-332, where the *immota lumina*, as here the *mens immota*, contrast with the *curam sub corde*, as here with the *magno . . . pectore curas*), is a far greater psychological and dramatic creation and one more in accord with the rest of his character than a portraiture which depicts him as an insensate brute.

A further point to be noted is the tendency of Mediterranean peoples to greater freedom of emotional expression than is common among Northern stocks. So, for example, Agamemnon, Patroclus, and Antilochus (*Il.* 1, 362; 9, 14; 16, 3; 18, 17; 18, 73), Odysseus, his men, Telemachus, and the shade of Agamemnon are all described as weeping (cf. *Od.* 8, 83-88; 8, 521-522; 10, 201; 11, 5; 11, 391; 11, 466; 16, 190-191; 16, 214; 17, 304; 24, 234); in *Aen.* 10, 464-465, in a passage much resembling the present one, Hercules himself *magnum . . . sub imo / corde premit gemitum lacrimasque effundit inanis*; while the tears of Aeneas are often men-

tioned (1, 459; 1, 465; 1, 470; 2, 279; 2, 790; 3, 10; 3, 492; 5, 771; 5, 869-6, 1; 6, 455; 6, 476; 6, 699; 11, 29; 11, 41; 11, 59-62; Dryden, *Dedication of the Aeneis* (14, 169 of 1889 ed.), says some critics “make Aeneas little better than a kind of St. Swithin hero, always raining”), as are those of Anchises (6, 686; 6, 867), Iulus (9, 293; 9, 501), Evander (8, 559; 11, 150), Helenus (3, 348), Aletes (9, 251), Euryalus (5, 343), Lausus (10, 790), Trojans in general (2, 651; 9, 292-293; 10, 505), and the shade of Hector (2, 271; cf. Heinze, *op. cit.*, 487, n. 2; Kroll, *Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 342, n. 25; Willi, *Virgil* (1930), 94; Lohmeyer, *Vergil im deutschen Geistesleben* (1930), 154.

449. *inanes*: cf. 4, 433, n. (*tempus inane*); 10, 465 (quoted above); G. 4, 375: *fletus cognovit inanis*; *Cir.* 401: *questuolvebat inani*; Tennyson, *Princess*, Part 4: “Tears, idle tears.”

450. *tum vero*: cf. 4, 397; 7, 376: *tum vero infelix, ingentibus excita monstribus*; *Sil.* 6, 514: *tum vero infelix*.

450. *infelix . . . Dido*: cf. 4, 68, n. (*infelix*).

450. *fatis*: Schol. Dan.: ‘*fatis*’ ergo aut *malis suis*; aut a verbo ‘*for, faris*’ *fatis*, id est, *responsis Aeneae*. When Aeneas spoke (4, 340-346; 4, 361) of the future to which he was being led by divine command and fate (4, 340), Dido ridiculed his claims (4, 376-380), but now that her appeals have had no effect she begins to recognize that what is ordained for him conflicts with her own desires, and the future becomes more clear, leading her first to desire death and then to plan the means to bring it about. With this line, then, or, more precisely, with line 452, definitely appears the element of suicide; cf. Vivona in *Riv. di Filol.* 26 (1898), 432; Belling, *Stud. ü. d. Compositions-kunst Vergils in d. Aeneide* (1899), 213 (who observes that we nowhere hear of the *fatum Didonis* but only of the *fata* which guide Aeneas; I may note that as one of Epicurean type Dido is appropriately controlled by *fortuna* (e.g., 4,

451. mortem orat; taedet caeli convexa tueri.
quo magis inceptum peragat lucemque relinquat,

illam coeli m.
relinquat F (relinquat F¹).

451. *mortem orat*: *Gl. Ansil.* 377, 462. 451. *taedet . . . tueri*: Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 4, 452; *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 150* (1, p. 67 Riese) — tedit A —; *Cento Probae*, 219 — te det A¹, te de T —.

452. *quo . . . relinquat*: Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 4, 453. 452. *lucem relinquat*: *Gl. Ansil.* 346, 41.

434; 4, 653; even her death is (4, 696) *nec falo*, rather than by *fata*); Knorr, *Beitr. z. Erkl. einiger Stellen aus Horaz u. Vergil* (1900), 18-19; Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 26-27.

450. *exterrita*: this form (and the metrically identical fem. voc. sing. and neut. nom. pl.) occurs 14 times in the Virgilian corpus, always in this position in the verse; in several of these cases, as in Val. Fl. 8, 450, it is used of the mad infatuation caused by despair.

451. *mortem orat*: the line in structure resembles 5, 617: *urbem orant; taedet pelagi perferre laborem*. With the thought cf. 4, 308, n. (*nec, etc.*). Dietsch (*Theologum. Vergilian. Particula* (1853), 27, n. 203) thinks *mortem* a *numen* whom Dido begs to take her life or receive her in death, and compares 11, 197: *multa boum circa mactantur corpora Morti*; while Penquitt (*op. cit.*, 26) cites Ov. *M.* 14, 405: *longis Hecaten ululatibus orat*; cf. Soph. *Aias*, 854: ὦ θάνατε, θάνατε, νῦν μ' ἐπισκέψαι μολῶν. But though *orare* may take as an object the person importuned it may also have one denoting the boon requested, and Servius is here wiser in saying: *pro 'desiderat,' ul* (2, 655) *'mortemque miserimus opto.'*

451. *taedet, etc.*: because the heavens are witnesses of her suffering (cf. 4, 607); cf. also 5, 678: *piget . . . lucis*; Thompson, *Taedium Vitae in Roman sepulchral Inscriptions* (1911), 1; Tennyson, *Mariana*, 15: “She could not look on the sweet heaven.”

451. *caeli convexa*: on this type of genitive, chiefly poetic, cf. the Virgilian examples collected by Haecckermann, *Explicationum Vergilian. Specimen* (1853), 21, who also (21-22) cites for *convexa Aen.* 6, 241; 6, 750; 10, 251; Ov. *M.* 1, 26 (*convexi . . . caeli*); Luc. 5, 632; 9, 4; Plin. *N. H.* 13, 201 (*caeli*

convexas); Stat. *Theb.* 1, 208; 12, 76; Gell. 14, 1, 8 (*convexionibus mundi*); Claud. *Paneg. Prob. et Olyb.* 242; In *Rufin.* 2, 454 (cf. 1, 367); to which should be added Cic. *Arat.* 314 (*convexum caeli*); *Ecl.* 4, 50; *Aen.* 1, 608: *convexa polus dum sidera pascet*; 7, 543: *caeli convexa*; Sen. *Thy.* 993; Claud. *De Bell. Gild.* 1, 2: *convexa poli*; and other examples in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 4 (1909), 871, 53-872, 2. Paul. ex Fest. p. 58 M. (p. 51 Lindsay) remarks: *convexum est ex omni parte declinatum, qualis est natura caeli, quod ex omni parte ad terram versus declinatum est*; cf. Plin. *N. H.* 2, 160, on the *convexitas* of the sky.

452. *quo magis inceptum*: cf. Lucr. 6, 42: *quo magis inceptum pergam pertexere dictis*; *Aen.* 6, 384: *ergo iter inceptum peragunt*; Hor. *S.* 2, 2, 112: *quo magis his credas*; Ov. *F.* 1, 188: *et peragat coeptum . . . iter*; Dictys, 5, 11: *peragere incepta*; 6, 13: *ut incepta perageret*.

452. *peragat*: Schol. Dan.: *id est, mortem sibi inferat*; Bell (*The Latin Dual* (1923), 198) would supply *coacta*; Wagner (*ad loc.*) explains as *eo inpellitur quod vidit*. Probably through the influence of the presents, *orat* and *taedet*, the ordinary sequence of tenses is here disregarded.

452. *lucemque relinquat*: cf. 4, 31, n. (*o luce, etc.*); 10, 855: *lucemque relinquo*; 12, 62-63: *haec invisa relinquam / lumina*; Naev. 28: *linquant lumina*; Enn. *Ann.* 149: *postquam lumina sis oculis bonus Ancus reliquit* (imitated by Lucr. 3, 1025); Lucr. 3, 542: *lumina qui lincunt moribundi*; 5, 989: *dulcia linquebant labentis lumina vitae*; Cic. *De Cons.* (ap. *De Div.* 1, 18): *vitalia lumina liquit*; *De Div.* 2, 63 (translation of Homer): *liquerunt lumina fatis*; *De Glor.* (Müller's ed.,

453. vidit, turicremis cum dona imponeret aris
— horrendum dictu —, latices nigrescere sacros

turicrimis *M* (turicremis *M*¹), turecremis γ¹. imponeret *MPp*.
dictum *F* (dictu *F*), dicto (*corr. in dictu*) γ. latices *F* ut vid.

453. vidit . . . aris: *Macrob. Sat.* 6, 5, 7; *Non. p.* 328 *M.* (p. 516 *L.*) — imponeret —.
453. vidit turicremis: *Mar. Vict. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 36). 453. cum . . . aris: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 415 (1, p. 77 *Riese*) — deponeret *A* —.

454. horrendum . . . sacros: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 8, 565 — orrendum *F* —. 454. latices . . . sacros: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 5, 175.

4, 3, 351, no. 3): *hic situs est vitae iam pridem lumina linquens*; also such expressions as 2, 85: *cassum lumine*; 3, 311: *si lux alma recessit*; 4, 631: *invisam quaerens quam primum abrupere lucem*; 12, 935: *corpus spoliatum lumine*; and, in Greek, *Il.* 18, 11: *λείψεν φάος ἡελίοιο*; *Hes. Op.* 155: *λαμπρόν δ' ἔλιπον φάος ἡελίοιο*; *Theogn.* 569: *λείψω δ' ἐρατὸν φάος ἡελίοιο*; *Epigrammata Gr.* no. 319, 6 *Kaibel*: *ἔθανεν τοῦτο λιποῦσα φάος*; cf. nos. 333 a 1; 682, 2; 702, 2; *Tolman, A Study of the sepulchral Inscriptions in Buecheler's Carmina epigraphica Latina* (1910), 40–42.

453. vidit: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 5, 7: *in quarto libro relatatum est duplici modo diras fieri; aut in signis, aut quocumque modo aut quacumque parte* (cf. *Schol. Dan.* on our line). The list of portents which follows suggests those so dear to the Roman annalists and frequent in *Livy* (and *Julius Obsequens*); cf. *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 316; *Duckworth, Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil* (1933), 18, n. 52. *Penquitt (De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 27) notes that such appear especially before the deaths of distinguished persons (cf. *Guillemin, L'Originalité de Virgile* (1931), 27), and thinks that Virgil here imitates the manner of *Ennius*, who, in his turn, draws from the priestly annals. The *Scholia Danielis* point out that these omens are not only unfavorable to Dido's requests but portend death. On omens observed at the time of a sacrifice cf. 7, 71–80. For the shift of tense to the perfect Knight (in *Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 203, n. 28) offers as an explanation the emotional quality of the *i* sounds and of a break after a spondee in the first foot.

453. turicremis . . . aris: cf. *Lucr.* 2, 353: *turicremas . . . aras*; *Ov. H.* 2, 18: *turicremis sum venerata sacris*; *Luc.* 9, 989: *votaque turicremos non inrita fudit in ignes*; *Avien.* 3, 604: *inter turicremas hic Phoebum vidimus aras*; *Mart. Cap.* 2, 124: *nam Sabaeorum rapidis quid vapor edat aris / fumida quid turicremis aura paret favillis*; *Sidon. Carm.* 2, 88: *fudit turicremis carchesia cernuus aris*; 9, 210: *aram ad turicremam*; *Gualterus, Alexandreis*, 1, 336: *turicremis . . . temphis*; the *Scholia Danielis* call the adjective *nomen mire compositum*, but it is better regarded as a slightly archaistic touch. Incense and wine were given in offerings to the Lares; cf. *Plin. Ad Traian.* 96, 5: *tur ac vino supplicarent*; *Wissowa, Religion u. Kultus d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 412, nn. 2–3, who points out that it was comparatively late, however, that incense was imported to Italy (cf. *Ov. F.* 1, 341; *Arnob.* 7, 26), and that some substitute must have been earlier employed; *Eitrem, Opferrius u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 198–260, especially 204. Further, Virgil has transferred to Carthage this particular Roman custom, like others; cf. *Penquitt, op. cit.*, 28.

453. imponeret: cf. 1, 49: *aris imponet honorem*; 3, 231: *arisque reponimus ignem*; *Plaut. Aul.* 386: *haec imponentur in foco nostro Lari*.

454. horrendum dictu = 8, 565; cf. 4, 116, n. (*advertit*); 4, 182, n. (*mirabile dictu*); *Stat. Theb.* 6, 939: *horrendum visu* (parenthetic); *Cypr. Hept. Gen.* 1257: *horrendum dictu*; *Anon. De Iudicio Domini*, 9, 23 (*Patr. Lat.* 2, 1153): *horrendum* (parenthetic); *Schol. Dan.*: *horrendum dictu: quanto magis visu? quod Didoni contigit*; *Flodoardus Re-*

455. fusaque in obscenum se vertere vina cruorem.

cruore *F* (cruorem *F*¹).

mensis, *De Triumphis Christi* (Palaest.), 2, 1, 198: *horrendum dictu* (parenthetic).

454. latices: for the plural cf. 1, 736: *in mensam laticum libavit honorem*; 4, 512; 6, 218; 6, 715; 7, 464. Page (*ad loc.*) explains *latices . . . fusaque . . . vina* as hendiadys: "the holy libation of outpoured wine." But it is not certain that *latices* here means 'wine', for though so used in *G.* 2, 192; 3, 509; *Aen.* 1, 686; 1, 736; yet in 4, 512; 6, 218; 6, 715; 7, 464; *Cul.* 18; etc., it clearly means 'water', and while most editors are at this point decorously silent some state this to have been water, which seems likely, as being commonly mingled with wine in libations; cf. the works cited by *Penquitt, op. cit.*, 28, n. 3. The water, then, grew dark (like wine?), and the wine changed to blood—a double portent. On water turning to blood cf. *Exod.* 4, 9; 7, 17–20; *Ps.* 78, 44; and many instances collected in my note on *Cic. De Div.* 1, 98; to which add *Plin. N. H.* 31, 55–56.

454. nigrescere: cf. 11, 824; *Ov. M.* 2, 581; 3, 671; *Claud. De Rapt. Pros.* 3, 72; etc. That this may be an approach to the color of blood is suggested by such passages as 3, 622: *sanguine . . . atro*; 3, 626: *atro . . . iabo*; *Ov. Ars am.* 3, 503: *ora tument ira, nigrescunt sanguine venae*; but it is also used of the color of ripening grapes (e.g., *Plin. N. H.* 15, 6; *Colum.* 12, 48), and so may here be used of any livid hue. A dark, and especially a black, color was, of course, commonly associated with death (4, 384, n. (*atris ignibus*)); *Hippocr. De Morbo sacro*, 2: *θανατωδες γὰρ τὸ μέλαν*; *Rohde, Psyche*, 4 ed., 2 (1907), 76, n. 1). Cf. also the phrase *μέλαν αἷμα*; e.g., *Anon. ap. [Apollod.]* 3, 4, 4 (*Collectanea Alexand.* 71 *Powell*); *Kober in Cl. Weekly*, 27 (1934), 190 (for many instances from *Homer* to *Apollonius*).

454. sacros: used in the ritual and hence taboo (good or bad); later (as in 4, 703, and perhaps 4, 638) inclining to a good sense; cf. *Fowler, Roman Essays and Interpretations* (1920), 15–24.

455. obscenum: used both of the repul-

sive (e.g., 7, 417) and the ill-omened (e.g., *G.* 1, 470 (*canes*); *Aen.* 12, 876 (*volucres*)); here, as in 3, 241; 3, 262; 3, 367, the two notions are probably both present.

455. se vertere: *Schol. Dan.*: *et quidam 'nigrescere' et 'vertere' ideo incertum tempus positum volunt, ut ostendant non vere vertisse se, quod contra naturam est, sed verti a Didone visa*; cf. 6, 257.

455. vina: Virgil uses *vina* (nom. and acc.) 18 times, yet never *vinum*, and *vino* (dat. and abl.) 7 times yet never *vinis*, and this practice, as noted by *Löffstedt (Syntactica*, 1 (1928), 44), is perhaps due to an instinctive feeling that the neuter plural in *-a* is really an original feminine collective of the first declension.

455. cruorem: wine was considered the blood of the grape (Heidel in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 45 (1924), 235, who cites *Gen.* 49, 11; *Deut.* 32, 14; *Ecclus.* 39, 26; 50, 15; to which add 1 *Macc.* 6, 34; *Rev.* 14, 20: *ἐξῆλθεν αἷμα ἐκ τῆς ληνῆς*; *Achill. Tat.* 2, 2, 5: *τοῦτ' ἔστιν αἷμα βότρυος*; while in *Plin. N. H.* 14, 58 *Androclydes* tells *Alexander the Great* that it is the *sanguinem terrae*). Changes in its sweetness, sometimes of an unaccountable character, are mentioned by *Plin. N. H.* 14, 118; *Vopisc. Tac.* 17, 2; etc., but especially in point are cases in which it appears to be transmuted to blood, of which the most striking is that in *Val. Max.* 1, 6, ext. 1: *priusquam Athenas deleret* (sc. *Xerxes*) *Lacedaemonis invadendae consilium agitantis admirabile inter cenam prodigium incidit: infusum namque palerae eius vinum in sanguinem, nec semel sed iterum et tertio conversum est* (*Jul. Paris, Epit.* 1, 6, ext. 1, says . . . *in sanguinem versum imaginatus est*). *qua de re consulti magi monuerunt ut se ab incepto proposito abstineret*, etc.; cf. also *Sen. Oed.* 324: *libata Bacchi dona permutat cruor*; *Thy.* 700–701: *libata in ignes vina mutato fluunt / cruenta Baccho*. The Christian doctrine of transubstantiation may have conduced to such miraculous cases, for example, among the Gnostics (cf. *Thorndike, Hist. of Magic*

456. hoc visum nulli, non ipsi effata sorori.
praeterea fuit in tectis de marmore templum

nulli (u m. 2 in ras.) γ. sorori est F, 'plerique' Pieriani.
post de ras. F¹. marmore M (marmore M²).

456. hoc visum: Gl. Ansil. 282, 12. 456. non ipsi: Gl. Ansil. 394, 156.
457-458. praeterea . . . antiqui: Non. p. 464 M. (p. 743 L.).

and experim. Science, 1, 2 ed. (1929), 369); and Wuttke, *Deutscher Volksaberglaube*, 3 ed. (1900), 141, states that some superstitious Germans, when seriously ill, postpone receiving the Eucharist from fear that the change of wine to blood will portend their own death. Cf. also, for the relations of blood and wine, Rüsche, *Blut, Leben u. Seele* (1930), 45 (in *Stud. z. Gesch. u. Kultur d. Allertums*, 5 Ergänzb.).

Red, like black, is associated with death (Artemid. *Onirocr.* 1, 77: ἔχει γὰρ τινα τὸ πορφύρεον χρώμα συμπάθειαν πρὸς τὸν θάνατον); cf. von Duhn, "Rot und Tot", in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 9 (1906), 1-24; Kircher, *Die sakrale Bedeutung des Weines im Allertum* (1910), 82-87; Haupt in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 45 (1924), 48-50; Wunderlich, *Die Bedeutung der roten Farbe im Kultus d. Gr. u. Römer* (1925), 46-59. The transmutation of wine to blood is here emphasized by the juxtaposition of the two words.

456. nulli: Virgil may think of this *visum* as an hallucination on the part of Dido. At the earlier sacrifice (4, 56-57) apparently Anna had also been present, as had doubtless attendants to slaughter the victim (4, 63-64), but since the present rites are of a simpler sort, such as libations, they do not necessitate the presence of any assistant, so that we are left in doubt whether Dido conducted them alone — if so, with what motive is not apparent — or with the participation of Anna. The intensity of Dido's desperation is shown, as Heyne has noted (*ad loc.*), by her silence, and with this Conington (*ad loc.*) compares two passages in Sophocles: *O. T.* 1074-1075: δέδοικ' ὅπως / μὴ 'κ τῆς σωπῆς τῆσδ' ἀναρρήξει κακά; *Anlig.* 1251-1252: ἐμοὶ δ' οὖν ἦ τ' ἄγαν σιγῇ βαρὺ / δοκεῖ προσεῖναι χεῖ μάτην πολλῇ βοῇ.

456. non ipsi: Schol. Dan.: et forte ideo

sororem celavit, ne et ipsa se perimeret, post queritur (4, 679) 'idem ambas ferro dolor atque eadem hora tulisset.'

456. effata: similar Virgilian omissions of *est* are gathered by Wagner, 4 ed. of Virgil, 4 (1832), 439-440, a close parallel being 4, 632: *Barcen nutricem adfata Sychaei*, where M² reads *Sychaei est*, as it similarly adds *est* in 6, 126. In G. 4, 530: *ultro adfata timentem*, cod. F, as here, has added *est*. Virgil frequently employs *effatus* (*effata*) without *est*, however, as in G. 4, 450; *Aen.* 5, 653; 6, 547; 8, 443; 10, 256; 10, 299; 10, 877, and there seems no adequate reason here to desert the reading of MP in favor of that of F (as does Janell).

457. praeterea, etc.: cf. Ov. *H.* 7, 99-102: *est mihi marmorea sacratus in aede Sychaeus / (oppositae frondes velleraque alba tegunt); / hinc ego me sensi noto quater ore citari; / ipse sono tenui dixit 'Elissa, veni!'* This *templum* was doubtless a small ἱερὸν or *aedicula* to the *manes* of Sychaeus; cf. Serv. *Aen.* 6, 152: *apud maiores, ut supra* (5, 64) *diximus, omnes in suis domibus sepeliebantur, unde ortum est ut lares colerentur in domibus . . . inde est quod etiam Dido cenotaphium domi fecit marito*; also Cael. ap. Cic. *Ad Fam.* 8, 12, 3: *coepti sacellum in domo quod est ab eo pelere*; Cic. 2 *Verr.* 4, 4: *erat apud Heium sacrarium magna cum dignitate in aedibus, a maioribus traditum, perantiquum; in quo signa pulcherrima quattuor, etc.*; Hor. *C.* 1, 30, 3-4: *te (sc. Venerem) . . . Glycerae decoram / transfer in aedem*; Babr. 63, 1-4: ἦν τις κατ' οἶκους ἀνδρὸς εὐσεβοῦς ἥρως / ἔχων ἐν αὐλῇ τέμενος· ἔθα δὲ θύων / στέφων τε βωμοὺς καὶ καταβρέχων οἶνω / προσεύχεται· ἀεὶ "χαῖρε, φίλταθ' ἡρώων", κτλ.; Sil. 1, 81-92 — a description of a temple to Dido at Carthage, which owes, however, some suggestions to the present passage; Isid. *Etym.* 8, 11, 5:

458. coniugis antiqui, miro quod honore colebat,
velleribus niveis et festa fronde revinctum;

miserio F (miro F¹).
inueis P (niveis P¹).

[457] 458. miro . . . colebat: *Cento Probae*, 570 — colebant (n exp. m. 2 in π) —.

459. velleribus niveis: Serv. *Aen.* 4, 458; *Prob. Inst. Art.* (G. L. K. 4, 129); *Gram. Val. in Auct. class.* 5, 249 Mai; Gl. Ansil. 580, 82; Gl. Abol. 179, 60.

simulacrorum usus exortus est, cum ex desiderio mortuorum constituerentur imagines vel effigies, tamquam in caelum receptis; Overbeck-Mau, *Pompeji*, 4 ed. (1884), 268; 299. Virgil here transfers to Carthage a custom familiar at Rome; cf. Wagner, 4 ed., 4 (1832), 588-589.

457. de marmore templum: cf. *Ecl.* 7, 31-32: *levi de marmore tota / . . . stabis* (cf. *Cul.* 397); G. 3, 13: *templum de marmore ponam*; *Aen.* 6, 69: *solido de marmore templum*; Ov. *Ars am.* 1, 81 (= *Ex Pont.* 3, 6, 25): *facto de marmore templo*; M. 14, 313: *factum de marmore signum*; Auson. *Ordo nob. Urb.* 19, 14: *Pario quondam de marmore templum*.

458. antiqui: cf. 4, 431, n. (*antiquom*); in 6, 473 Sychaeus is called her *coniunx* . . . *pristinus*; and Servius here glosses *antiqui* by *aut priores aut cari* (cf. Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 4, 431); cf. *Il. Lat.* 321: *coniugis antiqui*; Albertus Stadensis, *Troilus*, 3, 36: *coniugis antiqui*. Note the use of *patria antiqua* (4, 633): "in the old country."

458. miro . . . honore: cf. Lucr. 5, 1280: *miro est mortalis inter honore*; *Aen.* 1, 632: *divom templis indicit honorem*. Page (in *Cl. Rev.* 7 (1893), 417-418), followed by Mackail (*ad loc.*), thinks the *mirus honor* consisted in the shrine being decorated, not with *caeruleae vittae* (3, 64) or *frons funerea* (4, 506-507), characteristic of burial places, but with white fleeces and gay foliage, "to symbolize that to her the dead was not dead." I think, however, that, as in the Lucretian passage quoted, the phrase may refer to degree rather than to peculiarity in kind, and this in spite of what Servius says (quoted below).

458. colebat: Serv.: *exhibendo ea quae circa vivos solent fieri. moris enim fuerat ut*

nubentes puellae, simul venissent ad limen mariti, postes antequam ingrederentur ornarent laneis vittis; unde ait 'velleribus niveis'; et oleo ungerent, unde uxores dictae sunt, quasi uniores; and the Schol. Dan. add: bene ergo Dido cum templum marito exstrueret, veluti devota viro, quippe post quem nuptura non esset, ad consulendum amore officia ritus maritalis adfuerat, ut morem instauraret uxorum; etc. On line 459 Servius says: *tamquam numen coleret. sane hoc loco latenter quam supra diximus tangit historiam; nam si amabat Aeneam utique non coleret extinctum maritum.* Yet we may explain the apparent inconsistency: (a) *colebat* may refer to a time before her interest in Aeneas; or (b) despite her infatuation for Aeneas and her infidelity to the memory of Sychaeus (contrast 4, 22-29 with 4, 552) her affection for Sychaeus may have continued, both through habit and through real affection; cf. Rébelliau, *De Verg. in inform. muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 90, n. 1. It must further be remembered that in 6, 473-474 she and Sychaeus are reunited. With the whole phrase cf. Nep. *Themist.* 8: *sacrarium quod summa colebatur caerimonia.*

459. velleribus niveis: cf. Ov. *H.* 7, 100 (quoted at 4, 457, n. (*praeterea, etc.*), above); Hock, *Gr. Weihgebräuche* (1905), 10-12; Pley, *De Lanae in Antiquorum Ritibus Usu* (1911), 53-55 (for wool placed on statues). On *vellera* for woolen fillets cf. Stat. *Silv.* 5, 3, 7-8; and for the draping of shrines with fillets Prop. 4, 9, 27; Tac. *H.* 4, 53: *spatium omne quod templo dicabatur evinctum vittis coronisque*; Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 29; also Luc. 2, 354-355. The whiteness of wool is noted in G. 3, 391: *munere . . . niveo lanae*; 3, 487: *lanea dum nivea circumdatur infula villa*; cf. Ps. 147, 16; Is. 1, 18.

460. hinc exaudiri voces et verba vocantis

460-461. hinc . . . viri: *Serv. Aen. 12, 638* — exaudiri gemitus (gemitur *F*); et . . . uiri *om. F* —. 460. hinc . . . voces: [*Serg.*] *Expl. in Donat. 2* (G. L. K. 4, 558); *Anth. Lat. no. 16, 9* (1, p. 56 *Riese*). 460. hinc exaudiri: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll. 8* (G. L. K. 4, 244). 460. exaudiri . . . vocantis: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 453* — exaudiri *ex* exaudire *F* —.

459. *feſta fronde*: cf. 2, 248-249: *nos delubra deum . . . / . . . feſta velamus fronde per urbem*; Val. Fl. 2, 188-189: *delubraque feſta / fronde legunt*; Ekkehard, *Waltharius*, 209: *feſta cum fronde revinxit*; this should be contrasted with the *fronde . . . funerea* of 4, 506-507, and with the decking of the altar of the *manes* described in 3, 63-64. As Page (*ad loc.*) says, Dido's honor of Sychaeus is "not with the signs of gloom and death, but with signs of joy and life as being, though dead, her heart's still living lord." Yet, as various scholars have asserted (cf. Köchling, *De Coronarum apud Antiquos Vi atque Usu* (1914), 37), the wool and garlands may here be apotropaic.

460. *hinc exaudiri*: = 6, 557.

460. *exaudiri*: whether lines 460-461 represent a dream (cf. *Lucr. 5, 62-63* for dreams of those who are dead; *Tib. 2, 6, 37*: *neglecti millunt mala somnia manes*), like 465-473, or a waking vision is uncertain; but that they deal with a subjective fancy is shown by *visa* in the next line; cf. *Serv.: non enim erant vera, ut supra*. Perhaps we may picture part of a restless night, following the unhappy libation: dreams of the call of Sychaeus from his cenotaph; a wakeful period in which repeated (*saepe*) hoots of an owl are heard, which further suggest to Dido's mind previous evil predictions of soothsayers; and then another set of confused dreams (465-473), producing an uncanny effect which she can no longer disregard. This explanation of events would considerably help the chronology of the story, which Virgil has, either intentionally or from lack of the *ultima manus*, left rather obscure; cf. 4, 417, n. (*undique convenere*).

460. *voces*: cries of uncertain origin are a frequent form of omen; cf. Pease on *Cic. De Div. 1, 101*, where they are classified as tree-voices (cf. G. 1, 476-477), produced by

creaking or rubbing limbs, sounds from the sky, from some unspecified source, or (as here) from a tomb or shrine; cf. 3, 39-46; *Liv. 6, 33, 5*; *Tac. H. 5, 13*; *Suet. Nero, 46*: *de Mausoleo . . . exaudita vox est nomine eum cientis*; 1 *Sam. 3, 4-14*; *Lecky, Rationalism in Europe, 1* (1868 ed.), 164; *Lembert, Der Wunderglaube bei Römern u. Griechen* (1905), 14; *Wülker, Die geschichtl. Entwicklung des Prodigienwesens* (1903), 19.

Note the alliteration of the letter *v* (*voces . . . verba vocantis / visa viri*), a sound expressing intense woe (Norden on *Aen. 6, 110*; 6, 426-429; 6, 833), horror (Rose in *Journ. of Rom. Stud. 22* (1932), 261, n. 2), or solemnity (Conington and Page, *ad loc.*); and compare the repetitions of sound in 4, 464 (*praederea praedicta priorum*), 4, 465-466 (*furem / . . . ferus*), and 4, 466-467 (*somnis . . . semper . . . / sola sibi semper*).

460. *verba*: opposed to the inarticulate *voces*; cf. *Hor. S. 1, 3, 103*, and Lejay's note. On the alliterative word-pair *voces et verba* cf. Wölfflin in *Sitzb. d. k. bayr. Akad. 2* (1881), 93 (= *Ausg. Schriften* (1933), 280).

460. *vocantis*: in *Ov. H. 7, 102* (cf. 4, 457, n. (*praederea*, etc.)), above Sychaeus calls: *Elissa, veni*; cf. *Sil. 8, 121-123* (Dido to Aeneas): *namque asper somno diris me impleverat horror: / terque suam Dido, ter cum clamore vocarat / et laeta exultans ostenderat ora Sychaeus*; the call prepares for the reunion in 6, 473-474. Cf. also *Tac. Ann. 1, 65, 2*: *ducemque (sc. Caecinum) terruit dira quies; nam Quintilium Varum sanguine oblitum et paludibus emersum cernere et audire visus est velut vocantem, non tamen obsecutus et manum intendentis reppulisse*; Greenough and Kittredge (*ad loc.*) cite Pope, *Eloisa to Abeldard*, 307-309: "Here, as I watch'd the dying lamps around, / From yonder shrine I heard a hollow sound. / 'Come, sister, come', it said, or seemed to

461. visa viri, nox cum terras obscura teneret, solaque culminibus ferali carmine bubo

uari γ^1 . mox *M* (nox *M*²). con *c*. teras (a *corr. ex &, ut vid.*) γ , *corr. in* terras. uola *M* (sola *M*¹). culminus *F* (culminibus *F*¹). carminae (ar *in ras.*) γ . b. bo (*corr. in* bubo) γ .

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462-463. *solaque . . . queri*: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 453* — *solaque F* —. 462. *solaque . . . bubo*: *Non. p. 194 M.* (p. 285 L.) — *seraque* (cf. G. 1, 403; *Aen. 12, 864*) —; *Anon. De dub. Nomin.* (G. L. K. 5, 572) — *uolaque L*; *fera de ML*; *curmine L* —; *Schol. Lucan. 6, 689* — *om. G* —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 3, 511* — *solaque om. L*; *cul. Pb, om. LMPa* —. 462. *ferali . . . bubo*: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 124* (1, p. 66 *Riese*). 462. *ferali carmine*: *Gl. Arma, 20, 111* — *ferale* —. 462. *ferali*: *Gl. Ansil. 239, 240-242*; *q.v.* 462. *bubo*: *Gl. Ansil. 83, 3*; *q.v.*

say"; Tennyson, *Lancelot and Elaine*, 992-994: "Death, like a friend's voice, from a distant field / Approaching through the darkness, call'd; the owls / Wailing had power upon her."

461. *viri*: in 1, 353-360 Dido's flight from Tyre had been inspired by dreams of Sychaeus.

461. *nox cum*, etc.: *Schol. Dan.: ut augetur terrorem tempus adiecit*. The time of day is mentioned by Virgil when in any way appropriate to the action (*DeWitt, The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 44), and he has a particular fondness for descriptions of night and darkness; *id.*, 63; cf. Stearns, *Studies of the Dream as a technical Device in Latin Epic and Drama* (1927), 21, n. 65, for set phrases in which he and other poets introduce night scenes and dream episodes. A reminiscence of this line is *Anth. Lat. no. 719 a, 89* (2, p. 192 *Riese*): *et nox obscura tenebat*; cf. *Aen. 2, 420*: *obscura nocte per umbram*; 4, 351-352: *quotiens . . . / nox operit terras* (where Aeneas's dreams of his warning father closely correspond to the admonitions of Sychaeus in the present line); *Dracont. De Laud. Dei, 3, 487*: *nocte sub obscura*; *Walahfridus Strabo, Ad Ruadb. 25* (*Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 389*): *nox obscura*. Some have thought the transposition of *nox* and *cum* due to a desire to avoid *cacemphaton*; cf. La Cerda, *ad loc.*

462. *sola . . . bubo*: cf. G. 1, 389: *et sola in sicca secum spatiatur harena*. For the position of noun and adjective (here probably in the predicate) cf. 4, 124, n. (*speluncam*). Servius notes that Virgil is peculiar in making *bubo* feminine (*Luc. 5, 396* and *Ov. M. 5, 550*; 10, 453; etc., treat it as masculine); yet the word, though perhaps first occurring here in the feminine, seems to be of common gender; cf. the cases cited in *Thes. Ling. Lat. 2* (1906), 2221, 65-74. Does the female bird here furnish an omen for the female character in the story?

In an elaborate article on owls, in *P.-W. 6* (1909), 1064-1071, Wellmann identifies this bird with *Bubo maximus* (i.e., *Bubo bubo* (L.)), a night bird with a cry like a groan (*Plin. N. H. 10, 34*: *nec cantu aliquo vocalis sed gemitu*; *Apul. Flor. 13*: *carmine gemulo*; *Serv.: cantus autem eius aut fletum imitatur aut gemitum* (*Isid. Etym. 12, 7, 38*); cf. the use of *queri* in 4, 463). Its avoidance of daylight, its dark color, and its uncanny sound caused it to be associated with the underworld and the dead; *Plin. l. c.* calls it *funeris*; *Ov. M. 15, 791 Stygius*; cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Mythol. u. Relig.* (1902), 802. Though Servius says *tacens ostendit felicitatem*, and though the nearly related $\gamma\lambda\alpha\upsilon\epsilon$, or *Surnia noctua* (= *Athene noctua noctua* (Scopoli)), was frequently a favorable sign (Wellmann, *op. cit.*, 1069-1070), evidence that the *bubo* was ever

a good sign to the Romans is scarce or lacking, and usually its song by night or its flight, or even its presence, by day portended death to an individual or calamity to the state (Plin. *N. H.* 10, 34: *in urbibus aut omnino in luce visus dirum ostentum est* (cf. 29, 82: *cum ipsam avem vidisse prodigium sit*). *privatorum domibus insidentem plurimum scio non fuisse feralem*), and was the occasion for ceremonies of lustration (Plin. *N. H.* 10, 35-36; etc.; *vide infra*). For lovers it was an especially bad omen (Wellmann, *op. cit.*, 1065 cites Prop. 2, 28, 38: *nigraque funestum concinit omen avis*; Ov. *Am.* 1, 12, 19; 3, 12, 1-2), and to fullers its unhappy significance was also remarked; cf. Turnebus, *Adversaria*, 29 (1604), 27; Otto, *Sprichwörter . . . d. Römer* (1890), 354; Nock in *Cl. Rev.* 41 (1927), 192, n. 1.

Among instances of owls as omens of death may be cited: 12, 861-865, where the *Dira* takes the form of a bird *quae quondam in bustis aut culminibus desertis / nocte sedens serum canit importuna per umbras*; Menand. fr. 534, 11 Kock; Prop. 2, 20, 5-6: *non tam nocturna volucris funesta querela / Atlica Cecropiis obstrepit in foliis*; 2, 28, 38 (quoted above); 4, 3, 59: *sive in finitimo gemit stans noctua ligno*; Hyg. *Fab.* 136; Ov. *M.* 5, 549-550: *foedaque fil volucris, venturi nuntia luctus, / ignavus bubo, dirum mortalibus omen*; 6, 431-432 (at the wedding of Tereus and Procne): *tecloque profanus / incubuit bubo thalamique in culmine sedit*; 10, 452-453: *ter omen / funereus bubo letali carmine fecit*; 15, 791 (before the death of Caesar): *tristia mille locis Stygius dedit omina bubo*; Ibis, 223-224: *sedit in adverso nocturnus culmine bubo, / funereoque graves edidit ore sonos*; Colum. 10, 349-350: *nocturnas crucibus volucres suspendit et altis / culminibus vetuit feralia carmina flere*; Calp. 6, 8: *vocalem superet si dirus aedona bubo*; Sen. *H. F.* 687: *illuc luctifer bubo gemit* (cf. *Med.* 732-734; *Ep.* 122, 3); Luc. 5, 396: *et laetae iurantur aves bubone sinistro*; Stat. *Theb.* 3, 511-512: *nocturnaeque gemunt striges et feralia bubo / damna canens*; Sil. 8, 634; 13, 598; Tac. *Ann.* 12, 43: *insestus diris avibus Capitolium*; Apul. *M.* 3, 23: *istas nocturnas aves* (sc. *bubones*) *cum penetraverint larem quempiam, sollicitae prehensas foribus videmus*

adfigi, ut, quod infaustis volatibus familiae minantur exitium, suis luant cruciatibus; Dio Cass. 40, 17, 1 (before the battle of Carrhae): *ἐν αὐτῇ τῇ 'Ρώμῃ τέρατα τότε ἐγένετο καὶ γὰρ βῦαι καὶ λύκοι ὤφθησαν* (cf. 40, 47, 2; 41, 14, 2; 42, 26, 3; 50, 8, 2; 54, 29, 7); 56, 29, 3 (before the death of Augustus): *βῦας ὑπὲρ αὐτοῦ* (the senate-house) *καθήμενος ἔβουξε* (cf. 56, 45, 2); 73, 24, 1 (before the death of Commodus): *βῦας ἀπ' αὐτοῦ* (the Capitol) *ἔβουξε*; Lamprid. *Comm.* 16, 5 (before the death of Commodus): *bubo etiam supra cubiculum eius deprehensa est iam Romae quam Lanuvii*; Obsequens, 30: *bubo in Capitolio visus* (cf. 32; 40; 43); 46: *bubone in urbe viso urbs lustrata*; Serv. *Aen.* 8, 233; 12, 863 (differentiating the *bubo* and the *noctua*); Schol. Dan. on our line: *sane bubo si cuius aedes insederit et vocem miserit mortem significare dicitur; si autem de busto sudem ad lectum detulerit incendium aedibus portendere*; Brev. Exp. in G. 1, 470: *importunaeque volucres, quae ad domos accedunt et malum significant, in alienum tempus ruentes, ut striges aut bubones nocte gaudentes per diem possent videri*; Amm. Marc. 30, 5, 16 (before the death of Valentinian): *bubo culminibus regii lavacri insidens occitansque funebria*; 31, 1, 2 (before the death of Valens): *querulum quoddam nocturnae volucres tiniebant et flebile*; Prud. *Cont. Symm.* 2, 573; Hier. *Ep.* 40, 2, 2; *Comm. in Is.* 6, p. 246 Vall.: *sit planctus ulularum et lamentabilis vox sirenarum, quae auditores suos ducit ad mortem*; Claud. *In Eutrop.* 2, 407: *infausto . . . bubone*; Dracont. *Carm.* 10, 307-309: *qualis et horrendus funesto carmine bubo / conquertur deflenda gemens, dum tristia maestus / funerea sub nocte canit*; Anth. Lat. no. 390, 28 (1, p. 304 Riese); no. 762, 37-38 (2, p. 248 Riese): *bubilat horrendum ferali murmure bubo / humano generi tristia fata ferens*; Isid. *Etym.* 12, 7, 39: *bubo . . . avis feralis . . . in sepulcris die noctuque versatur* (cf. Soph. ap. Athen. 13, 61: *ὥσπερ αἱ γλαῦκες ἐπὶ τάφῳ*) . . . *apud augures malum portendere fertur*, etc.; Suid. s.v. *βῦας* . . . *σημαίνει δὲ συμφορὰς*; Ioan. Saresb. *Politr.* 1, 13, p. 411 d: *bubonem Dido, dum misceretur Eneae, sensit infaustum*; Marbodius Redonensis, *Carm.* 39, 1-2 (*Patr. Lat.* 171, 1672): *bubo ferum nomen, dirum mortalibus omen, / ut*

Maro testatur, dum cantat fata minatur; Vida, *Poet.* 3, 408-411 (based on *Aen.* 12, 863-864): *contra autem sese tristes inamabile carmen / induit in vultus, si forte invisita volucris / nocte sedens serum canit importuna per umbras, / ut quondam in bustis aut culminibus desertis*. Similar omens from *γλαῦκες*, e.g., before the death of Pyrrhus, as told by Ael. N. A. 10, 37, need not be here cited; cf. Heim, *Incantamenta magica* (1892), 501.

For later allusions cf. Baldricus Dolensis, *Carm. hist., Invect. in Rolligerum*, 5 (*Patr. Lat.* 166, 1185): *necnon bubo canens dirum mortalibus omen*; Chaucer, *Assembly of Fowles*, 343: "The owle eke, that of dethe the bode bryngeth"; Spenser, *Faerie Queene*, 2, 12, 39: "The ill-fac'd Owle, death's dreadful messengere"; Shakesp. *Rich. II.* 3, 3; *I Hen. VI.* 4, 2: "Thou ominous and fearful owl of death"; *II Hen. VI.* 1, 4; 3, 2; *III Hen. VI.* 2, 6: "Bring forth that fatal screech-owl to our house, / That nothing sung but death to us and ours"; 5, 6; *Rich. III.* 4, 4: "Out on you, owls! Nothing but songs of death?"; *Jul. Caes.* 1, 3 (before the death of Caesar); *Macb.* 2, 2 (before the death of Duncan): "It was the owl that shriek'd, the fatal bellman, / Which gives the stern'st goodnight"; 2, 3: "the obscure bird / Clamour'd the livelong night"; *Troil. and Cress.* 5, 10; *Til. Andr.* 2, 3; *Rape of Lucr.* 24: "No noise but owls' and wolves' death-bringing cries"; Webster, *Dutchesse of Malfy*, 4, 2, 181-183: "The Schritch-Owle and the whistler shrill / Call upon our Dame aloud, / And bid her quickly don her shrowd"; Butler, *Hudib.*, Part 2, Cant. 3; Parini, *La Notte*, 14-16: *e upupe e gusi e mostri avversi al sole / svolazzavan per essa* (sc. *ombra*), *e con ferali / stridi portavan miserandi auguri*; Keats, *Endymion*, 1, 182: "owlets' cry" (a sign of death); Shelley, *Fragment: Omens*: "Hark! the owlet flaps his wings / . . . / Hark! 'tis the night-raven sings / Tidings of approaching death"; Dickens, *Tale of two Cities*, 2, ch. 9; Browning, *Ring and the Book*, 8, 141; Tennyson, *Lancelot and Elaine*, 992-994; many other instances from the literature and folk-beliefs of all parts of the world are cited by Brand, *Popular Antiquities*, 3 (1849 ed.), 206-210; Friedreich, *Symbolik u. Myth. der*

Natur (1859), 548-551; Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, 4 ed., 1 (1903), 120; Andree, *Ethnogr. Parallelen u. Vergleiche* (1878), 12-13; Felkin in *Proc. of Royal Soc. of Edinb.* 13 (1886), 230; Swainson, *Folk-Lore and provincial Names of British Birds* (1886), 126-127; Villot, *Moeurs, coutumes et instit. des indigènes de l'Algérie* (1888), 225; Clouston, *Notes on the Folk-Lore of the Raven and the Owl* (1893), 26-32; Gibson, *Superstitions about Animals* (1894), 27-31; Thompson, *Glossary of Greek Birds* (1895), 45; Elworthy, *Evil Eye* (1895), 91-92; Riess in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 18 (1897), 202; Bergen, *Animal and Plant Lore* (1899), 33; Wuttke, *Deutsche Volksaberglaube der Gegenwart* (1900), 124; 202; Abbott, *Macedonian Folk-Lore* (1903), 107; Wilson, *Peasant Life in the Holy Land* (1906), 51; Knowlson, *Origins of popular Superstitions* (1910), 171-172; Lawson, *Mod. Greek Folklore and anc. Greek Religion* (1910), 311-312; Halliday, *Greek Divination* (1913), 166, n. 2 (with bibliography); Martin, *Birds of the Latin Poets* (1914), 43-46; Ingersoll, *Birds in Legend, Fable, and Folklore* (1923), 180-190; Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 2 (1926), 335; Paradise in *Phillips Bulletin*, 23 (1929), 18 (omen before the death of the sculptor, Horatio Greenough); Taylor in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 2 (1930), 1073-1079 (with bibliography); McCartney in *Papers of Mich. Acad. of Sci., Arts, and Letters*, 16 (1931), 159-161; also many cases cited by different authors in *Folk-Lore*, 12 (1901), 265; 13 (1902), 172; 15 (1904), 89; 206; 210; 451; 453; 16 (1905), 73; 20 (1909), 337; 21 (1910), 190; 24 (1913), 88; 38 (1927), 360.

Further see Schol. Dan.: "sola" *quaerendum quod dixerit, utrum ἐμφατικῶς, an pro 'solis', id est, 'desertis'? ubi enim sederit et cecinerit solitudinem significat* (cf. Artemid. *Onirocr.* 3, 66: *εἰσοικιζόμενα δὲ εἰς οἰκίαν ταῦτα* (sc. *γλαῦξ, ἐλεός, βῦας, κτλ.*) *ἐρημον ἔσεσθαι τὴν οἰκίαν μαρτυρεῖται*; Isid. *Etym.* 12, 7, 39). *secundum auguralem disciplinam volunt greges avium minus significare . . . ergo hic 'sola' utrum quia alia avis non sedebat in culmine, an 'sola' quia nihil deferebat ut mortis signum esset?*

462. *culminibus*: for the plural, as in 4, 671 and other Virgilian instances, cf. Spitta,

463. saepe queri et longas in fletum ducere voces.
multaque praeterea vatum praedicta priorum

(s)aepe P. quaeri F (queri F¹).

multa (m eras. vel in ras.) F. priorum M (Serv.: legitur et 'piorum'), priorum FPabcpr.

[462] 463. saepe . . . voces: *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 32* (I, p. 42 Riese). 463. saepe queri: *Gl. Ansil. 518, 413* — sepe querit —. 463. longas: *Gl. Ansil. 345, 99*; q.v. 463. in . . . voces: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 125* (I, p. 66 Riese). 463. in . . . ducere: *Gl. Ansil. 301, 769*.

464-465. vatum . . . horrificant: *Lact. Inst. 2, 17, 2* — uatum om. P; priorum RPV, priorum BGH (codd. velustiores) —. 464. multaque . . . priorum: *Serv. Aen. 4, 65*; *Prisc. Inst. 7, 77* (G. L. K. 2, 353) — multa quae R; que om. G; praedicta R —. 464. multaque praeterea: *Anth. Lat. no. 15, 73* (I, p. 53 Riese). 464. vatum . . . priorum: *Anth. Lat. no. 16, 27* (I, p. 57 Riese) — uatumque dicta A —; no. 17, 88 (I, p. 65 Riese); no. 17, 110 (I, p. 65 Riese); no. 719, 44 (2, p. 186 Riese); no. 719a, 7 (2, p. 189 Riese); *Cento Probae, 334* — predita (corr. m. 2) S; priorum P —.

Quaest. Vergilianae (1867), 8-9. The place is a frequently mentioned one for the owl to appear; cf. G. 1, 402: *de culmine summo*; beside the cases cited cf. Alcm. 1, 86-87: ἀπὸ θράνω λῆλακα / γλαυῆ; Tib. 1, 5, 52: *e tectis strix violenta canat*; and the appearance of Fama (4, 186) *summi culmine tecti*.

462. ferali carmine: cf. C. I. L. VI, 10493 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr. 1122, 1*): *quam vis inscriptum ferali carmine saxum*; Sil. 5, 223: *ferali . . . cantu*.

463. saepe: cf. 4, 460, n. (*exaudiri*); probably of cries repeated at short intervals, rather than on different nights.

463. queri: this verb and *ducere* may depend, like *exaudiri*, upon *visa*, or they may be historical infinitives; cf. 4, 422, n. (*colere*). Geist, *Erklärung einiger Stellen aus d. Än. Vergils* (1878), 11, argues for the latter view, because, unlike the cries from the cenotaph, those of the owl seem a perfectly objective phenomenon. On the meaning of *queri* cf. 4, 462, n. (*sola . . . bubo*). We may here have a trace of the 'pathetic fallacy' (cf. Pease in *Cl. Journ.* 22 (1927), 645-657, especially 648, n. 2), by which Dido projects into the hoot of the owl a sadness belonging rather to her own heart. Yet *queror* and its derivatives often describe the warbling or shrieking sound of birds or insects (e.g., G. 3, 328; 4, 512; 4, 515; *Cul. 151*; *Cir. 401*; *Cic. De Div. 1, 14*; *Hor. Epod. 2, 26* (and Porphyrio ad loc.); *Ov. Am. 3, 1, 4*; etc.), of cattle (8, 215), or of frogs (G. 1, 378; Porphyrio, l. c.); cf. Luc.

6, 689: *quod trepidus bubo, quod strix nocturna queruntur*; Apul. *M. 3, 21*: *fit bubo Pamphile. sic edito stridore querulo*; Wellmann in *P.-W.* 6 (1909), 1065. Greek cases of moping birds are Eur. *I. T.* 1089-1091; Mosch. 3, 38-44; etc. Cf. also Gray, *Elegy*, 10: "The moping owl does to the moon complain"; Thomson, *Winter*, 143-144: "Assiduous, in his bower, the wailing owl / Plies his sad song"; Wordsworth, *Evening Walk* (1793 version, *sub fin.*): "The tremulous sob of the complaining owl"; Tennyson, *Lancelot and Elaine*, 993-994: "the owls / Wailing had power upon her."

463. longas . . . voces: 'long drawn out cries'; cf. *Aetna*, 294; *et longas emugit bucina voces*; Prop. 1, 10, 6: *longa ducere verba mora*; Val. Fl. 3, 602-603: *longas litore voces / spargere*; also *Ov. M. 3, 706*: *longis ululatibus* (cf. 14, 405).

463. in fletum ducere: cf. *Ecl. 9, 56*: *in longum ducis amores*; *Ov. M. 10, 402*: *suspiria duxit*; Mart. 11, 39, 9: *suspiria ducis*; Tac. *Ann. 11, 37*: *lacrimaeque et questus inriti ducebantur*.

464. multaque praeterea: = 6, 285; 7, 183; 11, 78; a favorite verse-tag in Lucretius, e.g., 1, 400; 2, 109; 3, 358; 5, 943; 6, 588; 6, 797; 6, 903.

464. vatum . . . priorum: Serv.: *legitur et 'piorum'*; *sed illud spectat* (4, 65) 'heu, vatum ignarae mentes! quid vota furentem.' The weight of evidence of the Virgilian MSS, the best MSS of Lactantius, and the testimony of

465. terribili monitu horrificant. agit ipse furentem

agit sup. add. P¹.

[464] 465. horrificant: *Gl. Ansil. 283, 115*; q.v. (cf. 416, 222).

five quotations in centos in the *Anthologia Latina* support *priorum*. Mackail (*ad loc.*), citing the use of *prii vates* in 6, 662 (which Sil. 6, 288 follows: *nec lacuere prii vates*; cf. Vida, *Poet. 3, 556*), prefers, as some other editors have done, *piorum*, and Auson. *Ep. 6, 39-40* (p. 230 Peiper) says *tota supellex / vatum piorum chartea est* (but *vatum* there = 'poets' rather than 'soothsayers', just as in *Ov. F. 3, 326*: *prii . . . vatis ab ore*). On the other hand Stat. *Silv. 2, 2, 69* reads *ora ducum, ac vatum sapientumque ora priorum*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 752) well summarizes the arguments to be drawn from the meaning of the passage: the inappropriateness here of the adjective *prius*; the fact that present predictions would be too late; and the casual way in which *vates* are thus injected among dreams of the night, with no explanation of Dido's consulting them; while that Dido should now, in her terrified condition, have remembered (all too late) the former predictions of soothsayers (perhaps alluded to at 4, 65; or possibly she thinks of those reported by Aeneas, in 4, 345-346, as having been made to him; cf. Dietsch, *Theologum. Vergilian. Particula* (1853), 26, n. 203), which she at the time had disregarded or misinterpreted, would be highly appropriate. So in *Ecl. 1, 16-17* Meliboeus remarks: *saepe malum hoc nobis, si mens non laeva fuisset, / de caelo tactas memini praedicere quercus*; cf. *Od. 9, 507* (Polyphemus to Odysseus): ὦ πόποι, ἦ μάλα δὴ με παλαιάφατα θεόφαθ' ἰκάνει (cf. 9, 508-516); *Soph. Trachin. 1165*: μαντεῖα καὶνὰ, τοῖς παλαιαῖς ἐνρήγορα; Stat. *Theb. 5, 645-646*: *necdum etiam responsa deum monitusque vetusti / exciderant*; Curt. 3, 3, 6: *vetera quoque omnia, ut fere (fit), sollicitudo revo-caverat*, etc.; Claud. *De Bell. Goth. 238-240*: *tunc anni signa prioris / et si quid fortasse quies neglexerat omen / addit cura novis*. The objection, raised by Wagner (*Lectionum Vergilian. Libellus* (1859), 36) and others, to *priorum* on account of the triple allitera-

tion of *pr* is a feeble one, and Henry well notes that the first three words of 4, 465 continue this intentionally harsh and terrifying sound. With *vatum . . . priorum* cf. Politian, *Nutricia*, 401: *vatum signa priorum*. Opposition to Dido's 'marriage,' then, had come, not only from her subjects (4, 235; 4, 321), but also from the representatives of religion (Kappes-Wörner, *ad loc.*).

465. terribili monitu: cf. Val. Fl. 1, 29: *terrifici monitus iterant*. For the rhythm of the passage cf. Maxa in *Wiener Stud.* 19 (1897), 99.

465. horrificant: cf. Claud. *De Bell. Goth. 249-250*: *gravius mentes caesorum ostenta luporum / horrificant*; also 4, 210, n. (*terrificant*), above.

465. agit, etc.: with this dream of Dido contrast that of Aeneas in 4, 556-570, this one describing and conducing to wandering and uncertainty of mind, his resulting in definite action, and hence each a fair reflection of the waking thought of the dreamer; cf. Acc. ap. Cic. *De Div. 1, 45*: *rex, quae in vita usurpant homines, cogitant, curant, vident, / quaeque agunt vigilantes agitantque, ea si cui in somno accidunt / minus mirandum est*; Publil. Syr. 16: *amans quod suspicatur vigilans somniat*. This is the only symbolic dream in Virgil, according to Leo, *Gesch. d. röm. Lit.* 1 (1913), 179-180, n. 2: Stearns, *Studies of the Dream as a technical Device in Latin Epic and Drama* (1927), 42, who notes one in Homer (*Od. 19, 509-553*), one in Lucan (7, 6-44), two in Valerius Flaccus, and several in Statius. That Aeneas should be constantly in Dido's thought was but natural; cf. *Ov. H. 7, 25-26*: *Aeneas oculis semper vigilantis inhaeret, / Aenean animo noxque diesque refert*. DeWitt (in *Cl. Weekly*, 18 (1925), 107) emphasizes the pursuit by the *ferus Aeneas* of Dido, who later (4, 550-551) wishes that she had been allowed the "immunity of maiden asceticism, of a woman of

466. in somnis ferus Aeneas, semperque relinqui
sola sibi, semper longam incommitata videtur

(i)n P. reliqui Mc (relinqui M¹).

(so)la P, solam M (sola M²). longa add. sup. M³ (longam M⁴).

467-468. longam . . . viam: Prisc. Inst. 18, 167 (G. L. K. 3, 283) — incommitata n, incommutata N —; 18, 196 (G. L. K. 3, 302) — logam M —.

the wilds", a *fera* (but cf. my n. in that line on *more ferae* for a different interpretation). Henry (in *Cl. Rev.* 44 (1930), 104) remarks: "Dido's dream comes from that mysterious realm where sorrow and experience are transmuted into those dread shapes which are horror personified", and contrasts it with Medea's dream in Apollonius. Conington compares the pursuit of Io by Argos (Aesch. *Prom.* V. 655-682), but the literary source of this dream is Enn. *Ann.* 35-43 (ap. Cic. *De Div.* 1, 40, where see the notes in my edition; Skutsch (in *P.-W.* 5 (1905), 2605) would suspect for Ennius a Hellenistic source): *et cita cum tremulis anus attulit artubus lumen, / talia tum memorat lacrimans exterrita somno: / 'Eurydica prognata, pater quam noster amavit, / vires vitaeque corpus meum nunc deserit omne. / nam me visus homo pulcher per amoena salicta / et ripas rapulare locosque novos; ita sola / postilla, germana soror, errare videbar / tardaue vestigare et quaerere te neque posse / corde capessere; semita nulla pedem stabilibat. . .'* Patroni (in *Rendic. d. r. Acc. d. Lincei*, 5 Ser., 29 (1915), 3-15; cf. *id.* in *Atti d. r. Acc. d. Arch. Lett. e Belle Arti* (Napoli), N. S., 3 (1915), 53-70) identifies with this scene a much discussed Pompeian wall-painting (Reinach, *Répertoire de Peintures Gr. et Rom.* (1922), 112, 5, and works there cited. Val. Fl. 7, 141-152 perhaps shows the influence of these lines; e.g., 142-143: *saevior ipse / turbat agiturque sopor*; 147-148 (allusions to Orestes). After all it should be remembered that Dido is at 6, 473-474 not alone but accompanied by the shade of Sychaeus.

465. *furentem*: probably not proleptic — 'into frenzy' — but '(already) in a state of frenzy.'

466. in somnis: cf. 4, 81, n. (*somnos*); 4, 353, n. (*in somnis*).

466. *ferus*: Schol. Dan.: *non est epitheton 'ferus' sed fantasia; talem enim illum imaginabatur qualem timebat*; cf. Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 147; Fécherolle in *Les Études classiques*, 1 (1932), 134 (who thinks it a metrical substitute for *saevus*).

466. *semper*: the repetition of this word in the next line indicates the monotonous hopelessness of her quest. Servius, who thinks of dreams on various nights, says: *per omnes noctes navigare videbatur Aeneas, quasi eam semper desereret*, but I believe the dreams are all on one night, and everyone is familiar with the great extent of time which an objectively brief dream may seem to the dreamer to cover. For a translation cf. *Spectator*, no. 241.

466. *relinqui*: cf. Pichon, *op. cit.*, 190; various words emphasize Dido's loneliness: *relinqui, sola, incommitata, deserta quaerere terra*. Servius says of *incommitata*: *quod feralis, id est, mortiferum omen est, et praecipue regibus*. It is also in the lover, however, even more than in the queen that Dido's loneliness finds its tragic quality, and the deepest pathos of this book lies in the fact that two persons, each so emotionally solitary as Dido and Aeneas, should be, by higher powers and national considerations, frustrated in that affection which seemed ready to unite them. On Dido's craving for affection, the lack of which meant for her only death, cf. Rébelliau, *De Verg. in inform. muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 81-82.

467. *sola*: note the alliteration: *semper . . . / sola sibi semper*. Dido pictures herself as having lost her people as well as Aeneas; in fact, the interests of her citizens no longer parallel hers, a circumstance which enhances her loneliness (cf. 4, 295, n. (*laeti*); 4, 545-546), for otherwise she might have found

468. ire viam et Tyrios deserta quaerere terra,
Eumenidum veluti demens videt agmina Pentheus

(i)re P. desertas quaerere terras c² dell.

heumenidum FPγa. demens add. sup. F¹. uidit π.

[467] 468. et . . . terra: Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 10, 782.

469. demens . . . Pentheus: Anth. Lat. no. 17, 143 (1, p. 66 Riese) — pentheus A —.

some solace for her own grief in service to the Punic state.

467. *longam . . . viam*: Schol. Dan.: *non nulli inferorum accipiunt*; cf. Artemid. *Oni-rocr.* 2, 28: οἷας δ' ἂν ὁδοὺς ὁδεύων τις ὑπολάβῃ, τοιοῦτ' ὁρᾷται τῷ βίῳ. The confusion of Dido's dream suggests that while, for the reader (and probably for her), the 'long journey' is that to the next life, it may also have its origin in the dream as a reflection of those waking thoughts which she herself expresses at 4, 537-546 (in line 543 the term *sola* recurs). For *viam ire* cf. G. 3, 77; *Aen.* 6, 122; etc.; Rantz, *Der Accusativus bei Vergil*, 1 (1871), 7; the Schol. Dan. speak of this idiom as used *veluti more*.

467. *incommitata*: cf. 2, 456.

468. *Tyrios*: it is unnecessary, with Schrader, to emend this word — for which there is no good MS variant — to *Teucros*. Dido has lost both the affection of her lover and the veneration of her people, and in her dream can recover neither; cf. 4, 320-321: *te propter . . . / infensi Tyrii*.

468. *deserta*: wandering in a lonely place recurs at 6, 451, where Dido *errabat silva in magna*. So a lover in Apul. *M.* 4, 27 says *visa sum mihi de domo, de thalamo, de toro denique ipso violenter extracta per solitudines avias infortunissimi mariti nomen invocare*. Hippocr. *Vict.* 4, 93 discusses the medical significance of dreams of πλάνοι καὶ ἀναβάσεις χαλεπαί. Schol. Dan.: *bonus adfectus; solent enim qui deficiunt suos desiderare, ut Alceſtis moriens*.

468. *quaerere*: cf. 3, 4: *desertas quaerere terras*; 4, 450, n. (*quaerere regna*).

469. *Eumenidum*: these do not generally appear in the Pentheus legend, where bands of Bacchanals make their presence superfluous. Servius says: *Pentheus autem secundum tragoediam Pacuvii furuit etiam ipse*, but

we have no other evidence of a play on this subject by Pacuvius (cf. Ribbeck, *Trag. Rom. Frag.* 3 ed. (1897), 127-128), while the *Bacchae* of Accius is several times quoted (*id.*, 192-196), and other writings on this theme (mostly Greek) are noted by Rappin Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 3 (1909), 1926. A connection, however, between the Eumenides and the Pentheus story is perhaps to be seen (as Deuticke, *ad loc.*, has noted) in a painting in the House of the Vettii at Pompeii (Reinach, *Répertoire de Peintures Gr. et Rom.* (1922), 204, 1, and works there cited, to which add Pfuhl, *Malerei u. Zeichnung d. Gr.* 3 (1923), pl. 641), in which Agave and two Maenads in the foreground are tearing Pentheus in pieces, while in the background are seen two figures which may be Furies, each with a torch in one hand and a scourge in the other. The popularity of the legend of Pentheus in Greek literature was considerable, and among Latin writers its influence, derived directly or indirectly from the *Bacchae* of Euripides, has been noted by Patin, *Étude sur les Tragiques grecs. Euripide*, 2 (1894), 239, and includes one other Virgilian allusion (7, 385-405, in the last line of which the Fury Allecto is specifically named).

469. *veluti*: on the similes cf. Hornbostel, *Die Gleichnisse bei Vergil* (1870), 8 (for the use of subjects from the stage); 19 (for two comparisons introduced together); Houben, *De Comparationibus Vergilianis* (1876), 10. As remarked by Cartault (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 326), Virgil's allusions to the heroes of tragedy are made, not to parade his own erudition, but to recall to the reader the dramatic character of the sufferings of Dido. This is the only direct allusion in the *Aeneid* to stage representations (Mackail, *ad loc.*); cf. also Ehwald in *Philologus*, 53 (1894), 734.

470. et solem geminum et duplicis se ostendere Thebas,

geminum γ¹, gemi. um (corr. in geminum) γ². duplici b. e F (se F¹). herbas F (thebas F¹).

470. et . . . Thebas: Terent. Maur. De Syll. 1204 (G. L. K. 6, 361) — duplices (duplicem M) —.

469. videt: Schol. Dan.: et bene 'videt agmina' expressit furem, cum ait 'videt', non 'existimat', sed 'putat se videre.'

469. agmina: cf. 6, 572: (Tisiphone) vocat agmina saeva sororum; Sen. H. F. 101-102: agmen horrendum anguibus / Megaera ducat; Med. 960-961: cui cruentas agmen infernum faces / intentat; Thyest. 78: dira Furiarum agmina; Val. Fl. 2, 227-228: velut agmina cernant / Eumenidum; 7, 147: saevae ferit agmina matris Orestes; Stat. Theb. 5, 60: lenloque inrepunt agmine Poenae. Whether agmina is plural to suggest the pluralizing impression of Pentheus's vision, as in the next line (cf. Schol. Dan.: vel quia furiosis pro tribus plures videntur), or the confusing effect of the onrush of these three wild beings, or is merely one of numerous instances of the poetic plural it is difficult to say; with the first of these three explanations cf. Aesch. Choeph. 1057: αἶδε (sc. αἱ Εὐμενίδες) πληθύνουσι δῆ; but it does not explain the plural in some other instances just cited. Two explanations offered by Servius, that agmina = impetus, and that it refers to agmina serpentium, seem unlikely.

470. solem geminum: cf. Eur. Bacch. 918-919: καὶ μὴν ὁρᾶν μοι δύο μὲν ἡλίου δοκῶ, / δισσᾶς δὲ Θήβας καὶ πόλιν ἐπτάστομον (and Plut. De comm. Notit. 44; Clem. Paedag. 2, 2; Sext. Emp. 7, 192). On this phenomenon in the case of drunken or mentally deranged persons cf. Arist. Probl. 3, 10: διὰ τί τοῖς μεθυσμένοις ἐνίοτε πολλὰ φαίνεται τὸ ἐν ὁρώσειν, κτλ.; Nicand. Alexiph. 28: τὰ δὲ διπλῶς δέρεται ὄσοις; Lucr. 4, 447-452; Philostr. Vit. Apoll. 2, 36: ὁρώμεν γὰρ τοὺς μέθη κατεσχημένους διττὰς μὲν σελήνας δοκοῦντας βλέπειν, διττοὺς δὲ ἡλίου, τοὺς δὲ ἥττον πεπωκότας, κἂν πᾶν νήφωσιν, οὐδὲν μὲν τούτων ἡγούμενους, κτλ.; Lact. De Opif. Dei, 9, 1: quod furiosis et ebriis omnia duplicia videantur; Quint. Smyrn. 12, 411: μαινομένων

δ' ἦκτο, καὶ ἔδρακε διπλῶς πάντα; Claud. In Eulrop. 1, 7: geminos soles mirari desinat orbis; Nonn. Dionys. 15, 20-21: ὁμασι δερκομένοις ἐδιπλώθησαν ἐρίπναι, / καὶ βλεφάροις δοκέσκον ἰδεῖν διδυμόζυγον ὕδωρ; 16, 257-259: καὶ διδύμην ἐδόκησεν ἰδεῖν πολυχᾶνδρα λίμνην / ὅματα δινεύουσα· βαρνομένου δὲ καρήνου / δέρετο θροβότου διπλούμενα νῶτα κολώνης; 46, 128: καὶ διδύμους Φαίθοντας ἐδέρετο, καὶ δύο Θήβας; Pease on Cic. De Div. 1, 97: O'Brien-Moore, Madness in anc. Lit. (1924), 228.

The variation of expression (geminum et duplicis) is probably for variety; cf. Bell, The Latin Dual (1923), 60; also Sen. Agam. 728-729: sed ecce gemino sole praeiulget dies / geminumque duplices Argos attollit domus.

471. Agamemnonius: cf. Od. 1, 30: τὸν ῥ' Ἀγαμεμνονίδης τηλεκλυτὸς ἔκταν' Ὀρέστης; Eur. Androm. 1034: Ἀγαμεμνόνιος κέλωρ; Orest. 838: Ἀγαμεμνόνιος παῖς; Ov. Ibis, 527: Agamemnonio . . . Orestis; also Aen. 7, 723-724: Agamemnonius . . . / . . . Halaeus. Other cases in Virgil of a possessive used for a patronymic are 10, 123; 10, 749; 12, 515.

471. scaenis: ablative of the place on or over which; cf. Kern, Zum Gebr. des Abl. bei Vergil (1881), 471, who compares 5, 456: agit aequore toto; cf. also Auson. Epig. 79, 4 (p. 341 Peiper): quam toga facundi scaenis agitavit Afrani. It is unnecessary with Markland (ad Stat. Silv. 3, 3, 15; followed by Wakefield in his edition) to emend scaenis to Poenis (despite Cic. 2 Verr. 1, 6: quorum scelerum poenis agitur), or with Hildebrandt (in Neue Jahrb. f. Philol. u. Paed. 26 (1839), 175) to saenis, lest Virgil here make an allusion to a character on the stage rather than to the original of that character. Page (ad loc.) thinks this suggestive of unreality, and so weakening the idea of terror intended. The obvious answer, as made by Conington (ad loc.), is that Virgil is a man of literary

471. aut Agamemnonius scaenis agitur Orestes,

agamemnoneius F (agamemnonius F¹). scenis γbc, cenis m. agitur p.

471-472. agitur . . . matrem: Anth. Lat. no. 17, 294-295 (1, pp. 72-73 Riese). 471. Agamemnonius . . . Orestes: Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 1, 476 — agamemnonis Pb; scenis (senis Pb) —. 471. aut . . . scaenis: Mar. Vict. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 6, 37) — agamemnoniis a —. 471. Agamemnonius: Gl. Ansil. 40, 5; q.v.

tastes, who may well have been more impressed by a scenic representation of Orestes which he had seen than by the mythical original which he had not seen, and, further, he is here illustrating his point by a comparison which would have been easily appreciated by cultivated Roman readers (cf. the illustrations in 7, 604-606 and in 12, 296 the phrase hoc habet borrowed from the arena). That Dido herself could have known nothing of these Roman dramatic performances modelled on Greek legend has no bearing upon the case, for the poet is here speaking to contemporary readers, in his own person and as of his own time, not of hers.

The Orestes story, like that of Pentheus, was a favorite among the Romans (cf. Cic. Fin. 5, 63; De Amic. 24; Serv.: 'agitalus' quia et furuit et multae sunt de eo tragoediae; quasi frequenter actus), tragedies having been written on some phase of it by Livius Andronicus, Ennius, Pacuvius, Accius, and Quintus Cicero, not to speak of Atilius's translation of the Electra of Sophocles (Suet. Caes. 84), while Nero (Suet. Nero, 21) acted the role of Orestes on the stage (cf. Juv. 8, 220); cf. Patin, Études sur les Trag. gr. Sophocle (1896), 361-362. Whether Virgil followed one of these plays (perhaps most likely the Duloresses of Pacuvius) or drew directly from Aeschylus's Eumenides or some other Greek original (possible passages are collected by Anderson in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc. 58 (1927), 58-60) cannot be determined because of the fragmentary character of the Latin plays, but that he had the Orestes of Euripides in mind during parts, at least, of the Aeneid is maintained by Shipley (in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc. 56 (1925), 183, and n. 22). Apposite passages are Aesch. Choeph. 1048-1050: αἶδε Γοργύων δίκην / φαιούχων καὶ πεπλεκτανημέναι /

πυκνοῖς δράκουσιν· οὐκέρ' ἂν μείναιμ' ἐγώ; 1053-1054: οὐκ εἰσὶ δόξαι τῶνδε πημάτων ἐμοί· / σαφῶς γὰρ αἶδε μητρὸς ἐγκοτοὶ κύνες; Eum. 245-275; Eur. El. 1252-1253; 1342-1346; Orest. 211-276; I. T. 281-335. Aen. 3, 331 also alludes to the story: scelerum furiis agitalus Orestes (Klouček in Zeitschr. f. d. österr. Gymn. 32 (1881), 591-592 thinks our line should read agitalur but has been corrupted by the influence of 3, 331); for the phrase cf. [10, 872 =] 12, 668: furiis agitalus; Liv. 1, 48, 7: agitantibus furiis sororis; Stat. Silv. 3, 3, 70: furiis agitalus; [Quintil.] Decl. 314, p. 235 Ritter: furiis agitari; Just. 24, 4, 8: parricidiorum furiis agitalus; Flodoardus Remensis, De Triumphis Christi (Antioch.) 1, 15, 20: furiis agitalus Averni.

Gell. 13, 4, 1 says Varro wrote a work on madness entitled Orestes, vel de Insania (part of his Logistoricon; cf. Schanz-Hosius, Gesch. d. röm. Litt. 1, 2, 4 ed. (1927), 561), and this title illustrates how Orestes came to be a type of madmen in general; to the references given by Otto, Sprichwörter . . . der Römer (1890), 258-259, add: Cels. 3, 18; Diogen. ap. Euseb. Pr. Ev. 6, 8, p. 264 b; Sext. Emp. 7, 245 (cf. 8, 57); 8, 63; Paroemiog. Gr. 2, 568, no. 99; Sidon. Carm. 5, 288-290; 24, 30; and for other references to the story Aeschin. Cont. Timarch. 190; Cic. Pro Sex. Rosc. Am. 66: ut eos (i.e., matricides) agitent furiae; 67: nolite enim putare, quem ad modum in fabulis saepe numero videtis, eos qui aliquid impie scelerateque commiserint agitari et perterreri Furiarum laedis ardentibus; Hor. S. 2, 3, 134-136; Ov. Tr. 1, 5, 22; 2, 395; 4, 4, 69-70: Orestes / exactus furiis venerat ipsa suis; Hygin. Fab. 118 (cf. 120): Orestes . . . quem postea furiae matris exagitarunt; Luc. 7, 777-778; Val. Fl. 7, 147-152; Juv. 14, 284-285; Stat.

472. *armatam facibus matrem et serpentibus atris
cum fugit ultricesque sedent in limine Dirae.*

faciem *F* (facibus *F*¹).

ultricies *F* (ultrices *F*¹), ultrices (1 corr. fort. ex *i*) γ. diuae *F*¹γ¹.

[471] 472-473. *armatam* . . . *Dirae*: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 12, 511 — *confugit LMP*; *lumine M* —.

[472*] 473. *ultrices* . . . *Dirae*: *Non. p.* 30 *M.* (p. 44 *L.*) — *cultricesque L*; *lumine L* —.
473. *ultrices Dirae*: *Gl. Ansil.* 593, 66.

Theb. 1, 476-477; *Epict.* 2, 20, 17; *Mythog. Vat.* I, 147; *Claud. Carm. min.* 22, 14; the *Orestes Agamemnonius* of *Diomedes* (*G. L. K.* 1, 324) probably recalls our passage.

Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 756) thinks *agilitus* does not mean 'agitated' or 'pursued' but 'played' or 'performed.' This use is found in *Diomedes* (*G. L. K.* 1, 487): *tales fabulas . . . agitabant*, as well as in *Ausonius* (*l. c.*), and it may well be one meaning, as *Servius* suggests. That the other meaning ('pursued') appears as well, however, is suggested by the passages quoted from *Cic. Pro Sex. Rosc. Amerino*, and it is not impossible that there is in the line a double entendre which includes both meanings.

472. *armatam*, etc.: this description does not agree with earlier ones of *Clytaemnestra*, for it is not she but the *Furies* who conduct the pursuit. *Dracont. Orest.* 821-822, however, is like *Virgil* (*astitit ante oculos genetrix sua non ut inermis, / sed faculis armata rogi, subcincta cerastis*), so that both may have drawn from a common source in some earlier (Latin?) dramatist. If *Virgil* himself is the innovator then he has transferred to *Clytaemnestra* the attributes of the *Furies*, who are represented, both pictorially and in literature, as armed with snakes (cf. 7, 346; and many examples cited by *Rapp* in *Roscher, Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1886), 1563) and with torches (7, 456; *Rapp, l. c.*; in 4, 384 *Dido* pictures her pursuit of *Aeneas* as with *atris ignibus*).

472. *atris*: perhaps literally of their dark color; perhaps as associated with death (4, 384, n. (*atris ignibus*), above) or with snake venom (*G.* 1, 129: *ille malum virus serpentibus addidit atris*; 2, 130: *atra venena*; *Aen.* 2, 221: *atroque veneno*; *Hor. C.* 1, 37, 27-28:

ut atrum / corpore combiberet venenum; 3, 4, 17: *atris . . . viperis*; *Ov. H.* 9, 115: *femina tela tulit Lernaes atra venenis*; *Sil.* 3, 312: *atro . . . veneno*; *Juv.* 5, 91: *serpentibus atris*; *Seren. Samm.* 839: *membris agil atra venena* (*id.*, 820 uses *virus . . . atrum* of monkey bite)). *Buscaroli* (*ad loc.*) would detect in *Octavia*, 118 a reference to our line: *facibus atris armat infirmas manus*, but there the adjective *atris* is differently applied.

473. *ultrices*, etc.: cf. 4, 610 (= *Anth. Lat.* 17, 2 (1, p. 61 *Riese*)): *et Dirae ultrices*; 6, 274: *ultrices posuere cubilia Curae*; *Sen. Med.* 967: *ultrices deas* (cf. *Oct.* 966); *Val. Fl.* 2, 235-238; 5, 445: *ultrices spectant a culmine Dirae*; *Stat. Theb.* 11, 106: *ultrices . . . Diras*; *Claud. Carm. min.* 22, 14: *ultrices Furias*.

473. *sedent*: cf. *Aesch. Eum.* 46-47: *πρόσθεν δὲ τὰνδρὸς τοῦδε θαυμαστὸς λόχος / εἶδαι γυναικῶν ἐν θρόνοισιν ἤμενος*; *Serv.*: *a Pacuvio Orestes inducitur Pyladis admonitu propter vitandas Furias ingressus Apollinis templum; unde cum vellet exire invadebatur a Furiis. hinc ergo est 'sedent in limine.'*

473. *in limine*: as guards; cf. 6, 279-280: *adverso in limine Bellum / ferreique Eumenidum thalami*; 6, 555-556: *Tisiphone sedens . . . / vestibulum exsomnis servet noctesque diesque*; 7, 343: (*Allecto*) *tacitumque obsedit limen Amatae*; *Ov. M.* 4, 451-453: *illa sorores / nocte vocat genitas, grave et inplacabile numen; / carceris ante fores clausas adamantae sedebant*; 4, 485-486: *trepidoque Insania vultu / limine constiterat*; *Sen. H. O.* 609: *tenet auratum limen Erinys*; *Stat. Theb.* 5, 67-69: *utque implicitis arcana domorum / anguibus et saeva formidine nupta replevit / limina*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 758-759), who has collected most of these

474. *Ergo ubi concepit furias evicta dolore
decrevitque mori, tempus secum ipsa modumque*

tempu *P* (tempus *P*¹). ipsa (a m. 2 in ras.) *F*.

474. *evicta dolore*: *Gl. Ansil.* 214, 131.

475-476. *decrevitque* . . . *exigit*: *Non. p.* 291 *M.* (p. 450 *L.*). 475. *decrevitque mori*: *Non. p.* 285 *M.* (p. 440 *L.*); [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 1, 37, 29; *Anth. Lat.* no. 15, 105 (1, p. 54 *Riese*) — *decrevitque breui mori A* —.

instances, thinks of the *Furies* as sitting, not literally upon the threshold, but near or about the door or in the vestibule of the temple of *Apollo*. Whether this be so or not, it is likely that for the ancient reader there may have been in the phrase some association with those numerous folk-beliefs which, in many lands, have made the threshold of the house the especial abode of the spirits of the dead; cf. *Eitrem, Hermes u. die Toten* (1909), 13-19; *Samter, Geburt, Hochzeit, u. Tod* (1911), 140-146; *Ogle in Am. Journ. of Philol.* 32 (1911), 251-271, especially 260.

473. *Dirae*: cf. 4, 610; 7, 324: *Allecto dirarum ab sede dearum* (cf. 7, 454); 8, 701: *tristesque ex aethere Dirae*; 12, 845: *geminæ pestes cognomine Dirae*; 12, 869; *Sen. Thyest.* 78: *dira Furiarum agmina*; 250: *dira Furiarum cohors*; *Serv. Aen.* 4, 609: '*dirae*' in *caelo* . . . '*furiae*' in *terris*, '*Eumenides*' *apud inferos*; *unde et tres esse dicuntur. sed haec nomina confundunt poetae* (but on 12, 846-847 he localizes the *Furies* *apud inferos*; cf. also *Waser in P.-W.* 7 (1912), 313).

474. *ergo*, etc.: with the phraseology cf. *Ov. M.* 2, 640: *ergo ubi vaticinos concepit mente furores*; *Luc.* 2, 16: *ergo ubi concipiunt*, etc.; and with the thought 4, 501-502: *tantos mente furores / concipit*; *Catull.* 64, 92: *cuncto concepit corpore flammam*; *Ciris*, 163-164: *quae simul ac venis hausit siliantibus ignem / el validum penilus concepit in ossa furorem*; *Sen. Phaedr.* 343: *dant concepti signa furoris*; *Sil.* 5, 182: *concipe . . . dignum factis . . . furorem*; *Sannazaro, De Partu Virg.* 1, 242: *concepit mente furores*.

474. *evicta dolore*: cf. 2, 497; 2, 630; 4, 548: *tu lacrimis evicta meis*; *Tac. Ann.* 12, 68, 2: *dolore evicta* (so *Heinsius*; *dolore victa* codd.).

475. *decrevitque mori*: cf. 4, 308, n.

(*nec*, etc.); *Eur. Hipp.* 276: *θανεῖν πειρωμένην*; *Sil.* 8, 53 (of *Dido*): *certa necis*; *Gesta Apollonii*, 132 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 488): *decrevitque mori*. For the apparent inconsistency of this with 4, 534-552 cf. *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 132, n. 2, who explains those lines by 4, 531, and further observes (139-140) that suicide, appearing at times in *Euripides* and the *Hellenistic poets* (cf. *Hirzel in Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 11 (1907), 95-104), rarely results from unrequited love but rather from shame or terror at the consequences of one's actions which have made life no longer endurable (cf. *Prescott, Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 293). *Guillemin (L' Originalité de Virgile* (1931), 72-73) thinks *Dido's* suicide, if resulting from love alone, would be contrary to ancient tradition, in which the victims of *Eros* die by pining away, not by violence, and suicides like those of *Phaedra* and *Amata* (the latter the only suicide in the *Aeneid* save *Dido*) are due to remorse. He consequently interprets *Dido's* death as an offering to the shades of *Sychaeus*. In considering it as a truly 'Stoic suicide' I think he is incorrect; *Ranzoli (La Relig. e la Filos. di Virgilio* (1910), 122-124) rightly says that her death would not have received Stoic sanction, for to Stoics suicide should be the result of sober reasoning rather than of passionate emotion; *Fowler (Death of Turnus* (1927), 111-114) overemphasizes, I think, the deliberative element in *Dido's* action, by contrast with the suicides of *Amata*, *Iocasta*, and *Phaedra*, and this seems essentially the view of *Heinze (op. cit.*, 141, and n. 2), who quotes *Tim. Frag.* 23: *σκηψαμένη τελετήν πρὸς ἀνάλυσιν ὄρκων* (cf. 4, 24-29, above) *επιτελέσσειν*; *Justin.* 18, 6, 6: *pyra in ultima parte urbis exstructa, velut placatura viri manes*

476. *exigit et maestam dictis adgressa sororem
consilium voltu tegit ac spem fronte serenat:*

ac *M.* maestam (*fort. corr. ex maestum*) γ. lictis *M* (dictis *M*¹), fictis *b*² *cod. Menag. prior*, factis (*fa m. 2 in ras.*) γ.

uoluite *F* (uoltu *F*¹), uultu *M pab*, uoltu (*corr. in uultu*) γ. legit *F* (tegit *F*¹). ac (*c in ras.*) *b*. serena *c*¹.

[475] 476. adgressa: *Gl. Aa*, 163, 251; *q.v.*

477. consilium . . . tegit: *Gl. Ansil.* 140, 1493 — tetigit —. 477. ac . . . serenat: *Gl. Ansil.* 23, 301. 477. spem . . . serenat: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 209. 477. fronte serenat: *Gl. Arma*, 20, 113 — frontem serenam —.

inferiasque ante nuptias missura, etc. From a different standpoint Tertullian (*Apol.* 50; *Ad Nat.* 1, 18; *Ad Martyr.* 4) shows that Dido preferred suicide accompanied by loyalty to the memory of Sychaeus to a forced marriage with another, and Strab. 17, 3, 14, and Oros. 4, 23, 4, refer to her example as followed by the wife of Hasdrubal; this, of course, having nothing to do with the Hindu *suttee*, though that was known to the Greeks and Romans (Strab. 15, 1, 30; 15, 1, 62; Diod. 19, 33, 3; Val. Max. 2, 6, 14). Prescott (*l.c.*) adds to this important motive yet others: mortification (4, 590–591), loss of good-name (4, 321–323), and fear of being abandoned (4, 320–321; etc.), and thinks that “the poet lets a single situation accomplished by a single act develop naturally in all directions until, by an accumulation of motives, the tragic issue is made inevitable.”

The attitude of the ancients towards suicide has been treated in various works; e.g., Geiger, *Der Selbstmord im klass. Altertum* (1888); Hirtzel, *Der Selbstmord*, in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 11 (1907–1908), 75–104; 243–284; 417–476. Virgil's own view is probably expressed in 6, 436: *proiecere animas*, which, as Glover (*Virgil* (1912), 264) remarks, is the view of the Pythagoreans, later developed by the Neoplatonists (on Virgil and suicide cf. also Matthaei in *Cl. Quart.* 11 (1917), 23–26). A list of feminine suicides, mythical and historic, is given by Hygin. *Fab.* 243 (cf. Auson. *Epigr.* 23, 11–13, which links Phaedra and Elissa with others), and it appears that the favorite means employed were the dagger (Panthea, Deianira,

Antigone, Laodamia, Lucretia, *et al.*), the pyre (Evadne, Semiramis, and others), and hanging (e.g., Erigone, Phaedra, Phyllis, Leda, Iocasta); contrast the three types of forced death noted by Schol. Pind. *Ol.* 1, 97 (60): *βρόχου, κωνελου, βαράθρου*; cf. also Eur. *Orest.* 1035–1036; *Androm.* 841; Lucil. 601; *Aen.* 12, 603 (hanging of Amata); Auson. *Cupido cruc.* 37–39: *parte truces alia strictis mucronibus omnes / et Thisbe et Canace et Sidonis horret Elissa. / coniugis haec, haec patris et haec gerit hospitis ense*; Sidon. *Carm.* 11, 70–71: *Dido in ferrum, simul in suspendia Phyllis, / Evadne in flammis et Sestias isset in undas*; Eggerding in *Dissert. philol. Halenses*, 18 (1911), 133–252, esp. 171, n.; 175, n. 2.

475. *secum ipsa*: cf. *Ter. Andr.* 442; *Sall. Cat.* 32, 1; *Iug.* 113, 1; *Cic. De Invent.* 2, 125.

475. *modumque*: cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 723: *θανείν' ὅπως δέ, τοῦτ' ἐγὼ βουλεύσομαι*; Sen. *Phaedr.* 258: *decreta mors est (= Phoen. 244); quaeritur fati genus*.

476. *exigit*: *Schol. Dan.*: *ad certum redigil, ut solent pondera fures et ad exactum redigi; ergo definit*; cf. *Ov. M.* 10, 586–587: *dum talia secum / exigit*; Sen. *Ep.* 27, 1: *te adhibito mecum exigo*.

476. *et*: preferable to *ac*, which occurs in the next line.

476. *dictis adgressa*: cf. 3, 358: *adgre-dior dictis*; 4, 30, n. (*sic effuta*); 4, 92: *adgreditur . . . dictis*; Wilms, *Qua Ratione Vergilius in Aeneide aut locuturum aliquem aut locutum esse indicaverit* (1865), 5; 11.

476. *sororem*: cf. 4, 8, n. (*unanimam*).

478. *'inveni, germana, viam (gratare sorori)*

inuenit *a*¹.

478. *inveni . . . viam*: *Charis. Inst. gram.* 1 (*G. L. K.* 1, 13); [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* 2 (*G. L. K.* 4, 220); *Mar. Vict. Art. gram.* 1 (*G. L. K.* 6, 30); *Serv. G.* 2, 22; 2, 477; *Brev. Expos. in G.* 2, 477 — *germanam* —. 478. *inveni viam*: *Gl. Ansil.* 315, 1948; *Gl. Abstr.* 50, 278. 478. *gratare*: *Gl. Ansil.* 271, 83; *q.v.*

477. *consilium, etc.*: cf. 1, 209: *spem voltu simulat*; Aesch. *Choeph.* 738–739: *θεοσκυθρωπῶν ἐντὸς ὀμμάτων γέλων / κεύθουσ' ἐπ' ἔργοις διαπεπραγμένοις καλῶς, κτλ.*; *Cic. De Amic.* 65: *fronte occultare sententiam*; *Hor. S.* 2, 5, 103–104; *est / gaudia prodentem voltum celare*; *Apul. M.* 8, 6: *vultu tamen gaudium tegit et frontem adseverat et dolorem simulat*.

477. *fronte serenat*: cf. *Sil.* 11, 367: *tristia fronte serenant*; *Nemes.* 4, 17: *quid vultu mentem premis ac spem fronte serenas*; *Lact. De Ira Dei*, 7, 9: *frontem serenant*; *Politian. Ambra*, 38–39: *frontem tranquillam serenat / maiestas*; *Racine, Phèdre*, 1249: *et sous un front serein déguisant mes alarmes*; *Voltaire, Henriade*, 8, 120: *déguisait ses chagrins sous sa fausse allégresse*; also the following expressions: *Cic. Tusc.* 3, 31: *frons . . . tranquilla et serena*; *Hor. C.* 1, 37, 26: *vultu sereno* (cf. *Ov. Tr.* 1, 5, 27); *Val. Max.* 4, 7, 7: *laetum et serenum vultum*; *Plin. N. H.* 2, 13: *humani nubila animi serenat* (sc. *sol*); *Sil.* 2, 414–415: *fronte hunc avide regina serena / infelix ac iam vultu spectabat amico*; *Apul. M.* 3, 11: *frontem tuam serena venustate laetabit*; 8, 7: *vultu . . . sereniore*; *Pacatus, Panegy. Theodos.* 25: *serenos ergo nubilis mentibus vultus induebamur*; *Hier. Adv. Rufin.* 1, 11: *cordis nubilum frontis serenitate discutere*; *Prud. Peristeph.* 5, 126–127: *omni vacante nubo / frontem serenam luminat*; 10, 712: *solis sereno frons renidet gaudio*; *Sedul. Pasch. Carm.* 2, 80–81: *tunc fronte serena / nubila mentis alens*; *Venant. Fort. Misc.* 4, 26, 18 (*Patr. Lat.* 88, 173): *nubila fronte fugans corde serena fui*; 6, 4, 100–102 (*Patr. Lat.* 88, 213); *Baldricus Dolensis, Carm. hist., super Abb. Silv. maioris*, 3 (*Patr. Lat.* 166, 1200): *fronte serenus*; *id., Amato Archiep.* 7 (*Patr. Lat.* 166, 1207): *nubibus ablatis me respice fronte serena*;

Sannazaro, De Partu Virg. 3, 95: *vultum . . . serenat*. Our case is an example of hypallage; cf. Rantz, *Der Accusativus bei Vergil*, 1 (1871), 12, who explains it as *frontem serenando spem prae se ferre* (so *During, De Vergilii Sermone epico* (1905), 79), or *serenare frontem spe* (against this cf. Mackail, *ad loc.*, who translates “brightens hope on her brow,” comparing 1, 255: *vultu, quo caelum tempestatesque serenat*); *Geist, Erklärung einiger Stellen aus d. Aeneide Vergils* (1878), 43, who also makes the phrase mean *frontem spe serenat*; *Bell, The Latin Dual* (1923), 320, who compares 7, 72–73: *Lavinia virgo / visa . . . longis comprehendere crinibus ignem*. *Landor, Dialogues of famous Women*, 19, remarks that hypallage, of which Virgil is fond, far exceeds all other faults in language, “for it reverses the thing it should represent.” For the brow as an index of the emotions cf. 6, 862; *Pacat. Panegy. Theod.* 37, 2: *ut in speculo frontium imago exstet animorum*; *Nazar. Panegy. Const.* 1, 2: *in serenis frontibus animorum indicia perleguntur*. For the opposite of the present figure *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* compares *Cic. In Pis.* 20: *frontis tunc nubeculam*; *Mart.* 2, 11, 1: *fronte Selium nubila*.

478. *inveni*: cf. *Stat. Theb.* 5, 109: *inveni, promitto, viam*; *Eur. Hippol.* 715–716: *ἐν δὲ † προτρέπουσ' ἐγὼ / εὐρημα δῆτα τῆσδε συμφορᾶς ἔχω*.

478. *viam*: cf. *G.* 2, 22: *sunt aliae quas ipse vias sibi repperit usus*; *Aen.* 3, 395: *fata viam inveniunt*.

478. *gratare*: cf. 4, 116, n. (*advertet*); *Ov. H.* 6, 119: *gratare ambobus, Iason*; 11, 65: *quid tibi grataris*; *M.* 6, 434; 9, 244; etc.; *Schol. Dan.*: *et bene a gratulatione incipit quae vult suum dissimulare consilium*.

478. *sorori*: cf. 4, 31, n. (*sorori*); 4, 435: *miserere sororis*.

479. quae mihi reddat eum vel eo me solvat amantem.

uel *add. sup. M². e F (eo F¹).* soluit *c¹.* reddet . . . soluet *cod. Oblongus Pierii*, reddat . . . soluet *cod. Longob. Pierii*.

479. quae . . . amantem: *Donat. in Ter. Andr. 267* — amantem *corr. ex amore c* —; *in Ter. Hec. 297* — quae mihi *r. e. u. e. m. s. a. (a. a. V, a. d. C)* —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 5, 65* — qui *MPb* —.

479. quae, etc.: the purpose of Dido's recourse to magic has not always been clearly understood; it is not undertaken with serious belief in magical arts, which, though popular in Virgil's day among the demi-monde, were not practised or countenanced by men like Horace (an especial enemy of such), Virgil (cf. Tavenner, *Studies in Magic from Latin Lit.* (1916), 28; Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 327), and Ovid (*Rem. Am. 240-276*), and would perhaps hardly have been ascribed by Virgil to a queen (cf., however, the influence of Medea, *infra*), line 493 well revealing Dido's reluctance to dabbling in such practices. The real purpose is to blind Anna to Dido's intentions (cf. 4, 500-501; Zabughin, *Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital.* 1 (1921), 50), thereby giving Dido time and privacy to plan for death (cf. Forbiger on 4, 478 ff.), as Anna herself recognizes all too late (4, 675-676). We may perhaps compare the famous passage in Soph. *Aias*, 646-692, with its deliberate deception of Tecmessa and the chorus. As pointed out by Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 142-143) and Dedo (*De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 49), the poet tries to give to these magical rites an epic color above the commonplace ones appearing in the eighth *Eclogue*. Cartault (*op. cit.*, 1, 40) notes that Virgil shows no acquaintance with the unintelligible words (*Ephesia grammata*) and mysterious formulae which played so large a part in ancient magic, and that he has not penetrated deeply into the occult, doubtless because he did not believe in it. Silius (8, 98-103) does not make Dido resort to magic till after Aeneas has sailed.

Recognizing this purpose of Dido we need find no serious obstacle in the nature of her magic rites, some of which, like *defixiones*,

are ostensibly to bind the love of Aeneas to her (as in *Ed. 8, 64-109* that of Daphnis is magically bound to his lover), and others are for quite the opposite intent, to set her free from him, these two types being again summarized in 4, 487-488; cf. *Ov. M. 1, 468-469*, for Cupid's two darts, of opposite effects; *Rem. Am. 549-550*, on Lethaeus Amor. If either of these mutually inconsistent results (cf. Dedo, *op. cit.*, 48; Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 34-35; 38; 51-52; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 142, n. 1) could be attained Dido's suicide would be unnecessary, but that she really thinks either to be possible is doubtful; perhaps even the use of *vel* instead of *aut*, in the present line, shows a certain carelessness on the part of the poet as to the result.

Virgil's sources are doubtless the figure of the magician Medea in Apollonius (see Henry in *Cl. Rev.* 44 (1930), 104, for a comparison of Virgil and Apollonius), together with some reminiscences of the eighth *Eclogue*; Pichon (in *Rev. de Philol.* 33 (1909), 247-254) would detect other early sources, perhaps Naevius, but this seems unlikely; cf. Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 68-70. Eitrem (in *Festschrift til H. Koht* (1933), 41) believes that Virgil took over the pyre — as the place of Dido's end — from an earlier poet, but himself added the amatory magic, without entirely harmonizing the two. Klausen (*Aeneas u. d. Penaten*, 1 (1839), 517) finds in the use of magic an indication of Sicilian elements in the legend, since magic was associated with Venus Erycina (cf. *Ov. Ars am. 2, 419-426*; *Luc. 9, 911-937* (especially 919)). For contemporary passages dealing with magic cf. Hirschfeld, *De Incantamentis et Devinctionibus amatoriis apud Graecos Romanosque* (1863), 20, n. 3.

479. *eum*: Serv.: *Aeneam, quem ut notum noluit dicere*. Aeneas is so prominent in

480. Oceani finem iuxta solemque cadentem

480-482. Oceani . . . aptum: *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. 1, 31, 14* — humero —. 480. Oceani . . . cadentem: *Auson. Ep. 14, 5, p. 245 Peiper* — oceani *T¹* —. 480. Oceani . . . iuxta: *Gl. Ansil. 407, 19*. 480. solemque cadentem: *Anth. Lat. no. 719a, 92 (2, p. 192 Riese)*.

her mind that she need not call him by name. Plessis and Lejay remark that after line 329 she nowhere mentions his name (cf. *Eur. Troad. 869-871*: ἤκω δὲ τὴν τάλαιαν — οὐ γὰρ ἠδέως / ὄνομα δάμαρτος ἢ ποτ' ἦν ἐμὴ λέγω / — ἄξων), but this would be more impressive were it not for the fact that nowhere in this book before line 329 does she do so (cf. Duckett, *Hellenistic Influence on the Aeneid* (1920), 36). The chiasmus *mihi . . . eum . . . eo me* should be noted. Editors comment upon the prosaic character of the word *is* (see especially the long note on pp. 494-495 of Buscaroli's edition; Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 2 (1933), 47, n. 3 (and works cited)), and think it was ordinarily avoided in the lofty style. Yet Virgil's three major works contain nearly a hundred instances of its use (cf. Wetmore, *Index Verborum Vergilianus* (1911), 253), and Helin (in *Rev. des Études lat.* 5 (1927), 64-65) observes that it is here very appropriate to Dido's unwillingness to give the slightest unnecessary emphasis to the person of whom she is speaking.

479. *solvat*: cf. 4, 487 and n. (*solvere*). Professor A. D. Nock tells me that he knows no parallel in the magical papyri for the expression *eo me solvat*. Cf. also Bonner in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 52 (1921), 112-114, publishing a magical papyrus owned by the University of Michigan, which reads: ἐρωτικὸν μόνον οὐχ εὐρίσκω φάρμακον οὐ ποιῆσαι δυνάμενον οὐ παῦσαι δυνάμενον, ἢ γὰρ φοβουμένη τὸν θεὸν οὐ φέρεi.

479. *amantem*: Mackail (*ad loc.*) emphasizes the double force of this word at the end of its line: "restore him as a lover to me or release me as a lover from him." The assonance of *amantem* and *cadentem* at the end of successive lines may be noted; cf. 4, 54, n. (*amore*).

480. *Oceani finem*: cf. *Catal. 9, 54*: *Oceani finibus ullerius*; *Stat. Silv. 4, 2, 53*: *Oceani finem . . . revisit*; *Prud. Hamart. 881*: *Oceani fines*; the meaning is "the (nearer)

bound set by the Ocean" (cf. 1, 286-287); Serv.: *finem Oceani nullus novit sed initium, quod et ipsum potest finis videri aliunde sumpto principio*. The details which follow furnish for Dido a slight relief from the tension of the general situation; cf. Nettleship, *Suggestions introd. to a Study of the Aeneid* (1875), 34.

480. *iuxta*: for the position of this preposition cf. 4, 256, n. (*terras inter caelumque*).

480. *solemque cadentem*: references to the beauty of the sunset seem in ancient writers conspicuously lacking as compared with those to sunrise; cf. Biese, *Die Entwicklung des Naturgefühls bei d. Römern* (1884), 193-194; Allen, *Treatment of Nature in the Poetry of the Rom. Republic* (1899), 207. In art it was probably hard to represent (though Paus. 10, 19, 4 mentions among pediment sculptures at Delphi the ὄβος 'Ἠλίου), and when the setting sun appears in literature it is usually as an indication of the hour of the day (e.g., *G. 3, 401*; *Aen. 3, 336*; 3, 508; 11, 913-914 (with unusual emphasis on its beauty); also *Il. 7, 465*; 8, 485-486; 11, 209; 17, 455; *al.*; *Od. 3, 329*; 8, 58; 11, 12; *al.*; *Batrachom. 302*; *Plat. Phaed. 116 b-e*; *Apoll. Rh. 1, 651*; 3, 1407; *Enn. Ann. 434-435*; *Sen. Phaedr. 749-751*; *Agam. 460*; *Apocol. 2*; *Plin. N. H. 8, 203*; *Stat. Silv. 1, 6, 85-88*; *Paus. 2, 1, 7*; *Heliod. Aethiop. 5, 27*; *Auson. Epigr. 74, 1*; *Anth. Pal. 7, 517, 1-2*) or the direction of the compass or a part of the world (e.g., *Od. 9, 26*; *Pind. Nem. 4, 69* (in these two cases ζόφος is used); *Aesch. Suppl. 255*; *Pers. 232*; *Fr. 69 Sidgwick*; *Soph. O. C. 1245-1249* (and *Schol. on 1248*); *Eur. Orest. 1260*; *Lycophr. Alex. 956-957*; *Cic. N. D. 3, 44*; *Virg. G. 2, 298*; *Plut. Plac. 3, 7*; *Flor. 1, 33, 12*; *App. B. C. 2, 153*; *Anth. Pal. 5, 3, 82*). Sunset, however, and the gloom following it are, literally or figuratively, associated with magic (cf. Heim, *Incantamenta magica* (1892), 478, no. 47), or especially with death (e.g., *Il. 6, 11*; *Aesch. Agam. 1123*: βίον δύντος αὐγάς; *Eur. Ion,*

481. ultimus Aethiopum locus est, ubi maximus Atlas

ultimus (s in ras.) c. atlas Fb, Serv.: nullum nomen Graecum 'ns' terminatur, athlans a¹c, athlas π, adlans γ, atlans codd. plerique.

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1135-1136 (cf. 1148-1149); Demades, 38: πρεσβύτει φιλοψυχοῦσιν ἐπὶ δυσμαῖς τοῦ βίου; Catull. 5, 4-6; [Longin.] *De Sublim.* 9, 13: ἐν τῇ Ὀδυσσεΐα παρειακάσαι τις ἂν καταδουμένω τὸν Ὀμηρον ἡλίω, οὐ δίχα τῆς σφοδρότητος παραμένει τὸ μέγεθος; S. Zeno, 1, 16, 8 (*Patr. Lat.* 11, 380); Iamblich. *Vil. Pythag.* 37: ἀποφαίνων . . . μάλλον τιμώμενον τὸ προηγούμενον ἢ τὸ τῷ χρόνῳ ἐπόμενον, οἷον τὴν ἀνατολὴν τῆς δόσεως, τὴν ἔω τῆς ἐσπέρας, τὴν ἀρχὴν τῆς τελευτῆς, τὴν γένεσιν τῆς φθορᾶς, κτλ.; Clem. *Protr.* 10, p. 108, 3: ἐπὶ δυσμαῖς τοῦ βίου; Shakesp. *Jul. Caes.* Act 5, Sc. 3; Cowper, trans. of Latin epigram by Owen, on *Sunset and Sunrise*: "Contemplate, when the sun declines, / Thy death, with deep reflection"; Housman, *The West*, stanza 6 (*Last Poems* (1922), 12); also the modern phrase 'going west'; Mitchell in *Cl. Weekly*, 14 (1920), 59; Nichols in *Lond. Times Lit. Suppl.* 31 (1932), 839; Armour in *eod.* 937. Again, a man's decline in importance is compared to the setting sun (e.g., Plut. *Reg. et Imp. Apophth.*, Pompey, 5: καὶ τὸν ἡλιον ἀνατέλλοντα πλείονες ἢ δύοντα προσκυνοῦσιν; cf. *id.*, *Praecept. ger. Reipub.* 10; *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 2, 614, no. 35, and n.). Further, the West was pictured as the abode of the dead, e.g., in the 'Fortunate Isles'; cf. *Od.* 4, 561-568; Hes. *Op.* 166-173; Pind. *Ol.* 2, 70-74; Soph. *O. T.* 177; Strab. 3, 2, 12: ἡ δὲ νῦν δὲ δύσφθονον καὶ τῷ Ἀιδῇ πλησιάζον, ὃ δὲ Ἀιδῆς τῷ Ταρτάρῳ, κτλ.; Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 35-36; Eunap. *Vil. Philos.* p. 468: 'σκόπει', ἔφασαν, ' . . . ἡμεῖς γὰρ ἐπὶ τὸν ἐσπέριον ὤκεανόν ἐνεχθέντες αὐτίκα ἐπ' ἀνήξομεν.' τοῦτο συμφανέστατα δαίμονας εἶναι τοὺς φανέντας ἀπήλεγξε; Schol. Apoll. Rh. 1, 587; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 4 ed., 1 (1903), 343; 2 (1903), 48-49; 62-68; 74; 422-423; etc.; Ganschinietz in *P.-W.* 10 (1917), 2367 (beliefs at Torres Straits); Ninck in *Philologus*, Supplbd. 14, 2 (1921), 124-127; Dieterich-Fehrle, *Muller Erde*, 3 ed. (1925), 22 (Huron Indians); Carpenter, *The Greeks in Spain* (1925), 3-4;

Jungbauer in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 2 (1930), 138-140; and bodies were at times buried with the feet toward the West (e.g., at Olynthus; Robinson in *The American Scholar*, 1 (1932), 115; cf. McCartney in *Papers of the Mich. Acad. of Sci., Arts, and Letters*, 16 (1931), 183-184).

Conversely, the East is associated, both among the Greeks (Jebb on Soph. *O. C.* 477), the Hebrews (Heidel in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 45 (1924), 233, n. 26), and especially the Christians (Ambros. *De Myst.* 7), with deity, and prayers are directed thither (*Apost. Constit.* 2, 57; 7, 44; Tertull. *Apol.* 16; Clem. *Strom.* 7, 7), while the West may belong to the Devil (cf. Krüger in *Harv. theol. Rev.* 14 (1921), 344). Hence the numberless customs connected with the orientation of temples and churches (Vitruv. 4, 5, 1; *Apost. Constit.* 2, 57; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 472, n. 1, and works there cited) and with the placing of the dead in their graves (e.g., Plut. *Solon.* 10; Ael. *V. H.* 5, 14: θάπτειν δὲ πρὸς δυσμὰς βλέποντας (cf. 7, 19); Diog. L. 1, 48 (and Hicks's n.); Athen. 9, 409-410; Rose in *Proc. of the cl. Assoc.* 17 (1920), 29-30), also, whether as cause or as effect, with the association of the West with the left and the East with the right (e.g., *Il.* 12, 239-240; Aët. *Plac.* 2, 10, 1 (Doxogr. *Gr.* 339): Πυθαγόρας Πλάτων Ἀριστοτέλης δεξιὰ τοῦ κόσμου τὰ ἀνατολικά μέρη . . . ἀριστερὰ δὲ τὰ δυτικά; Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 2, 82; Barnes, *The lucky Left* (in *Dublin Rev.* 172 (1923), 130-131), or of the West with the bottom of the world (Serv. *Aen.* 1, 223), as well as — most significant for the present passage — the prescription of going or facing toward the West (to invite the aid of the departed?) in various magical rites, e.g., [Lys.] in *Andoc.* 51: καὶ ἐπὶ τούτοις ἱέρειαι καὶ ἱερεῖς στάντες κατηράσαντο πρὸς ἐσπέραν καὶ φωνικίδας ἀνέσεισαν, κατὰ τὸ νόμιμον τὸ παλαιὸν καὶ ἀρχαῖον; Plin. *N. H.*

482. axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum;

humero ab. attorquet M (torquet M²). tellis γ¹.

[480*] 482. axem . . . aptum: *Macrob. Sat.* 6, 1, 9 — humero —; *Schol. Iuv.* 13, 48; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 108 — fulgentibus —; 2, 512 — ardentibus —. 482. axem . . . torquet: [Prob.] *De ult. Syll.* 3 (G. L. K. 4, 221); 13 (G. L. K. 4, 256) — humero —; *Serv. Aen.* 7, 666 — humero (umero RF); torquens SRHM —; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 12, 180. 482. stellis . . . aptum: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 552.

25, 148 (in digging the mandragora); Preisendanz, *Pap. Gr. mag.* 1 (1928), 36, 95; 38, 124 (cf. 82, 334); [Dionys. Areop.] *Eccl. Hier.* 3, 5 (in baptism); cf. 5, 1, 6.

Magicians are often brought from the remoter and more backward parts of the world (for those from the Italian hill-towns cf. Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 105), where magical beliefs and practices linger after they are discountenanced elsewhere; cf. Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, 1, 4 ed. (1903), 112-115; Dedo, *De Antiquorum Superst. amatoria* (1904), 32-33; Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 36; Hopfner, *Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber*, 2 (1924), 3-12; Eitrem in *Festschrift til H. Koht* (1933), 32-33; *id.*, in *Symbolae Osloenses*, 12 (1933), 34, n. 2; also below, 7, 750: *Marruvia venit de gente sacerdos*; while Sil. 1, 431 brings the magician Temisus *litore ab Hesperidum*. Hence Dido's employment of this Massylian witch, who was not of the lower classes but had occupied a post of distinction in the shrine of the Hesperides (Penquitt, *l. c.*). She is described on a grander, more heroic scale than the rustic practitioner of the eighth *Eclogue*; cf. Dedo, *op. cit.*, 49; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 137-138.

481. ultimus: cf. *Od.* 1, 23: Αἰθιοπας, τοὶ διχθὰ δεδαίταται, ἔσχατοι ἀνδρῶν; Oros. 1, 2, 11: *ultimus autem finis eius* (sc. Africae) *est mons Athlans et insulae quas Fortunatas vocant* (cf. 1, 2, 72; 1, 2, 94). Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 760) compares Ov. *M.* 4, 632-633: *ultima tellus / rege sub hoc* (sc. Atlante) *et pontus erat*; Sil. 3, 282-283: *quin et Massyli fulgentia signa tulere, / Hesperidum veniens lucis domus ultima terrae*. The phrase means "there is the farthest spot (of the earth), that of the Aethiopians."

481. Aethiopum: Serv.: *Aethiopiae duae sunt; una circa ortum solis, altera circa occasum in Mauretania, quam nunc dicunt. et dicta Aethiopia a colore populorum, quos solis vicinitas torret*; cf. Sen. *H. F.* 37-38: *qua Sol reducens quaque deponens diem / binos propinqua tinguit Aethiops face*. Riess (in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 46 (1925), 238) thinks the Aethiopians are "the red ones", who live where the sun rises and sets and everything is red; cf. also, however, Pietschmann in *P.-W.* 1 (1894), 1095-1096.

Homer localized the Aethiopians by the shore of the Ocean (*Il.* 1, 423; 23, 205-206), presumably in the East or Southeast (Pietschmann, *l. c.*), and also by that of the Western Ocean (*Od.* 1, 22-24 recognizes both localities; cf. Strab. 2, 3, 7), and others place some of them, at least, in the West; e.g., Apoll. Rh. 3, 1191-1192; Plin. *N. H.* 5, 43; Avien. 3, 738-739; Claud. *De IV Cons. Honor.* 34-35. Callim. *Hymn.* 6, 10-11 puts together in the West the black men and the golden apples.

481. ubi, etc.: cf. 6, 796-797: *ubi caelifer Atlas / axem umero torquet stellis ardentibus aptum*; Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 100-101.

481. maximus Atlas: = 1, 741; 8, 136; Ov. *M.* 6, 174; cf. 4, 247, nn. (*Atlantis; fulci*), above. On the form Atlas (rather than Atlans, for which cf. Sommer, *Handb. d. lat. Laut- u. Formenlehre*, 2 ed. (1914), 245) cf. Serv.: *nullum nomen Graecum 'ns' terminatur*; *Ars Bern. gramm. Suppl.* 97, 11: *nomina quae 'n' litteram in genetivo addunt . . . Athlas Athlantis*; Cottino, *La Flessione de Nomi greci in Virgilio* (1906), 9; Palmer on Ov. *H.* 9, 18; and, especially, *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1900), 1042, 20-45.

482. axem: *Schol. Dan.*: *nunc pro*

483. hinc mihi Massylae gentis monstrata sacerdos

hic *b.* mihi *add. sup.* *F*³. massyleae *F* (massylae *F*¹), massule *b*¹, massilae *c*, massile *γ*, massyllae *p*, massylle *a*¹, massyliae *Pieriani* *ω*.

483. hinc . . . sacerdos: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 132 — hinc *H*, hic *cell.* —; *Isid. Etym.* 9, 2, 123 — hic —; *Hrab. Maur. De Univ.* 16, 2.

'caelo'; non enim in axe sunt stellae; cf. *Aen.* 2, 512: nudoque sub aetheris axe; 6, 536: medium aetherio cursu traiecerat axem (sc. *Aurora*); 6, 797 (see above); 8, 28: gelidique sub aetheris axe; Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 19; and, especially important for the scientific conceptions of the ἄξων (*axis*) and the πόλοι (*cardines* or *vertices caeli*) at its ends, Kauffmann in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 2631–2633. Roman writers often use *axis* (like *polus*; cf. 4, 7, n. (*polo*); Maass in *Philol. Untersuchungen*, 12 (1892), 128; 239, n. 6) in a figurative sense, as the Scholia Danielis recognize, for the *caelum* as a whole, and in our passage, while the force is applied by Atlas to the axis of the sphere, yet the whole sphere is apparently in mind, as the phrase *stellis ardentibus aptum* indicates.

482. *umero*: Wernicke (in *P.-W.* 2 (1896), 2123) observes that Atlas is sometimes represented as propping a pillar which bears the heavens, again as holding the axis of the heavens upon his shoulders (e.g., 8, 136–137: *Electram maximus Atlas / edidit, aetherios umero qui sustinet orbes*; cf. 8, 141; *Ov. M.* 2, 296–297: *Atlas en ipse laborat, / vixque suis umeris candentem sustinet axem*; 6, 174–175: *maximus Atlas / est avus, aetherium qui fert cervicibus axem*; *F.* 5, 169: *nondum stabat Atlas umeros oneratus Olympo*; for representations in art cf. Furtwängler in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1884), 709–711), and sometimes, as here, turning it with his shoulders (*Arist. De Mot. An.* 699 a 27–31: οἱ δὲ μυθικῶς τὸν Ἀτλαντα ποιοῦντες ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔχοντα τοὺς πόδας δόξαιεν ἂν ἀπὸ διανοίας εἰρηκέναι τὸν μῦθον, ὡς τοῦτον ὥσπερ διάμετρον ὄντα καὶ στρέφοντα τὸν οὐρανὸν περὶ τοὺς πόλους· τοῦτο δ' ἂν συμβαίνει κατὰ λόγον διὰ τὸ τὴν γῆν μένειν; *Aen.* 6, 797 (see above); *Schol. Hes. Theog.* 509).

482. *torquet*: cf. 9, 93: *torquet qui sidera*

mundi; *Varr. Atac.* 12, 1 (*Frag. Poet. Rom.* p. 334 Baehrens): *vidit et aetherio mundum torquerier axe*; *Aetna*, 608: *et nitidum obscura caelum caligine torquet*; *Manil.* 1, 444: *axem quae mundi stridentem pondere torquent*; *Avien.* 2, 575: *caelifer adque umero magnum super aethera torquet*; 3, 101–102: *hic tumet Atlas / arduus, hic duro torquetur cardine caelum*.

482. *stellis*, etc.: cf. *Enn. Ann.* 29: *qui caelum versat stellis fulgentibus* (cf. *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 108) *aptum*; 159: *caelum suscepit stellis fulgentibus aptum*; 339: *hinc nox processit stellis ardentibus apta*; *Lucr.* 6, 357–358: *autumnoque magis stellis fulgentibus apta / concutitur caeli domus*; *Aen.* 11, 201–202: *nox umida donec / invertit caelum stellis ardentibus* (*fulgentibus* cod. R) *aptum*. Virgil has combined the two Ennian phrases *stellis fulgentibus aptum* and *stellis ardentibus apta*; *Bowra* (in *Cl. Quart.* 23 (1929), 2) thinks he felt that *ardere* described the radiance of the stars better than *fulgere*; yet cf. *Sparrow, Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 100–101. *Ambros. Hexaem.* 2, 12 has *stellis ardentibus*. For the fixed stars as fastened to the sky (late Latin *firmamentum*) cf. *Plin. N. H.* 2, 28: *sidera quae adfixa diximus mundo*.

482. *aptum*: *Serv.*: *salis perile loquitur, nam 'aptum' coniunctum dicitur ἀπὸ τοῦ ἄπτεσθαι, non insignitum stellis; axis enim non habet stellas, qui est medius inter septemtriones, unde et Graece ἀναστρος dicitur. septemtriones autem non occidere axis vicinitas facit, non quia in axe sunt*. Yet, as *Page* (*ad loc.*) remarks, *aptum* may mean 'fitted with', as in *Enn. Sc.* 403: *Fides alma apta pinnis* (cf. *Lucr.* 5, 1205: *stellisque micantibus aethera fixum*), and, as I have suggested above (n. on *axem*), it seems likely that Virgil had in mind the whole sky as well as merely its axis.

484. Hesperidum templi custos epulasque draconi

aepulas *F* (epulas *F*¹).

484–485. Hesperidum . . . ramos: *Schol. Lucan.* 9, 357.

483. *hinc*, etc.: 'monstrata' praedicta; quae est oriundo Massyla, aliquando horti Hesperidum sacerdos, nunc venit de locis quae sunt circa Atlantem; nam aliter non procedit; Massylia enim mediterranea est, Berenice civitas Libyae, unde haud longe horti sunt Hesperidum. 'Atlas' vero 'maximus' in Mauretania est. If this priestess was already at Carthage, as 4, 509 indicates, putting her art at the service of lovers, it is, Cartault thinks (*L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 327), though Virgil does not expressly state it, because the slaying of the serpent by Hercules (cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 1400–1405) had left her without occupation. With this view the use of the imperfects, *dabat* and *servabat*, in line 485, seems to agree; cf. *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 142, n. 3. With the line *Henry* (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 761) compares *Alciph.* *Ep.* 2, 4, 15: καὶ γὰρ ἔχω τινὰ νεωστὶ γυναῖκα ἀπὸ Φρυγίας. ἤκουσαν εὖ μάλα τούτων ἔμπειρον, γαστρομαντεύεσθαι δεινὴν καὶ τῇ τῶν σπαρτῶν διατάσει, νόκτωρ δὲ καὶ τῇ τῶν νεκρῶν δεήσει.

483. *Massylae*: cf. 4, 132, n. (*Massyli*); 4, 480, n. (*solemaque cadentem*). A Numidian tribe has here been substituted for a Mauretanian one; *Conington* thinks (*ad loc.*) because both were Libyans.

483. *monstrata sacerdos*: cf. 4, 498: *monstratque sacerdos*. Others have recommended the priestess to Dido, and perhaps the recourse to magic itself is represented by her as at their urging rather than on her own initiative (cf. 4, 492–493).

Note the parallels between this story and that of the Golden Fleece — each with an enchantress (here the Massylian priestess, there *Medea*), each with a golden treasure (here the golden apples (*μήλα*), which one tradition (e.g., *Varr. R. R.* 2, 1, 6; *Serv. Aen.* 4, 484 (quoted below); *Mythogr. Vat.* I, 38; and other references cited by *Sittig* in *P.-W.* 8 (1913), 1247; *Gruppe* in *P.-W.* 3 Supplbd. (1918), 1068) identifies with sheep (*μήλα*), and there the golden fleece of a sheep),

each with a dragon guardian, lulled to sleep by drugs or charms (for the Colchian one cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 156–161; *Lycophr. Alex.* 1313; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 5, 475) and then slain — here by Hercules and there by Jason —, one of these adventures belonging to the far East and the other to the far West (cf. *Heinze, op. cit.*, 142, n. 3). Is the whole story a sun-myth? On the special power of women in magic — witches are commoner than wizards — cf. *Dedo, De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 30–32. *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 1396–1449 brings the apples of the Hesperides and the dragon into the Argonautic story.

484. *Hesperidum*: *Serv.*: *Atlantis filiae nymphae secundum fabulam hortum habuerunt, in quo erant mala aurea Veneri consecrata, quae Hercules missus ab Eurystheo occiso pervigili dracone sustulit. re vera autem nobiles fuerunt puellae, quarum greges abegit Hercules occiso eorum custode; unde mala fingitur sustulisse, hoc est oves; nam μήλα dicuntur, unde μηλονόμος dicitur pastor ovium*. An earlier tradition, recognized by the Scholia Danielis and first found in *Hes. Theog.* 215–216, makes the Hesperides the daughters of Night, and another (in the *Schol. Dan.*) the daughters of Hesperus, while their association with Atlas is probably later; cf. *Sittig* in *P.-W.* 8 (1913), 1243. *Hesiod* (*Frag.* 270 *Rzach*) names three, Aegle, Erytheia, and Hesperethusa; *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 1427–1428 mentions Aegle, Hesperie, and Erytheis; other writers (*Sittig, l. c.*) furnish yet other names. In art their number varies (1, 2, 3, 4, 5, 7, or 11), according to *Sittig* (*l. c.*).

The garden of the Hesperides (listed by *Plin. N. H.* 19, 49, among the famous gardens of the world, like those of *Adonis*, *Alcinous*, and the hanging gardens of *Babylon*), in which grew the marvellous tree of life with its golden apples guarded by a serpent, thus paralleling in part the story of the garden of Eden and other oriental accounts (*Sittig, op. cit.*, 1243–1244), was local-

485. quae dabat et sacros servabat in arbore ramos,

dabet (a *pr. in ras.*; *corr. in dabat*) γ.[484] 485. servabat . . . ramos: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 233* (1, p. 70 Riese).

ized in various places, originally in the Peloponnese, but later especially in Libya, where was founded the city of Euesperides, later Berenice (Benghazi) in Cyrenaica, or (as early as Hes. *Theog.* 274-275; also Lucr. 5, 32-36; Virgil, here; Plin. *N. H.* 19, 63; *al.*) in the far West, near Mt. Atlas, while others placed it among the Hyperboreans; cf. Sittig, *op. cit.*, 1246-1247; Gruppe in *P.-W.* 3 Supplbd. (1918), 1068-1070.

484. *templi*: of the garden — *τέμενος* —, rather than of a building. For ancient descriptions of this garden cf. Cook, *Zeus*, 2 (1925), 1021.

484. *epulasque*: in 6, 599 and Val. Fl. 8, 96, as here, of the food of lower animals. On the lack of grammatical parallelism cf. Hahn, *Coordination of non-coordinate Elements in Vergil* (1930), 89, who analyzes the sentence as containing a relative clause virtually doing duty for a noun of agent coordinate with a noun of agent (*custos*) which is present, and compares 9, 205-206: *animus lucis contemtor et . . . / qui . . . credat* (cf. also Knapp in *Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 143). This explanation considers *quae* as deferred in its clause. Mackail (*ad loc.*) explains the words as equivalent to *quae dabatque epulas draconi et sacros servabat in arbore ramos*, where *quae* introduces two verbs correlatively connected by *-que . . . et*. Emendations of *et* to *ut* (Sabbadini), *is* (Regel), etc. are unnecessary.

484. *draconi*: cf. Apoll. Rh. 4, 1396-1399: *ἴξον δ' ἱερὸν πέδον, ᾧ ἐνὶ Λάδων / εἰσέτι που χθιζὸν παγχρύσεια βύετο μήλα / χάρψεν ἄνδρ' Ἀτλαντος, χθόνιος ὄφης*. ἀμφὶ δὲ νύμφαι / Ἑσπερίδες ποίπνουν, ἐφίμερον αἰδούσαι; Prob. G. 1, 205, also mentions this name. Ladon seems to have been originally the Arcadian river so called (Sittig, *op. cit.*, 1246), but other identifications were made elsewhere (Sittig, *op. cit.*, 1246-1247; Gruppe, *op. cit.*, 1070). A clue to the identification of serpent and river is seen in Plin. *N. H.* 5, 3 (describing the garden of the Hesperides): *adfunditur autem aestuarium e mari flexuoso meatu, in*

quo draconis custodiae instar fuisse nunc interpretantur; cf. Solin. 24, 4-5; Mart. Cap. 6, 667. Another rationalization reduces this dragon to a shepherd named Draco; cf. Heraclit. *De Incredib.* 20; Diod. 4, 26, 2-3; Schol. Dan. on our line. Modern students find in him a chthonic figure (Küster, *Die Schlange in der gr. Kunst u. Relig.* (1913), 93), and as such appropriately the guard of treasures of precious metals originating from the earth; cf. Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 1 (1906), 410-411.

Etymology doubtless had a part in setting a *draco* to watch over treasures (see below); cf. the derivation of δράκων from δερκεσθαι; Lucr. 5, 33, who calls the serpent *acerba tuens*; Hor. *S.* 1, 3, 26-27: *tam cernis acutum / quam aut aquila aut serpens Epidaurius*; Paul. ex Fest. p. 67 M. (p. 59 Lindsay): *dracones dicti ἀπὸ τοῦ δερκεσθαι, quod est videre. clarissimam enim dicuntur habere oculorum aciem; qua ex causa incubantes eos thesauris custodiae causa finxerunt antiqui*; Philostr. *Imag.* 2, 17, 6, gives yet another reason: *τοῦτο γὰρ λέγεται τὸ θηρίον εὐνοῦν τε εἶναι τῷ χρυσῷ, καὶ ὁ τὴν χρυσοῦν ἀγαπᾶν καὶ θάλλειν*. τὸ τοι κώδιον τὸ ἐν Κόλχοις καὶ τὰ τῶν Ἑσπερίδων μήλα, ἐπειδὴ χρυσὰ ἐφαίνοντο, διττῷ ἄνθρωπῳ ξυνείχον δράκοντες καὶ ἑαυτοῖν ἐποιούντο. Indian epics speak of serpents which are 'poison-eyed' and kill by their sight (Vogel, *Indian Serpent-Lore* (1926), 16).

For a description of this particular beast cf. Gruppe, *op. cit.*, 1072; Wagner in *P.-W.* 5 (1905), 1647. Most accounts emphasize his wakefulness; e.g., Soph. *Trachin.* 1099-1100 (translated by Cicero; cf. *Frag. Poet. Rom.* 311, 43 Baehrens); Eur. *Heracl.* 394-399; Varr. *Menipp.* 299 Bücheler; Hygin. *Astron.* 2, 7, *inil.*: *conatur interficere draconem Hesperidum qui numquam oculos aperuisse somno coactus existimatur, quo magis custos esse demonstratur*; *id.*, *Fab.* 151; Ov. *M.* 9, 190: *pomaque ab insomni concustodita dracone*; Luc. 9, 357-358: *atque insopili quondam tutela draconis, / Hesperidum pau-*

per spoliatis frondibus hortus; 9, 363: *numquam somno damnatus lumina serpens*; Manil. 5, 16: *Hesperidumque vigil custos et divitis auri*; Sen. *H. F.* 240: *aurifera vigilis spolia serpentis tulit*; 531-532: *cum somno dederit pervigiles genas / pomis divitibus praepositus draco*; Agam. 856: *frigidus custos nescius somni*; Juv. 14, 113-114: *certa magis quam si fortuna servet easdem / Hesperidum serpens aut Ponticus*; Maximianus, 1, 189-190: *sicut in auricomis se tendens plurimus hortis / pervigil observat non sua poma draco*; Sil. 6, 183-184: *qualisque comantis / auro servavit ramos Iunonius anguis*; Avien. 2, 180-182: *Hesperidum venisse locos* (sc. *Herculem*) *adque aurea mala, / inscia quae lenti semper custodia somni / servabat, carpsisse manu*, etc.; Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 2, 280; Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 4, 246: *Atlas rex qui habuit, ut quidam volunt, iuxta Aethiops pomarium in quo mala aurea nascebantur, quae Hesperides et insomnis draco custodiebant*; etc.; Schol. Dan. G. 1, 244; Ennod. *Carm.* 2, 111, 17-18: *pervigil Hesperidum quae servas iugera serpens, / aurea ieiunis munera das epulis*; Mythogr. Vat. II, 161; Peditasimus, *De XII Herc. Lab.* 11 (Mythogr. Gr. 1, 258); *Paroemiogr.* Gr. 2, 528-529, no. 57; Isid. *Etym.* 14, 6, 10: *draconem pervigilem aurea mala servantem*. Later this serpent was included among the constellations (Arat. 46; Cic. *N. D.* 2, 106-108; Hygin. *Astron.* 2, 3). For representations of the myth in art cf. Sittig and Gruppe, *opp. cit.*, to which add: *Illust. Lond. News*, 29 Oct., 1927, 760-762; *Am. Journ. Arch.* 32 (1928), 85; 33 (1929), 562. The common position of the serpent is in coils around the tree bearing the apples; cf. Paus. 6, 19, 8.

The motif of this dragon guardian is a favorite in later literature (e.g., Fracastoro, *Ad Ioan. Matt. Gibertum*, 4-6; Shakesp. *Periclit.* Act 1, Sc. 1; Milton, *Comus*, 393-395; Tennyson, *The Hesperides*, Stanza 2; Morris, *The Golden Apples*, Stanzas 43-51; Ruskin, *Modern Painters*, Part 9, ch. 10, 9-22), and, as already stated, closely parallels other myths, such as that of the guardian of the Golden Fleece (e.g., Eur. *Med.* 480-481: *δράκοντά θ' ὅς πάγχρυσον ἀμπέχων δέρας / σπείραις ἔσφρε πολυπλόκου ἄντρον ὦν*; Apoll. Rh. 2, 404-407; 2, 1208-1209: *ὄφης περὶ τ'*

ἀμφὶ τ' ἔρπται / ἀθάνατος καὶ ἄντρον; 2, 1269; 4, 127-129; Lycophr. *Alex.* 1311; Diod. 4, 47, 3; Ov. *H.* 6, 13; 7, 36; 7, 149; Manil. 3, 11; Sen. *Med.* 703-704; Val. Fl. 1, 60-63: *tantoque silet possessa dracone / vellera; multifidas regis quem filia linguas / vibrantem ex adylis cantu dapibusque vocabat, / et dabat hesterni liventia mella veneno*; 8, 65-66; Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 5, 475; Claud. *De Bell. Goth.* 23; *Paroemiogr.* Gr. 1, 111, no. 92; Mythogr. Vat. I, 23; 25; II, 134; 136), and the serpent guardians of fountains (e.g., Soph. *Frag.* 226 Pearson; Eur. *Phoen.* 657-665; Hygin. *Fab.* 6; 74; Paus. 9, 10, 5; Lact. Plac. in Stat. *Theb.* 2, 289), wells (MacCulloch in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 11 (1921), 408, and n. 2), caves (Plin. *N. H.* 16, 234), shrines (Soph. *Philocl.* 1327-1328; and the cases noted in Berthelot, *Les Alchimistes grecs*, 1, 22, 5; 1, 23, 5; 1, 30, 5; 2, 111, 5; MacCulloch in Hastings, *op. cit.*, 11 (1921), 403; 407; cf. also Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, 2, 4 ed. (1903), 241-242; Vogel, *Indian Serpent-Lore* (1926), 23), gardens (Eden, etc.; cf. Sittig, *op. cit.*, 1244), forests or trees (cf. Hdt. 3, 107; Isid. *Etym.* 17, 8, 8; perhaps, however, in a different sense), treasure (Eur. *Hyps.* p. 17, 22-25 Herwerden; Küster, *op. cit.*, 120 and n. 2; Terzaghi, *Le Credenze relig. degli Antichi* (1927), 103; Vogel, *op. cit.*, 20-22; 28; etc.), tombs (Küster, *op. cit.*, 68-70), and of the casket containing Erichthonius (Mythogr. Vat. II, 37; 40; III, 10, 3); cf. also Apul. *M.* 6, 14. So in Teutonic mythology we find the serpent Fafnir guarding the treasure of the Nibelungs; cf. Grimm (tr. by Stallybrass), *Teutonic Mythology*, 2 (1883), 688-689; 3 (1883), 978-979; and other works cited by MacCulloch in Hastings, *op. cit.*, 11 (1921), 399; 409; also Welsford in the same work, 11, 420; parallels being found in Arabia, E. Africa, S. America (MacCulloch, *l. c.*), and India (Crooke, in Hastings, *op. cit.* 11 (1921), 416); cf. also Mackensen in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 2 (1930), 384-386. Buckland, *Anthropological Studies* (1891), 104-105, thought snakes might actually have aided by their burrowings in discovering the existence of metals.

485. *dabat*, etc.: for the tense cf. 4, 483,

486. spargens umida mella soporiferumque papaver.

humida P⁷b. sororiferumque P (soporiferumque P²), soporiferumue b. papaue(r) P.

486. spargens . . . papaver: Non. p. 220 M. (p. 325 L.); pp. 404-405 M. (p. 651 L.) — sparges A²B^a —; Anth. Lat. no. 17, 327 (1, p. 74 Riese) — humida A; soporiferumque A; papaver A —. 486. soporiferumque papaver: Brev. Expos. in G. 1, 78 — soporiserumque corr. in soporiferumque N; pauor corr. in papauer N —.

n. (hinc, etc.). Others would see here the influence of the imperfect εσφρε in Eur. Med. 481.

485. sacros: Schol. Dan.: vel Veneri vel Iunoni dedicatos. The apples were a wedding present at the nuptials of Zeus and Hera (Apollod. Bibl. 2, 5, 11; Athen. 3, p. 83 c), the connection of apples with love being well known; cf. Foster in Harv. Stud. in cl. Philol. 10 (1899), 39-55; McCartney in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc. 56 (1922), 70-81.

485. servabat, etc.: cf. Cornelius Severus 9 (F. P. R. 353 Baehrens): pomosa lentos servabat in arbore ramos; Sil. 4, 636-637: quid domus Hesperidum aut luci invere dearium, / fulvos aurifera servantes arbore ramos; 6, 183-184; Claud. De IV Cons. Honor. 37-38: virentes / Hesperidum risit, quos dilatat fabula, ramos. The priestess maintains the dragon and the dragon preserves the apples (Lucr. 5, 32 (of the dragon): aureaque Hesperidum servans fulgentia mala); hence she may be said to guard the apples.

485. ramos: i.e., those bearing the golden apples. The nature of these Hesperidum . . . mala (cf. Ecl. 6, 61) has provoked much discussion, there having been suggested yellow apples (Ecl. 3, 71: aurea mala; cf. 8, 52-53), pomegranates (cf. the writers cited by McCartney, op. cit., 74), quinces (the chrysomela of Plin. N. H. 15, 37; cf. Hehn, Kulturpflanzen u. Haustierte, 8 ed. (1911), 445; Marzell in Hoffmann-Krayer, Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens, 1 (1927), 511; 515, n. 12 (and works there cited)), citrons (Athen. 3, p. 83 b: Αἰμιλιανὸς δὲ ἔλεγεν Ἰόβαν τὸν Μαυρουσίῳ βασιλεῖα, ἄνδρα πολυμαθέστατον, ἐν τοῖς περὶ Λιβύης συγγράμμασι μνημονεύοντα τοῦ κυρίου καλεῖσθαι φάσκειν αὐτὸ παρὰ τοῖς Λίβυσι μῆλον Ἑσπερικόν, ἂφ' ὧν καὶ Ἡρακλῆα κομίσαι εἰς τὴν Ἑλλάδα τὰ χρύσεα διὰ τὴν ἰδέαν λεγόμενα μῆλα;

the citron is thought by Servius to be the fruit to which Virgil refers in G. 2, 126-127, though he recognizes that Apuleius in his book on trees had disputed the identification; Diosc. 1, 115, 5, describes the fruit of the citron as χρυσίζον τῇ χροῇ, or oranges (Boetticher, Der Baumkultus d. Hellenen (1856), 466-468; cf. Fée in the Heyne-Lemaire ed. of Virgil, 8, ciii-civ; Sittig in P.-W. 8 (1913), 1248; Gruppe in P.-W. 3 Supplbd. (1918), 1068). Against the tempting identification with the orange is the fact that that tree, apparently originating in South China or Burma, early cultivated in Hindustan, and carried by the Arabs to southwestern Asia, seems to have reached the Mediterranean only following the Moorish conquests; cf. Hehn, op. cit., 442-456. Hence it seems more likely that some one of the other fruits I have mentioned was what Virgil had in mind. Allegorical interpretations (such as that of Jambl. De Myst. 5, 26, and that of Sallustius, De Diis, 4: τὸ δὲ χρυσοῦν μῆλον τὸν κόσμον (sc. δηλοῖ), or, in modern times, of Cook, Zeus, 2 (1925), 1014, who thinks the myth is stellar, the golden apples being golden stars) may have their place but were probably not what Dido or Virgil here had in mind.

486. spargens: cf. 7, 753-754 (of the Marruvian sacerdos): graviter spirantibus hydri / spargere qui somnos cantuque manu-que solebat; 12, 418-419 (of Venus): spargitque salubris / ambrosiae sucos et odoriferam panaceam. The word spargens probably refers to the sprinkling (cf. Eitrem, Opferitus u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer (1915), 280, n. 3) of honey and poppy-seed, in some form, on the food, or to mixing the ingredients in the food (Serv., quoted below), rather than to sprinkling the food (offam) on the ground; cf. Serv.: id est miscens, ut Cicero (In Catil. 2,

23) 'et spargere venena didicerunt.' nec incongrue ad amaritudinem amoris mel adhibet, ad oblivionem papaver.

Because of the adjective soporiferum (see below) Schrader deleted this line, while Ribbeck (ad loc.) placed it after 4, 517 and Cima (Analecta Latina (1901), 15) after 4, 509, all which courses seem unnecessary, though the verse may, of course, have stood in Virgil's own manuscript in some temporary position and have been inserted or left here by Varius and Tucca. Its remarkable rhythm (see below) marks it as something more than a mere interpolation.

That Medea drugged the Colchian snake, in order that the Golden Fleece might be stolen by Jason from its custody, is stated by many authors (e.g., Apoll. Rh. 4, 156-159: ἡ δὲ μὲν ἀρκέουσι νέον τετρηότι θαλάσῃ / βάπτουσι' ἐκ κυκλώος ἀκήρατα φάρμακ' αἰδοῖς, / φαῖνε κατ' ὀφθαλμῶν· περὶ τ' ἀμφὶ τε νήριτος ὁδμῇ / φαρμάκου ὑπνον ἔβαλλε, κτλ.; Apollod. Bibl. 1, 9, 23 (cf. Paroemiogr. Gr. 1, 111, no. 92): τὸν φυλάσσοντα δράκοντα κατακομίσασα τοῖς φαρμάκοις; Enn. Sc. 274: draconis saevi sopivi impetum; Hygin. Fab. 22: dracone autem venenis sopito pellem de fano sustulit; Ov. H. 12, 171: potui sopire draconem; M. 7, 149: pervigilem superest herbis sopire draconem; 7, 152-156: hunc postquam sparsit Lelhaei gramine suci / verbaque ter dixit placidos facientia somnos, / quae mare turbatum, quae concila flumina sistunt, somnus in ignotos oculos sibi venit, et auro / heros Aesonius potitur; Sen. Med. 703-704: tu quoque relictis pervigil Colchis ades, / sopile primum cantibus, serpens, meis; Val. Fl. 1, 60-63; 5, 238; 8, 69-74), and this account may have largely influenced Virgil's description. Certainly ability to put the serpent to sleep would attest the magical power of the priestess, like her control over rivers and stars described in 4, 489 (Plin. N. H. 28, 118, speaking of the crocodile, has a similar combination: cauda flumina et aquarum in pelus sisti, serpentis soporari; cf. Pap. Gr. mag. 1, 76-78 Preisendanz: ἐγὼ εἰμι ὁ κλέϊσας οὐρανοῦ διασᾶς πτυχὰς καὶ κοιμίσας δράκοντα τὸν ἀθεώρητον, στήσας θάλασσαν, ρεῖθρα, ποταμῶν νάματα, κτλ.; for that of the maga in Tib. 1, 2, 52: feros Hecatae perdomuisse canes, cf. Heinze, Virgils epische Technik, 3 ed. (1915),

143, n. o). Further, snakes were often charmed (cf. Smith on Tib. 1, 8, 20) or sometimes drugged, in order to kill them (Isid. Etym. 16, 14, 7) or for other purposes (Herzog in Hermes, 29 (1894), 625-626), as was Cerberus (6, 420-423) by the Cumaeans Sibyl, or other guardians whom it was desirable to hoodwink (cf. Dryden, Pal. and Arcile, 2, 16-17, where wine, honey, and opium are used).

Why the priestess should thus neutralize by her action the very effect which the guardian dragon was intended to produce has disturbed scholars from the time of Servius, who remarks: incongrue videtur positum ut soporifera species pervigili delur draconi; and Heinze, op. cit., 142-143, n. 3, considers that Virgil mingled here the idea of the Colchian dragon, which Medea had a good excuse for drugging, with the tradition of the dragon of the Hesperides.

Certain scholars (e.g., Heyne and Forbiger (ad loc.); Regel, Quaest. Vergil. (1866), 23; Henry, Aeneidea, 2 (1878), 766; Seaton in Cl. Rev. 3 (1889), 220; 10 (1896), 309; Penquitt, De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu (1910), 37; Kappes-Wörner ad loc.; cf. Knapp in Cl. Philol. 8 (1913), 357) have considered soporiferum a mere epitheton ornans (cf. G. 4, 545: Lelhaea papavera), used with papaver to balance the adjective umida applied to mella. Virgil was not always happy in his choice of such epithets (cf. Ecl. 10, 66: aquosae; Aen. 11, 195: ferventis), as is remarked by Wunderlich (cf. Heyne-Wagner ad loc.). It should further be noted that in Ov. Tr. 5, 2, 24: quotve soporiferum grana papaver habet, the adjective is purely decorative, without especial appropriateness in the context. Yet other possibilities for the present line should be considered.

Servius's suggestion that the poppy, licet del hominibus somnum, draconi adimul forsitan is otherwise, I think, unsupported by ancient tradition. His other suggestion (followed by Gossrau in his first edition (1846) but not in his second (1876)) that a period be placed after ramos and line 486 be joined with what follows encounters another difficulty in deferring haec, which should begin the sentence, to the next line, and therefore can hardly be accepted. Knight (in Cl.

487. haec se carminibus promittit solvere mentis

praemittit *M* (promittit *M*¹). mentes *MPp*.

487-491. haec . . . ornos: *Aug. C. D.* 21, 6 — mentes; inmittere; aquas *b*; ciet manes —; *Isid. Etym.* 8, 9, 6 — carminibus se *C*; uellet uelle *K*, quam uellet *C*¹; alis du. in me inmit *K*; inmittere; fluminis (fluuiis *delt.*); ciet manes; subpendibus *K*; discindere *T* —; *S. Martin. Legion. Serm.* 7 (*Patr. Lat.* 208, 567) — mentes; ciet manes —. 487-488. haec . . . velit: *Porphyr. in Hor. Ep.* 2, 2, 209 — mentes —.

Weekly, 26 (1933), 204, n. o) believes that the poppy-seed "might have been explained as originally, perhaps from Minoan times (cf. Evans in *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* 45 (1925), 15-17 and figg. 16-18), a fertility symbol, which, after it was forgotten that the snake itself was the spirit of the 'tree of life' rather than its guardian, came to be wrongly regarded as a drug to render the snake harmless", but this explanation seems over-subtle. Robert-Tornow (*De Apium Mellisque apud Veteres Significatione* (1893), 156-157) thought the honey was an offering made to the Hesperides as nymphs, while Trannoy (in *Rev. arch.* 27 (1928), 136-140) supposed that the dragon protected against human marauders while the honey and poppy were designed to lull to rest dangerous powers which the dragon could not avert, such as the winds; but this theory leaves inadequately explained why these particular offerings were selected and how they were made effective. Stephenson (*ad loc.*) suggests that these poisons were intended against other animals trespassing upon the sacred precinct but not for the dragon guardian. Sundry other explanations collected by Conington (*ad loc.*) and Kvěčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 136-138) hardly merit perpetuation here.

Much more probable seems the view of De la Ville de Mirmont (*Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile* (1894), 153, n. 1) that the priestess had to feed the dragon but had also to protect the sacred branches against his fury, keeping him, by narcotics, in a state of somnolence from which she could arouse him in case of any sacrilegious attempt upon the sacred fruits. This theory derives some support from certain Oriental customs, as at Penang, where I have observed, in the so-

called 'Snake Temple', snakes of various sizes, apparently somewhat torpid from food or drugs, lying entirely unconfined upon the altars and the offerings thereon (cf. photographs in *Handbook of Brit. Malaya* (1930), opp. p. 35; Bilainkin, *Hail, Penang* (1932), opp. p. 139), and harmonizes with the explanation of Masera (*ad loc.*), who explains the adjective as meaning merely 'tranquillizing.'

For artistic representations of the scene described by Virgil cf. Henry, *op. cit.*, 2, 765; Sittig in *P.-W.* 8 (1913), 1246; Cook, *Zeus*, 2 (1925), 1151-1152, and fig. 967.

486. mella: frequent in the plural (cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 11), as in 15 out of 19 occurrences of the word in Virgil, who describes it as *rosida* (*Ecl.* 4, 30), *liquentia* (*Aen.* 1, 432), *spumantia* (*G.* 4, 140-141), *purissima* (*G.* 4, 163), *tenacia* (*G.* 4, 57), *dulcia* (*G.* 4, 101), *fragrantia* (*G.* 4, 169; *Aen.* 1, 436), etc. Honey was often the vehicle for medicines (*Lucr.* 1, 936-941) or poisons (*Otto, Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 217-218, to which add *Val. Fl.* 1, 63), and the combination of honey and poppy (*Paul. ex Fest. p.* 39 *M.* (p. 35 Lindsay): *cocetum genus edulii ex melle et papavere factum*; cf. *κυκεών*) is several times found: e.g., *Thuc.* 4, 26, where *divers* convey to *Pylos μήκωνα μεμελιτωμένην καὶ λίνου σπέρμα κεκομμένον*; *Hor. Ep.* 2, 3, 375: *Sardo cum melle papaver*; *Ov. F.* 4, 151-152: *nec pigeat tritum niveo cum lacte papaver / sumere et expressis mella liquata favis*; *Plin. N. H.* 19, 168: (*papaveris candidi* — probably our *Papaver somniferum* L.) . . . *semen lostum in secunda mensa cum melle apud antiquos dabatur*; 20, 208; *Val. Fl.* 8, 97 may refer to this: *mella dabam ac nostris nutribam fida venenis* (cf. *Aen.* 6, 420: *melle*

soporalam et medicinalis frugibus affam); *Petron.* 1, 3: *mellitos verborum globulos et omnia dicta factaque quasi papavere et sesamo sparsa*; 31, 10: *glires melle ac papavere sparsos*; *Diosc.* 4, 64, 1; *Steier in P.-W.* 15 (1932), 2438. Honey was also a food of the gods (*Usener in Rh. Mus.* 57 (1902), 178-183; *Penquitt, op. cit.*, 37, and n. 3), associated with Hecate (*Apoll. Rh.* 3, 1035-1036; etc.), and, like bees (*Pease on Cic. De Div.* 1, 73; 1, 78; add also *Bochart, Hierozoicon* (1692 ed.), 510-533; *Telfer in Journ. of theol. Stud.* 28 (1927), 167-178, and works there cited), with chthonic beliefs and rites (*Eitrem, Opferitus u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 104), and thus is often found in magic (*Deubner, De Incubatione* (1900), 46, and works there cited; *Preisendanz, Pap. Gr. mag.* 1 (1928), 2; 4; 16; 22; 50; 98; 104; 116; *Schuster in P.-W.* 15 (1931), 379-380). Sometimes it is given in liquid form (*umida*), sometimes in the shape of a honey-cake (*μελι-τοῦρτα*; for which *Herzog, in Hermes*, 29 (1894), 625, compares *Hdt.* 8, 41; *Hesych. s. v. οἰκουρὸν ὄφιν*; *Poll.* 6, 76; cf. *Ael. N. A.* 11, 2; *Schuster, op. cit.*, 377-379); on the form here intended see the note on *papaver*, below.

For the caesura after *mella*, producing a line of unusually rich and rather sleepy rhythm, cf. *Franzen, Über den Unterschied des Hexameters bei Vergil u. Horaz* (1881), 8; *Norden*, 2 ed. of *Book VI* (1916), 434; also *La Roche in Wiener Stud.* 23 (1902), 125; *G.* 1, 357; *Aen.* 2, 9. With the rhythm *Irvine (ad loc.)* compares that of 7, 711: *Ereli manus omnis oliviferaeque Mutuscae*, while *Marouzeau (in Rev. des Études lat.* 11 (1933), 339) cites 5, 856 and certain lines in French poets.

486. *soporiferum*: first used here; cf. *Ladewig, De Vergilio Verborum Novatore* (1870), 5; *Ov. Tr.* 5, 2, 24: *quoties soporiferum grana papaver habet*; *F.* 4, 531-532: *illa soporiferum . . . colligit agresti lene papaver humo*; *Plin. N. H.* 18, 229, who speaks of its *vis somnifera*. For the significance of the epithet cf. the note on *spargens*, above.

486. *papaver*: Virgil hardly makes clear in what form the poppy is used, but Henry (*op. cit.*, 2, 764) well compares certain cakes baked from a paste of honey and ground

poppy-seeds still eaten in Tyrol and in Poland. Ancient uses of the poppy include that of its seed, for seasoning, etc. (e.g., *Athen.* 14, 57; 14, 60; 14, 82), and that of the narcotic juice of its capsule (*ὀπός, opium*; with which *Schmiedeborg (Über die Pharmaka in der Ilias u. Odyssee* (1918), 9-14) identifies the Homeric *nepenthes*); cf. *Plin. N. H.* 20, 198-204 — important but too long to quote —, on different kinds of poppy and methods of preparation and use; *Plut. Quaest. conv.* 3, 1, 3; *Diosc.* 4, 63, 2; 4, 64, 2-3; 4, 64, 7; *Apul. A. pol.* 32; *Macrobi. Sat.* 7, 6, 7; *Marc. Emp.* 8, 3; *Isid. Etym.* 17, 9, 31. The juice was dangerous, if taken in excess (*Theophr. H. P.* 9, 16, 8; *Plin. N. H.* 21, 180; 25, 130; *Plut. l. c.*; *Apul. l. c.*; but cf. *Sext. Emp.* 1, 14, 81), yet in moderation was used as an anodyne (*Galen, De Meth. Med.* 12, 1 (10, 816 Kühn); *Diosc.* 4, 64, 3; *id., De Simplic.* 1, 6; *Ambros. Hexaem.* 3, 39), or, most commonly, to induce sleep; e.g., *Arist. De Somn. et Vig.* 3, 456 b 29-30, who mentions *μήκων* among τὰ ὕπνωτικά; *Virg. G.* 1, 78: *Lethaea perfusa papavera somno* (where see *Serv. and Prob.*); 4, 545: *Lethaea papavera*; *Ov. Am.* 2, 6, 31: *causaeque papavera somni*; *M.* 11, 605-607: *papavera florent / innumeraeque herbae, quarum de lacte soporem / nox legi*; *Tr.* 5, 2, 24: *soporiferum . . . papaver*; *F.* 4, 547-548: *somnique papavera causas / dat tibi cum tepido lacte bibenda, puer*; 4, 661-662: *placidam redimita papavere frontem / Nox venit, et secum somnia nigra trahit*; *Cels.* 2, 32: *somno vero aptum est papaver*; *Colum.* 10, 104: *profugos vincitura papavera somnos*; *Anth. Lat.* no. 471, 7 (1, p. 345 Riese): *non sollicitos missura papavera somnos*; *Plin. N. H.* 18, 229; 20, 198-204; *Diosc. De Simplic.* 1, 11-13 (among ὕπνωτικά); *Lucian, V. H.* 2, 33, who puts around the city of Sleep a grove of tall poppies and mandragoras; *Athen.* 5, 64: *κάθυπνος ὡς μήκωνα φάρμακον πίνων*; *Seren. Sammon.* 24: *amica papavera somno*; 987-988: *papaver / quo lila frons facilem praebebit nocte quietem*; *Symphos.* 40, 3 (of the *papaver*): *et me somnus amat*; *Mythogr. Vat.* III, 7, 1: *papaver soporem gignit*; *Isid. Etym.* 17, 9, 31; *Politian, Rusticus*, 190: *plenumque sopore papaver*; *Spenser, Faerie Queene*, Book 2, Canto 7, Stanza 52: "dead sleeping

488. quas velit, ast aliis duras immittere curas,

inmittere *Pp.*[487*] 488. duras curas: *Gl. Ansil.* 191, 160.

poppy"; Shakesp. *Othello*, Act 3, Sc. 3: "Not poppy, nor mandragora / Nor all the drowsy syrups of the world, / Shall ever medicine thee to that sweet sleep / Which thou owedst yesterday"; Steier in *P.-W.* 15 (1932), 2433-2446, especially 2437. In ancient art the poppy is often associated with Hypnos; cf. Winnefeld, *Hypnos* (1886), 13-14; Murr, *Die Pflanzenwelt in der gr. Myth.* (1890), 186; Jolles in *P.-W.* 9 (1916), 327. Like honey, the poppy also has its chthonic associations, being often used as a symbol of Demeter or Persephone (Kern in *P.-W.* 4 (1901), 2760-2761; cf. Evans in *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* 45 (1925), 15-16; Nock in *Cl. Rev.* 39 (1925), 173, n. 4), and hence it and honey are appropriately offered to the *draco*, while the magic practices in which the *sacerdos* presently engages have a strongly chthonic character; e.g., 4, 510-512.

487. *haec*, etc.: the powers professed by the priestess are in the psychological, the physical, and the supernatural realms.

487. *carminibus*: commonly used, like *cantus* (7, 754-758) of formulae or rituals of a religious or magical character; cf. the Greek *ἐπωδαί*, as in Eur. *Hippol.* 478-479; Xen. *Mem.* 2, 6, 10: εἶναι μὲν τινὰς φασιν ἐπωδάς, ἃς οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι ἐπᾶδοντες οἷς ἂν βούλωνται (*quas velit* of line 488) φίλους αὐτοὺς ποιῶνται: εἶναι δὲ καὶ φίλτρα, οἷς οἱ ἐπιστάμενοι πρὸς οὓς ἂν βούλωνται χρώμενοι φιλοῦνται ὑπ' αὐτῶν. Many examples of this use of *carmen* (or *cantus*) are collected by Sutphen in *Stud. in Honor of Gildersleeve* (1902), 316, n. 2; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 3 (1906), 464, 49-465, 52; Abt, *Die Apologie d. Apuleius* (1908), 96, n. 1; as typical may be cited *Ecl.* 8, 67: *nilhil hic nisi carmina desunt*; 8, 70: *carminibus Circe socios mutavit Ulixi*; 8, 72; 8, 103; 8, 109; *Hor. Epod.* 5, 71-72: *solutus ambulat veneficae / scientioris carmine*; 17, 4; 17, 28; *Serm.* 1, 8, 19; *Ov. Am.* 1, 8, 18 (cf. *Rem. Am.* 252-254; 259-260: *nulla recantatas deponent pectora curas, / nec fugiet vivo sul-*

pure victus amor; 290); 2, 1, 23-27; 3, 7, 28-32; *Ars am.* 2, 104; *M.* 4, 49; 7, 137; 7, 167: *quid enim non carmina possunt*; 7, 195; 7, 203; 7, 208; 7, 253; 14, 20; *F.* 2, 426; *Tib.* 1, 2, 44; 1, 2, 54; 1, 2, 59-60: *haec eadem se dixit amores / cantibus aut herbis solvere posse meos*; 1, 5, 12; 1, 8, 17; 1, 8, 23; *Prop.* 1, 1, 24; 2, 28, 35; *Val. Fl.* 6, 448; *Juv.* 6, 133; *Plin. N. H.* 28, 10: *verba et incantamenta carminum*; 28, 12; 28, 21; Jevons, *Anthropology and the Classics* (1908), 94; Fahz, *De Poet. Rom. Doctr. magica* (1904), 116; D'Alton, *Horace and his Age* (1917), 211.

487. *promittit*: cf. *Plin. N. H.* 37, 124: *magorum vanitas ebriolati eas* (sc. *gemmas*) *resistere promittit*.

487. *solvere*: Schol. Dan.: *cura liberare* (supplied from *curas* in the next line), but it is perfectly possible to use the verb without an ablative of separation; cf. 10, 111; *Hor. Epod.* 5, 71-72; *C.* 1, 27, 21-22; etc. *Solvere* is the opposite of *vincere* or *alligare*, and of the idea in the ὕμνον . . . δέσμων of Aesch. *Eum.* 306. We find here repeated the two types of loosing and binding magic already noted (4, 479, n. (*quae*, etc.), above). Might this be suggested to a Westerner by Matt. 16, 19: ὁ ἐὰν δήσῃς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται δεδεμένος ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς, καὶ ὁ ἐὰν λύσῃς ἐπὶ τῆς γῆς ἔσται λελυμένος ἐν τοῖς οὐρανοῖς? Excessive love was imagined as due to magic (Smith on *Tib.* 1, 2, 59-62), and hence might be removed by magical means (4, 479: *me solvat amantem*; cf. *Hor. Epod.* 5, 71 (quoted above); 17, 45: *et tu (poles nam) solve me dementia*; *C.* 1, 27, 21-22: *quae saga, quis te solvere Thessalis / magus venenis, quis poterit deus*; *Tib.* 1, 2, 59-60 (quoted above; cf. Smith *ad loc.*); *Prop.* 1, 4, 15: *nostros contendis solvere amores*; 3, 21, 2: *ut me longa gravi solvat amore via*; the refrain in *Nemes. Ecl.* 4: *cantet, amat quod quisque; levat et carmina curas*; also *Bruns, Vorträge u. Aufsätze* (1905), 321-356 (on love-charms in

489. sistere aquam fluviis et vertere sidera retro,

aqua *F* (aquam *F*¹).

[487*] 489. sistere . . . retro: *Aug. C. D.* 21, 8; [*Acro*] in *Hor. Epod.* 17, 5. 489. sistere . . . fluviis: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 175 (1, p. 68 Riese); *Isid. Diff.* 1, 516; *Gl. Placid.* 34, 19. 489. et . . . retro: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 62 (1, p. 64 Riese).

the Augustan poets); Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 38-39, and n. 2).

With the present infinitive dependent upon *promittit* cf. 4, 425, and n. (*excindere*); 5, 18: *sperem . . . contingere*; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 690. Yet there is something of a present notion as well as a future one in the infinitive, as in our phrase "profess to set free," meaning both that she habitually does it and also that she will in a particular case.

488. *quas velit*: one of the formulae of magic; cf. οἷς ἂν βούλωνται in Xen. *Mem.* 2, 6, 10, quoted at 4, 487, n. (*carminibus*); δταν θέλῃς in *Pap. Gr. mag.* 1, 8 Preisendanz; cum volui in *Ov. M.* 7, 199; cum libet of *Tibull.* 1, 2, 49. Cf. also *Pap. Gr. mag.* 2, 159, no. 34 Preisendanz: . . . στήσεται, κἂν σελήνη κελύσω καταβήσεται, κἂν κωλύσαι θελ(ή)σω τὴν ἡμέραν, ἢ νύξ μοι μενεῖ, κτλ. (cf. Bonner in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 52 (1921), 115-118).

488. *ast*: in archaic and archaistically solemn Latin used before both vowels and consonants; in the Augustan poets usually for *at* before vowels where a long syllable is necessary. Of 19 cases in the Virgilian corpus all but one (10, 743, where the reading is a little uncertain and where a solemn effect is intended) precede a vowel (cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1900), 943, 54-63, for cases in verse before a consonant), and all but one (10, 173) receive anictus. The word has an affinity for pronouns and such words as *alius* (cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2, 943, 63-944, 5); thus it is followed in 7 cases by *ille*, in 5 by *alius*, in 2 by *ego*, and once each by *ipse* and *ubi*; cf. Norden on *Aen.* 6, 316.

488. *aliis*: supply either *mentibus* (dative) or *carminibus* (ablative).

488. *duras*: Schol. Dan.: *bene duras affectu, quo ipsa passa est, dixit*; cf. *Tib.* 3, 6, 7: *de procul durum, curae, genus*; *Sil.* 11, 371-372: *duras . . . curas*; *Nemes. Ecl.* 1, 59: *duras docuisti fallere curas*.

488. *immittere curas*: *Buscaroli* (*ad loc.*) compares Sen. *H. O.* 554: *immitte amorem*; *Val. Fl.* 7, 352-353: *maiora precatur / carmina, maiores Hecaten inmittere vires*, etc.; the opposite of *avertere curas* (4, 394) and *mittere* (6, 85: *mitte hanc de pectore curam*; *Val. Fl.* 4, 489: *mittere curas*) or *remittere* (*Stat. Silv.* 2, 1, 57: *quis curas mentisque arcana remittat*). On the meaning of *curas* see 4, 1, n. (*cura*); cf. *Sil.* 8, 101: (*vales*) *spondentque novis medicamina curis*.

489. *sistere*, etc.: cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 528-533: *κούρη τις μεγάροισιν ἐντρέφετ' Αἰήταο / τὴν Ἐκάτη περιάλλα θεὰ δάε τεχνήσασθαι / φάρμαχ', ὅσ' ἡπειρὸς τε φέει καὶ νήχυντον ὕδωρ. / τοῖσι καὶ ἀκαμάτοιο πυρὸς μελίσσεται ἀντμή, / καὶ ποταμοὺς Ἰσθησιν ἄφαρ κελαδεῖν ῥέοντας, / ἄστρα τε καὶ μῆνης ἱερῆς ἐπέδωκε κελεύθους. Other noteworthy passages on the power of charms and witches are *Tibull.* 1, 2, 43-52 (43-44: *hanc* (sc. *sagam*) *ego de caelo ducentem sidera vidi, / fluminis haec rapidi carmine vertit iter*); 1, 8, 19-22 (21: *cantus et e curru lunam deducere templat*); *Ov. Am.* 2, 1, 23-26: *carmina sanguineae deducunt cornua lunae, / et revocant niveos solis euntis equos; / carmine dissiliunt abruptis faucibus angues, / inque suos fontes versa recurrit aqua*; etc.; *H.* 6, 85-88: *illa reluctantem cursu deducere lunam / nititur et tenebris abdere solis equos; / illa refrenat aquas obliquaque flumina sistit*, etc.; *Rem. Am.* 253-259: *me duce non tumulo prodire iubebitur umbra, / . . . / ut solet, aequoreas ibit Tiberinus in undas; / ut solet, in niveis luna vehetur equis. / nulla recantatus deponent pectora curas*, etc.; *M.* 7, 199-214 (199-200: *quorum ope, cum volui, ripis mirantibus amnes / in fontes rediere suos*; 207-209: *te quoque, luna, traho . . . / currus quoque carmine nostro / pallet avi*); *Ex Pont.* 4, 6, 45-48: *Hister / in caput Euxino de mare vertet iter, / utque Thyesteae redeant si tempora mensae, / solis ad eas currus agetur aquas*; *Sil.* 8, 500-501: *et lunam**

490. nocturnosque movet manis; mugire videbis

mouet manis *MPc* (ciet manes *P²*), mouit amnis *F* (mouit manes *F¹*, ciet manes *F⁴*), ciet manes γαβρ. mugere *F* (mugire *F¹*).

[487*]

excussisse polo, stridoribus amnes / frenan-
tem; Apul. *M.* 1, 3: istud mendacium tam
verum est quam si quis velit dicere magico susur-
ramine amnes agiles reverti . . . solem inhiberi
lunam despumari, stellae velli, etc.; 1, 8:
saga . . . potens caelum deponere . . . fontes
durare . . . manes sublimare . . . sidera ex-
tinguere; 3, 15: iam scies erae meae miranda
secreta, quibus obaudiunt manes, turbantur
sidera, etc.

Such supernatural power was most clearly
shown in miracles, particularly of the kind
known in rhetoric as ἀδύνατα (e.g., *Ecl.* 1,
59-63; 3, 90-91; *G.* 2, 42-44; *Aen.* 6, 625-
627; 12, 202-211; cf. Haackermann, *Ex-
plicit. Vergil. Specimen* (1853), 21; Hunziker,
*Die Figur der Hyperbel in d. Gedichten
Vergils* (1896), 140-142; von Boltenstern,
Schillers Vergilstudien, 2 (1900), 10; Dedo,
De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria (1904),
27-30; Smith on Tibull. 1, 4, 65-66 (1913);
Kroll, *Stud. z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924),
166; Canter, *Rhet. Elements in the Trag. of
Seneca* (1925), 60-62, and n. 6; Eitrem in
Papyri Osloenses, 1 (1925), 65-69; McCartney
in *Cl. Journ.* 22 (1927), 334-336; Pease
in *Cl. Journ.* 22 (1927), 651, and n. 44; and
especially Canter in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 51
(1930), 32-41; Eitrem in *Symbolae Osloenses*,
12 (1933), 35). Cf. [Quintil.] *Declam.* 10,
15: homo cuius ars est ire contra naturam.

The stopping or turning backward of
streams appears frequently; e.g., Eur. *Med.*
410: ἄνω ποταμῶν ἱερῶν χωροῦσι παγὰ (a
phrase which became proverbial; cf. Cic. *Ad
Att.* 15, 4 a, 1; Luc. *Apol.* 1; Julian, *Or.* 6;
Suid. s. v. ἄνω ποταμῶν; *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 1, 47,
no. 56; 1, 185, no. 27; 2, 96, no. 28; 2, 144,
no. 7; 2, 286, no. 92; 2, 747, no. 20; Otto,
Sprichwörter . . . der Römer (1890), 139);
Dion. Hal. 7, 3, 3: οἱ παρὰ τὰ στρατόπεδα
ῥέοντες αὐτῶν ποταμοὶ . . . ἀφέντες τὰς κατὰ
φύσιν ὁδοὺς ἀνέστρεψαν τὰ νάματα καὶ μέχρι
πολλοῦ διετέλεσαν ἀπὸ τῶν στομάτων ἀναχω-

ροῦντες ἐπὶ τὰς πηγὰς; Verg. *G.* 1, 469: sistunt
amnes; *Aen.* 11, 405: amnis et Hadriacas
retro fugit Aufidus undas; *Cul.* 278: iam
rapidi steterant amnes (like several cases be-
low, at the music of Orpheus); 281; Hor.
Epod. 16, 28; *C.* 1, 12, 9-10: (Orpheus)
rapidus morantem / fluminum lapsus; 1, 29,
10-12: quis neget arduis / pronos relabi posse
rivos / montibus et Tiberim reverti; 3, 11, 13-
14: tu (sc. Mercuri) potes . . . / . . . rivos
celeris morari; Ov. *Am.* 1, 8, 5-6: illa magas
artes Aeaeaque carmina novit / inque caput
liquidis arte recurvat aquas; *H.* 5, 29-30:
cum Paris Oenone poterit spirare relicta, / ad
fontem Xanthi versa recurret aqua; *Medic.*
Fac. fem. 40; *M.* 7, 153-154: verbaque ter
dixit . . . / . . . quae concila flumina sistunt;
13, 324; *Tr.* 1, 8, 1-2: in caput alta suum
labentur ab aequore retro / flumina, conversis
solque recurrit equis; *Ex Pont.* 4, 5, 43; Prop.
1, 1, 23-24: tunc ego crediderim vobis et sidera
et amnes / posse Cytinae ducere carminibus;
2, 15, 33: fluminaque ad caput incipient revo-
care liquores; 3, 19, 6: fluminaque ad fontis
sint reditura caput; Calp. 2, 15: et tenere
suos properantia flumina cursus; Sen. *H. F.*
573: ars quae praeberat fluminibus moras;
Phoen. 85-86: reget in fontem citas / revo-
lutus undas amnis; *Thy.* 115-117; *H. O.*
1040: dum fluminibus mora est; Luc. 6, 473-
474; Val. Fl. 6, 441-443: illius (Medeae) ad
fremilus sparsosque per avia sucos / sidera
fixa pavent, et avi stupet orbita Solis; / mutat
agros fluviumque vias; Plin. *N. H.* 2, 232:
amnis retro fluere et nostra vidit aetas Neronis
principis supremis; Sil. 5, 253-254; Dio
Cass. 47, 40, 5 (42 B. C.): ποταμοὶ . . . οἱ
μὲν παντάπασιν ἐξέλιπον οἱ δ' ἀνάπαλιν ῥεῖν
ἤρξαντο; Ambros. *Hexaem.* 2, 11: Iordanis
quoque reflexo amne in suum fontem revertitur
(cf. 3, 6; *id.*, *De Myst.* 51; *Joshua*, 3, 13-16;
Ps. 114, 3; Aug. *Ep.* 23, 4: hoc sacramentum
etiam Iordanem fluvium refrenavit et reduxit
in fontem; *Pap. Gr. mag.* 1, 170 Preisendanz:

μέγαν θεὸν Σαβαώθ, δι' ὃν ὁ Ἰορδάνης ποταμὸς
ἀνεχώρησεν εἰς τὰ ὅπισω; Anon. *Panegy.*
Const. 22, 2: dicuntur interdum flumina re-
sistere; [Auson.] ap. Auct. de dub. *Nomin.*
(*G. L. K.* 5, 579): redite rursum flumina;
Claud. *In Rufin.* 1, 159-160; *In Eutrop.* 1,
353; Mart. Cap. 9, 907: Tanais versis saepe
reflatus aquis; Isid. *Etym.* 16, 11, 1: magi
suffitu earum, si creditur, tempestates avertunt,
flumina sistunt; *Pap. Gr. mag.* 1, 8 Preisen-
danz: πήξει δὲ ποταμοῖς . . . καθέξει σοῦ
θελήσαντός ποτε τὸν ἀφρόν ἀλὶ (δρομ)ον, καὶ
ὅταν θέλῃς ἄστρα κατενεγκεῖν, κτλ.; 1, 40:
μείνατέ μοι, ποταμῶν τε ῥοαὶ καὶ νάματα
ν(ασμῶ)ν; 1, 78: στήσας θάλασσαν, ῥεῖθρα,
ποταμῶν νάματα; Vida, *Christias*, 2, 492; 4,
550: verso sistet vaga flumina cursu; San-
nazar, *Ecl.* 5, 34-35: sistere qui pluvias . . . /
qui potis est; *De Partu Virg.* 2, 22: celeres
sistunt vaga flumina cursus; Weber in *Abh.*
Berl. Akad. Wiss., phil.-hist. Kl., 1858, 336;
340 (Vedic instances); Smith on Tibull.
1, 4, 65-66; Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 78.
The opposite of the miraculous form is ex-
pressed in *Aen.* 1, 607: in freta dum fluvii
current.

489. fluviis: probably dative.

489. vertere: Schol. Dan.: utrum ut
videatur etiam in caelo potestatem habere, an
etiam fata posse mutare, quae secundum mathe-
maticos sideribus gubernantur? et multi sidera
hic planetas accipiunt, quia reliqua caelo
adfixa sunt. To magic was ascribed the
power of staying heavenly bodies in their
course (e.g., *Anth. Lat.* no. 490, 4-6 (2, p. 46
Riese): nunc esto affatus, si quo te nomine
dignum est, / quo sacer ignoto gaudes, quo
maxima tellus / intremis et sistunt rapidos
vaga sidera cursus; *Joshua*, 10, 12-13; *Hab.*
3, 11), as well as the widespread belief that
eclipses were caused by witches drawing
down the sun or moon from the sky (e.g.,
Hippocr. *De Morb. sac.* 4: εἰ γὰρ σελήνην
καθαίρειν καὶ ἥλιον ἀφανίζειν . . . ὑποδέχονται
ἐπιστάσθαι, κτλ.; Ar. *Nub.* 749-750: γυναῖκα
φαρμακλὴ' εἰ πριάμενος Θετταλὴν / καθέλοιμι
νύκτωρ τὴν σελήνην, κτλ.; Plat. *Gorg.* 513a:
ὅπως μὴ . . . πεσοῦμεθα ὅπερ φασὶ τὰς τὴν σελή-
νην καθαίρουσας, τὰς Θετταλίδας; Verg. *Ecl.*
8, 69: carmina vel caelo possunt deducere
lunam; Hor. *Epod.* 5, 45-46: quae sidera
excantata voce Thessala / lunamque caelo

deripit; 17, 4-5: per atque libros carminum
valentium / refixa caelo devocare sidera; 17,
77-79: polo / deripere lunam vocibus possim
meis, / possim crematos excitare mortuos;
Tibull. 1, 2, 43 (see above); 1, 8, 21-22 (see
above); Prop. 1, 1, 19: at vos, deductae quibus
est fallacia lunae; 1, 1, 23-24; 3, 28 b, 3:
luna negat totiens descendere caelo; 5, 5, 13:
audax cantatae leges imponere lunae; Ov. *Am.*
2, 1, 23 (see above); *H.* 6, 85-86: illa reluc-
tantem cursu deducere lunam / nititur; *Medic.*
Fac. fem. 42; *M.* 12, 263-264: Mycale, quam
deduxisse canendo / saepe reluctanti constabat
cornua lunae; Manil. 1, 94; Petron. 134, 12,
8-9: lunae descendit imago / carminibus de-
ducta meis; Sen. *Phaedr.* 420-421: sic te
regentem frena nocturni aetheris / detrahare
numquam Thessali cantus queant; *H. O.*
467-468: carmine in terras mago / descendat
astris luna desertis licet; Luc. 6, 499-506;
Plut. *Coniug. Praecept.* 48; *De Pyth. Orac.*
12: ὥσπερ αἱ Θετταλαὶ κατὰ γων τὴν σελήνην
καὶ τὸν ἥλιον; *De Def. Orac.* 13; Plin. *N. H.*
25, 10 (of eclipses): dural tamen tradita per-
suasio in magna parte vulgi veneficiis et herbis
id cogi eamque unam feminarum scientiam
praevalere; 30, 7: ambages feminarum de-
trahentium lunam; Lucian, *Philopseud.* 14;
Philostr. *Vit. Apoll.* 8, 7, 9: ἐν Θετταλίᾳ . . .
οὐ τὰ γυναικα κακῶς ἤκουεν ἐπὶ τῇ τῆς σελήνης
ἔλξει; Hippol. *Philosophum.* 4, 37; Ambros.
Hexaem. 4, 32; Basil, *Homil. in Hexaem.* 6,
11; Aug. *C. D.* 10, 16; Claud. *In Rufin.* 1,
146-147: novi quo Thessala cantu / eripiat
lunare iubar; *Anth. Pal.* 11, 262, 1-2:
αἰθερίην διὰ νύκτα νέοι κατὰ γωνοῖ Σελήνην /
ἡθεοὶ Φαρίης ἀνδρῶν τεμνομένην; *Paroemiogr.*
Gr. 2, 417, no. 81 (explaining the proverb
ἐπὶ σταντῶ τὴν σελήνην καθέλκεις); *Pap. Gr.*
mag. 1, 8 Preisendanz: καὶ ὅταν θέλῃς ἄστρα
κατενεγκεῖν, κτλ.; 1, 140-146; Roscher,
Über Selene u. Verwandtes (1890), 87-90;
Hopfner in *P.-W.* 14 (1928), 375; De Waele
in *P.-W.* 2 ser. 3 (1929), 1915 (and works
there cited, including a representation in art;
cf. Boll, *Die Sonne im Glauben u. in der
Weltanschauung der alten Völker* (1922), pl.
2, fig. 3); Marlowe, *Faustus*, Act 1, Sc. 3:
"Be it to make the moon drop from her
sphere"; Milton, *Par. lost*, 2, 665-666:
"while the labouring moon / Eclipses at
their charms"; Dryden, *Threnod. Augusta-*

491. sub pedibus terram et descendere montibus ornos.

descere *F* (descendere *F*³).

[487*] 491. sub . . . ornos: *Gl. Ansil.* 283, 127 — hornos —. 491. descendere . . . ornos: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 175* (1, p. 68 Riese) — deducere (*sed cf. Ecl. 6, 71*) —.

lis: "the labouring moon / By charms of art was hurried down").

In a few instances witches and charms could apparently do the even more difficult act of reversing the movements of a heavenly body (e.g., Isaiah, as described in *Ecclus.* 48, 22-23). The most famous case, however, of such retrograde motion was that of the sun, caused not by magic but by horror at the banquet of Thyestes (*Eur. El.* 737-742; *I. T.* 193-195; *Ov. Ex Pont.* 4, 6, 47-48; *Sen. Thy.* 101-121; 784-804; *Heidel in Am. Journ. of Philol.* 45 (1924), 210). Cf. also on this subject *Hdt.* 3, 142-144; *Manil.* 3, 18-19: (*referam*) *conversaue sidera retro / ereptumque diem*.

490. *nocturnos*: *Schol. Dan.*: *utrum quia in nocte sunt, an quia per noctem evocantur, an noctu?* and they quote *Cic. Pro Mil.* 33: *nocturnis canibus*; cf. *G.* 4, 303; 3, 407; 4, 521; *Aen.* 4, 303, n. (*nocturnus*); 4, 609; 6, 252 (cf. *Val. Fl.* 6, 440); *Hor. Ep.* 2, 2, 209: *nocturnos lemures*. On the dislike of the spirits of the dead for the light of day — they live either in darkness or in a peculiar kind of light of their own; cf. *G.* 6, 640-641 — see 5, 738-739; 8, 246: *trepident immisso lumine manes*. Because of this dislike evocation of spirits commonly occurs at night (e.g., *Sil.* 8, 100-101: *dum numina noctis / eliciunt*), and magic in general is associated with darkness; cf. *Pharr in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 63 (1932), 284.

490. *movet*: the lack of parallelism between this verb and the infinitives *solvere*, *immittere*, *sistere*, and *vertere* has been noted by commentators and others (cf. *Hahn, Coordination of non-coordinate Elements in Vergil* (1930), 222); there is perhaps, however, an intentional climax, which the indicative well expresses: the priestess professes (487) to do certain things; she does actually conjure up the shades, and you shall yourself see certain effects produced by her.

Many editors here accept the reading *ciet*, which makes good sense, but the weight of MS evidence is for *movet*, as is also the alliteration: *movet manis mugire*. As noted by Page and Buscaroli (*ad loc.*), *movet* often suggests a sacrilegious act: cf. *Hor. Epod.* 17, 3; *Ep.* 2, 3, 471-472: *triste bidental / moverit incestus*.

490. *manis*: of the spirits rather than of their corpses (cf. 4, 427, n. (*manes*), above), for the priestess is a necromancer rather than a grave-robber. The geographical distribution, history, ritual, and general purpose of necromancy I have summarized in a note on *Cic. De Div.* 1, 132; to the bibliography there noted add *Frazer on Paus.* 3, 17, 9; *Jobbé-Duval, Les Morts malfaisants* (1924), 99-100; *Hopfner, Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber*, 2 (1924), 49-50; *Mackail, Cl. Stud.* (1925), 178; *Spargo, Virgil the Necromancer* (1934), 51.

Typical references begin with *Od.* 10, 522-530 (prescriptions carried out in 11, 30-43; cf. the following context); *Aesch. Pers.* 619-842 (evocation of the ghost of Darius); *Frag.* 273-278 *Sidgwick* (of the play called *Ψυχαγωγοί*); *Hdt.* 5, 92 (of a νεκρομαντήιον near the River Acheron); *Plat. Legg.* 10, 909 b (penalties for τοὺς . . . τεθνώτας φάσκοντες ψυχαγωγεῖν); *Cic. In Vat.* 14: *cum inaudita ac nefaria sacra susceperis, cum infernorum animas elicere, cum puerorum extis deos manes mactare soleas*; *Virg. Ecl.* 8, 98-99: *saepe animas imis excire sepulcris / atque satas alio vidi traducere messis*; *Hor. Epod.* 17, 79: *possim crematos excitare mortuos*; *S.* 1, 8, 28-29: *cruur in fossam confusus, ut inde / manis elicerent, animas responsa daturas*; *Tib.* 1, 2, 45-46: *haec cantu finditque solum manesque sepulcris / elicit*; *Ov. Am.* 1, 8, 17-18: *evocat antiquis proavos atavosque sepulcris / et solidam longo carmine findit humum*; *Rem. Am.* 253-254: *me duce non tumulto prodire iubebitur umbra, / non*

anus infami carmine rumpet humum; *M.* 7, 206: *et mugire solum manesque exire sepulcris*; 14, 406-411: *exsiluere loco — dictu mirabile — silvae, / ingemuitque solum . . . / . . . / . . . / . . . et tenues animae volitare silentium*; *Plut. Cimon*, 6, 6: κατέφυγε πρὸς τὸ νεκρομαντεῖον εἰς Ἡράκλειαν καὶ τὴν ψυχὴν ἀνακαλούμενος τῆς Κλεονίκης παρητήτο τὴν ὄργην (cf. *De sera Num. Vind.* 10; 17); *Hom. Exercit.* 1: ψυχαγωγοὶ τινες γόητες ἐν Θεσσαλίᾳ οὕτω καλούμενοι, οἵτινες καθαρμοῖς τισι καὶ γοηταῖς τὰ εἰδῶλα ἐπάγουσι τε καὶ ἐξάγουσιν, κτλ.; *Sen. Oed.* 530-658 (an important passage, from which a few phrases may be here quoted: 561-563: *carmenque magicum volvit et rabido minax / decantat ore quicquid aut placat leves / aut cogit umbras*; 574-577: *subsedil omnis silva et erexit comas, / duxere rimas robora et tolum nemus / concussit horror, terra se retro dedit / gemuitque penitus*; 582: *subito dehiscit terra*); *H. O.* 458-460: *discussi fores / umbrasque Dilis, et mea iussi prece / manes locuntur*; *Luc.* 6, 589-830 (a famous scene); *Plin. N. H.* 24, 160: *aglaophotim herbam . . . hac magos uti cum velint deos evocare*; 28, 104; 30, 14; 30, 18; 37, 192; *Sil.* 1, 95-98: *immugit tellus . . . / tum magico volitant cantu per inania manes / exciti*; *Val. Fl.* 3, 408; 6, 448; *Tac. Ann.* 2, 28, 3: *Iunius quidam, templatus ut infernas umbras carminibus eliceret*; [*Clem.*] *Recognit.* 1, 5; *Lucian, Philopseud.* 13: ὅσα ἐπεδείκνυτο ἔρωτας ἐπιπέμπων καὶ δαίμονας ἀνάγων καὶ νεκροὺς ἑώλους ἀνακαλῶν καὶ τὴν Ἑκάτην αὐτὴν ἐναργῆ παριστάς καὶ τὴν Σελήνην κατασπών; 14 (a detailed account); *Suet. Ner.* 34: *facto per magos sacro evocare manes et exorare templavit*; *Philostr. Vit. Apollon.* 4, 11; 4, 15-16; *Lact. Inst.* 7, 13, 7: *qui profecto non auferent de interitu animarum mago aliquo praesente disserere, qui sciret certis carminibus cieri ab inferis animas et adesse et praebere se humanis oculis videndas et loqui et futura praedicere, etc.*; *Zacchaeus, Consultat.* 1, 13 (*Patr. Lat.* 20, 1080 A-B); *Dict. Cret.* 6, 5; *Heliod. Aethiop.* 6, 14-15 (a full and thrilling account); *Hier. Comm. in Is.* 9, p. 389 *Vall.*: *magorum νεκρομαντείαν per quam animas evocare dicuntur, et tenues umbrarum, immo daemonum, audire voces*; *Claud. In Rufin.* 1, 154-156: *saepius horrendos manes sacrisque*

lilavi / nocturnis Hecaten et condita funera traxi / carminibus victura meis; *Prud. Cont. Symm.* 1, 96-97: *murmure nam magico tenues excire figuras / atque sepulcrales scite incantare favillas*; *Dracont. De Laud. Dei.* 2, 333-335: *solicitant animas mortis iam lege quietas / cantibus infauis, herbis atque arte nefanda / et responsa petunt tenebris de voce sepulcri*; *Anth. Lat. no. 406* (1, p. 315 Riese); on the evocation of the shade of Pompey); the formula in *Pap. Gr. mag.* 1, 120 *Preisendanz*: ἀναπέμψατέ μοι τῶν νεκρῶν τούτων εἰδῶλα πρὸς ὑπηρεσίαν ἐν τῇ ἀρτι ὥρᾳ ἀνυπερθέτως, ἵνα πορευθέντες ἀξιώσι μοι, τῷ δέῖνᾳ, τὴν δέῖνᾳ τῆς δέῖνᾳ; *Isid. Etym.* 8, 9, 11; *Shakesp. II Hen. VI*, Act 1, Sc. 4. The value of the services of the dead lay, perhaps, less in any superior knowledge upon their part than in the fact that they spoke the truth, having nothing to gain by deceit; cf. *Artemid. Onirocr.* 2, 69. *Iambl. De Myst.* 1, 9, tries to explain why, although the gods are in heaven, theurgists invoke subterranean powers.

490. *mugire*: an opening had to be made for the spirits to emerge from the lower world, and this was commonly accompanied by a rumbling noise or a slight earthquake. In addition to *Ov. Am.* 1, 8, 18; *M.* 7, 206; 14, 407; *Sen. Oed.* 577; 582; *Sil.* 1, 95 (all quoted above), cf. *Aen.* 6, 256-257: *sub pedibus mugire solum et iuga coepta moveri / silvarum* (before the coming of Hecate); *Luc.* 3, 417-418: *fama ferebat / saepe cavas motu terrae mugire cavernas*; *Philostr. Vit. Apollon.* 4, 16 (just before the ghost of Achilles appears): σεισμός μὲν περὶ τὸν κολωνόν βραχὺς ἐγένετο; *Anth. Lat. no. 406*, 4 (1, p. 315 Riese): *magico carmine rumpit humum*. On this use of *mugire* cf. *G.* 3, 150; 3, 554; *Aen.* 3, 92; 3, 674; also *Cic. De Div.* 1, 35: *terrae saepe fremitus, saepe mugitus, saepe motus*; *Addit. Prosp. Havn.* p. 299 *Mommsen*: *per dies VII Romae in foro Pacis terra mugitum dedit*.

490. *videbis*: used, by poetic zeugma, with both *mugire* and *descendere*; for its use with the former cf. *Ecl.* 9, 58: *adspice ventosi ceciderunt murmuris aurae*; *Aen.* 6, 256-257: *mugire solum et iuga coepta moveri / silvarum visaeque canes ululare*; *Ov. Tr.* 3, 8, 37-38: *cumque locum moresque hominum cultusque*

492. testor, cara, deos et te, germana, tuumque

deos *m. rec. add. in ras. π.*

492-493. testor . . . artis: *Aug. C. D. 8, 19* — testor (*corr. in testor*) *C*; capud *C¹de*; inuitum *C¹*; artes —; *Prisc. Inst. 18, 133* (*G. L. K. 3, 270*) — teger mana *VvL*; dulcae *M*; capud *R*; artes —; *Asper, p. 540 Hagen* — te g. t. d. c. m. i. a. a. —. 492-493. tuumque . . . artis: *Prisc. Inst. 17, 102* — perque tuumque *N*; dulce *add. r*; capud *RD*; magis *D*; accingear *R*; artes —.

sonumque / cernimus; *Prop. 2, 16, 49: vidi-stis toto sonitus percurrere caelo*; also *Aesch. Prom. V. 115: τίς ἀχῶ, τίς δδμά προσέπτα μ' ἀφεγγής*; *Sept. 103: κτύπον δέδορκα*; this usage is discussed at length by *Aug. Conf. 10, 54*. In our line the sound and the visible movement are probably considered, as *Mac-kail (ad loc.)* remarks, as a single phenomenon. The subject of *videbis* may be Anna, or, possibly, indefinite (so *Serv.*: *videbit quis*, comparing *cernas* in *4, 401*).

491. sub pedibus: as a verse-beginning in *Ecl. 5, 57*; *G. 1, 243*; *Aen. 2, 227*; *6, 256*.

491. descendere, etc.: cf. *Ecl. 8, 99*; *Aen. 6, 256-257: iuga coepit moveri / sil-varum*; *Tib. 1, 8, 19*; for the effects of magic on vegetation (comparable to that of the music of Orpheus, as in *Hor. C. 1, 12, 11-12*) cf. *XII Tab. ap. Plin. N. H. 28, 17*; *Ov. Am. 3, 7, 31*; *Rem. Am. 255*; *H. 6, 88: illa loco silvas vivaque saxa movei*; *M. 7, 205: silvas moveo*; *Sen. Oed. 574-576*; *Stat. Theb. 7, 115: aut nutare solum aut veteres descendere silvas*; *Cayado, Ecl. 6, 19-20: quae faciant labentia flumina fluctus / sistere et aerias descendere montibus ornos*.

491. ornos: typical of trees in general. With the verse-ending cf. *Ecl. 6, 71: cantando rigidas deducere montibus ornos*; *G. 2, 111: steriles saxosis montibus orni*; *2, 626: summis antiquam in montibus ornum*; *Aen. 6, 182: advolvunt ingentis montibus ornos*; *10, 766: summis referens annosam montibus ornum*.

492. testor . . . deos . . . invitam: cf. *4, 357: testor utrumque caput*; *6, 459-460: per superos . . . / invitus, regina, tuo de litore cessi*.

492. cara: cf. *Val. Fl. 7, 347: testor, cara, tuas, Circe Titania, voces*; *Harrod, Latin Terms of Endearment and of Family Relationship* (1909), 34-37, on the use of *carus*

and *dulcis*. Dido uses *cara* here of her sister and in *4, 634*, of the nurse, Barce, as Aeneas employs it of Ascanius (*4, 354*), but it is not used of the affection between Dido and Aeneas.

492. te . . . tuumque . . . caput: cf. *2, 154-155: vos . . . et non violabile vestrum / testor numen*; *8, 144-145: me me ipse meum-que / obieci caput*; *Soph. O. C. 750: ἀεί σε κηδεύουσα καὶ τὸ σὸν κάρα*; *Catull. 66, 39-40: invita, o regina, tuo de vertice cessi, / invita; adiuro teque tuumque caput*; *Cic. De Domo, 145: meque atque meum caput . . . devovi*; *Liv. 26, 48, 12: obstringere periurio non se solum suumque caput*.

493. dulce caput: like *φίλον κάρα* or *φίλη κεφαλή*; cf. *4, 354, n. (capitis . . . cari)*; *4, 357, n. (caput)*; *Prop. 4, 11, 55: te, dulce caput*; *Marin. Vit. Procli, 12, 29: ἡ θέλα κεφαλή*.

493. magicas . . . artis: for the construction cf. *2, 510-511: inutile ferrum / cingitur*; *4, 137, n. (chlamydem)*; the magic arts are, metaphorically, a weapon which Dido girds on. We need not, with the *Scholia Danielis*, explain *pro* 'ad magicas,' aut 'magicas adgredi invitam.' The expression *magicae artes* is frequent (cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat. 2* (1900), 665, 34-46; to which add: *Hier. Vit. Hilar. 20; Comm. in Gal. 3, p. 506 Vall.*; *Comm. in Eph. 3, p. 672 Vall.*; *Vasold, Augustinus quae hauserit ex Vergilio, 2* (1908), 4; *Isid. Etym. 8, 9, 3*), but sometimes the singular, *ars magica*, is used (*Thes. Ling. Lat. 2*, 665, 48-53).

493. invitam: *Knorr (Beiträge z. Erkl. einiger Stellen aus Horaz u. Verg. (1900), 19*) thinks Dido's unwillingness was not because the use of magic was unlawful but because it involved the evocation of terrible underworld powers whom she feared. But it

493. dulce caput magicas invitam accingier artis.

magica *M* (magicas *M⁴*). arces (*corr. in artes*) *P*, artes *γab*.

[492*] 493. magicas . . . artis: *Diomed. Art. gram. 1* (*G. L. K. 1, 341*) — artes —; *2* (*G. L. K. 1, 441*) — magicam *AB*; artes —; [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll. 18* (*G. L. K. 4, 263*); *Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 450)* — artes —. 493. magicas . . . accingier: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll. 7* (*G. L. K. 4, 237*) — magis inuita *B* —. 493. magicas invitam: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 646* — inuita *F*, inuita *T* —. 493. accingier: *Gl. Ansil. 22, 190; q.v.*

is more probable that Virgil here anachronistically reflects in Dido's feeling that of his own day, when magic was employed by the more ignorant classes but held in great disfavor by the respectable and intelligent; cf. *Serv.*: *quia cum multa sacra Romani susciperent semper magica damnarunt; ideo excusat*; *DeWitt, The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 23; *Penquitt, De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 40, and works there cited; *Tavener, Studies in Magic from Latin Literature* (1916), 25-60; *id., Magic in early Roman Religion* (1924), 2; 7; *Prescott, The Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 287-290; *Buscaroli (ad loc.)*, who gives (p. 342) a list of passages in Horace and the elegiac writers dealing with magic arts. Ovid, for example, does not recommend magic as a means for escaping from love (*Rem. Am. 249-252*). *Sil. 8, 98-99*, does not make Dido use magic till after Aeneas has sailed, and then with a similar reluctance: *ad magicas etiam fallax atque improba gentis / Massylae levitas descendere compulit artes*; cf. the reluctance of Deianira (*Soph. Trachin. 582-587*): *κακὰς δὲ τόλμας μήτ' ἐπιστάμην ἐγὼ / μήτ' ἐκμάθοιμι, τὰς τε τολμώσας στυγῶ. / φίλτροις δ' ἐάν πως τήνδ' ὑπερβαλώμεθα / τήν παῖδα καὶ θέλκτροισι τοῖς ἐφ' Ἡρακλεῖ, / μεμηχάνηται τοῦργον, — εἴ τι μὴ δοκῶ / πράσσειν μάταιον' εἰ δὲ μή, πεπαύσομαι*; also *Faust in the Hexenküche* (*Goethe, Faust, 1982*): *Mir widersteht das tolle Zauberwesen*. Dido's resort to magic comes when her use of religious rites has proved unsuccessful; Aeneas nowhere employs it, and in the latter part of the *Aeneid* the powers of the nether world side with the enemies of the Trojans; cf. *DeWitt, l. c.* Dido's use of it hardly estranges the sympathy of the reader, as does that of Medea (*Rébelliau, De Verg. in informandis*

muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore (1892), 83, n. 2), perhaps because it is clear that she has no real belief in it but employs it as a pretext; cf. *DeWitt, l. c.*; *Bellessort, Virgile* (1924), 295. Had she really believed in these magic arts the result would have been 'antitragic,' for she would be deceiving herself and hoping when she should be aware of her misfortunes; cf. *Fiore, La Poesia di Virgilio* (1930), 268-269. Dido's magic arts were not, according to Henry (*in Cl. Rev. 44* (1930), 109), "the mere everyday exercise of skill which they appear to be in Apollonius, but something infrequent, secret, and apart. They are wrought by a priestess from the remote Western world; they are done in secret and with a shamed face; and they fail. They are not of this world, but they are the servants of destiny; they cannot heal the sorrows of the heart."

Magic, with its coercion of divine powers, is continually at odds with the religious approach to them (cf. *Lang, Magic and Religion* (1901), 46; *Frazer, Golden Bough, 1, 3 ed.* (1913), 224-226; *Lowe, Magic in Greek and Latin Lit.* (1929), 4), and hence tends to be officially banned and constantly censured (e.g., *Plin. N. H. 28, 8*; *Mythogr. Vat. III, 4, 7*), especially by Christian writers, from an early period (e.g., *Didache, 2, 2*) onward (cf. *Thorndike, Hist. of Magic and experimental Science, 2, 2 ed.* (1929), 604).

493. accingier: *metri causa*, as *Servius* notes; cf. *G. 1, 454: immiscerier*; *Aen. 7, 70: dominarier*; *8, 493: defendier*; *9, 231: admittier*; *11, 242: farier* (all these cases except *8, 493* being in the fifth foot). On this archaic form, common in *Plautus*, frequent in *Lucretius* and in *Cicero's* poetry, nine times in *Horace*, and apparently disappearing entirely only after *Ausonius*, cf. *Wotke in*

494. tu secreta pyram tecto interiore sub auras

tum *cod. Neap.* pyram *γb.* ininteriore *Pγ* (interiore *P²*).

494-495. tu . . . erige: *Donat. Aen.* 4, 645; *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 509); *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1, 199. 494. tu . . . interiore: *Charis. Inst. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 1, 221) — tum *N* —. 494. tu . . . pyram: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 376 (1, p. 76 Riese) — secretam pyram *A* —. 494. tecto interiore: *Gl. Ansil.* 553, 23.

Wiener Stud. 8 (1886), 145; Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 691-693.

494. tu: Sabbadini (*Il primitivo Disegno dell' Eneide* (1900), 44, n. 4) remarks that what Dido now bids Anna do she herself actually executes in 4, 504-508, and concludes that we have here a relic of an earlier stage in Virgil's plan of the poem. But *iussa parat* (4, 503) may well refer to Anna's attention to the building of the pyre, which must have required the aid of workmen, while Dido, either from impatience or to keep occupied or to take a more personal part in the matter — the distinction between the command to Anna, in the imperative, *erige*, and the milder suggestion of the subjunctive, *superimponas*, should also be noted —, took upon herself to adorn it and place on it the sword and other objects; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 141, n. 1, who discusses also the combination here of Dido's desire to bear public testimony to her devotion to the memory of Sychaeus (cf. 4, 24-29; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 340: *pyram . . . quam se ad expiandos prioris mariti manes extruxisse fingeat*) and her plan for a secret (*secreta*, *tecto interiore*, *penetrati in sede*) and unobstructed suicide.

494. secreta: Serv.: *sine arbitris; et est bona elocutio rem loci vel temporis ad personam transferre, ut 'nocturnus venit,' 'secretus fecit'*; cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 321, for examples of this type of hypallage, in which the epithet is transferred from the object to the subject.

494. pyram: on the substitution by the Carthaginians, in imitation of Greek usage, of cremation for their earlier custom of inhumation cf. Pareti, *Le Origini etrusche* (1926), 147-148. This change is explained by Justin, 19, 1, 10, as imposed upon them by the Persian king Darius; cf. Moore,

Carthage of the Phoenicians (1905), 82-83. Servius remarks *sub specie sacrificii praeeparat morti exequias*.

494. tecto interiore: cf. 2, 486: *domus interior*; 4, 504: *penetrati in sede sub auras*; 4, 645 and n. (*interiora*); 7, 59: *laurus erat tecti medio in penetralibus altis*. Justin, 18, 6, 6, says that her pyre was *in ultima parte urbis exstructa* (cf. Sil. 8, 132-133, quoted below; but in 8, 51 Silius says it was *in penetralibus*).

494. sub auras: often taken to mean that the pyre was built in the *compluvium* or in the centre of a peristyle or some space open to the sky yet within the confines of the palace (cf. 2, 512-513: *aedibus in mediis nudoque sub aetheris axe / ingens ara fuit*), and surely if it had been in any roofed area Anna might well have felt alarmed at the risk. Gebhardi (*ad loc.*), however, followed by Hunziker (*Die Figur der Hyperbel in d. Ged. Vergils* (1896), 65, n. 92) considers the phrase and its repetition in 4, 504 as hyperbolic expressions of the height of the pyre, which in 4, 505 is described as *ingenti*, and from which Sil. 8, 132-133 says *cuius de sede dabatur / cernere cuncta freta et totam Carthaginis urbem*. Virgil uses *auras* with the prepositions *ad*, *in*, *per*, and *sub*, *per auras* especially of the horizontal dispersion of sound, news, birds, missiles, etc.; *ad auras* and *in auras* of motion upward, either from the underworld to that above ground or to birth (e.g., G. 4, 486; *Aen.* 6, 128; 6, 761), or of position or motion aloft, as of mountains (*Aen.* 12, 703), a tower (6, 554), the upward growth of trees (G. 2, 291; 2, 363; *Aen.* 4, 445), the rising of smoke or flames (G. 4, 499; *Aen.* 2, 759; 5, 740; 7, 466; 12, 592), the soaring of a bird (*Aen.* 5, 861), etc., while *sub auras* implies emergence into public notice (*Aen.* 2, 158) or, sometimes, has the idea of great height: *Aen.* 3, 422-423: *sorbet in abruptum fluctus rursusque*

495. erige, et arma viri, thalamo quae fixa reliquit impius, exuviasque omnis lectumque iugalem

erige (corr. ex *eriga*, ut vid.) γ. aram *F* (arma *F¹*). in thalamo *c.* reliquit π. exsuuias *F.* omnes *b.*

[494] 495-496. thalamo . . . impius: *Quintil. Inst.* 8, 6, 29 — *deleverunt editores nonnulli* —. 495. erige: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 377 (1, p. 76 Riese); *q.v.*; *Gl. Ansil.* 208, 126; *q.v.* 495. arma viri: *Gl. Ansil.* 65, 446.

[495] 496-497. lectumque . . . superimponas: *Diomed. Art. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 1, 439) — iugale *ABM*; inponas —. 496. lectumque iugalem: *Auson. Cento nupt.* 86, p. 214 *Peiper*; *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 127 (1, p. 54 Riese). 496. iugalem: *Gl. Ansil.* 321, 114; *q.v.*

sub auras / erigit alternos et sidera verberat unda; 3, 575-577: *avolsaque viscera montis / erigit eructans liquefactaque saxa sub auras / cum gemitu glomerat*; 7, 767-768: *ad sidera rursus / aetheria et superas caeli venisse sub auras*; cf. 8, 24-25 (of a reflection): *sub auras / erigitur*. He seems nowhere else to use *sub auras* as exactly equivalent to *sub divo*, though here and in 2, 158 and 4, 504 there may be some slight connotation of that sort; cf. also *Ov. M.* 3, 296; 5, 641; 11, 184 (of a secret): *efferre sub auras*; Sil. 16, 325-326: *sub auras / erigitur globus*; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 2 (1900), 1477, 50-57. In the present case we should perhaps render the words, 'raise aloft,' but understand as well that the pyre stands under the open sky; cf. Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 41. Smith (*Religion of the Semites*, 1 ed. (1889), 354) thinks that the spot on which legend placed the self-sacrifice of Dido to her former husband was that at which later Carthaginian human sacrifices were performed.

495. erige: cf. 4, 505: *erecta*.

495. arma: Serv.: *gladium dicit abusive; nam ait paulo post* (4, 507) *'ensemque relictum'*; *proprie enim arma sunt quae armos tegunt*; cf. *Schol. Dan.*: *hic ideo generaliter 'arma' nominavit, ne mentione solius gladii consilium proderetur* (doubtless referring to the *ensis* of 4, 507; 4, 646-647). To burn the clothing and weapons of a dead hero on his pyre was a regular custom; cf. 6, 217 (of the pyre of Misenus): *decorantque super fulgentibus armis*; 11, 193-194: *hic alii spolia occisis derepta Latinis / coniciunt igni, galeas ensesque decoros*. Why had Aeneas's weapons

been hung in Dido's apartment? Possibly as a symbol that his warfare was over and the life of love begun; cf. *Hor. C.* 3, 26, 3-6, where *arma* are hung in a temple after the warfare of love has passed; Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 767-768), who cites as a parallel the dedication of weapons by Ignatius Loyola; while Wagner (*ad loc.*) compares *Eur. Hec.* 919-920: *πίσος ἐν θαλάμοις ἔκει-/το, ξυστὸν δ' ἐπὶ πασσάλῳ*; note also *Sen. H. O.* 868-870: *utinam esset, utinam fixus in thalamis meis / Herculeus ensis; huic decet ferro inermi* — probably with a reminiscence of the Dido story. We may perhaps, however, gather from the expression *quaesilum munus* (4, 647) that these objects had been given by Aeneas to Dido at her request like other ill-omened presents (1, 647-655; *Glover, Virgil* (1912), 186) of his, matching various gifts which she had given him, and had been kept by her from sentiment in her own apartment. The use to which she is now to put them is based upon the familiar principle of contagious magic, by which things once in contact are believed to be always in contact.

495. viri: to avoid the mention of Aeneas by name. Cf. 4, 479; 4, 498; 10, 423: *arma exuviasque viri*; Moseley, *Characters and Epithets* (1926), 70, n. 1.

495. thalamo: possibly her actual bed-chamber, though Virgil sometimes uses the word of the women's apartments in general, as in G. 4, 333 and 4, 374, where Cyrene is surrounded in her *thalamus* by numerous attendants engaged in spinning.

496. impius: in reference to Aeneas's usual epithet; cf. 4, 393, n. (*pious*); also, for

497. quo perii superimponas; abolere nefandi

superinponant *FMp* (superinponas *M²*), superimpona . s *c²*, superimponas *γab*, superimponens *c¹*, superinpones *cod. Franc., Schol. Dan.*: quidam 'imponant' legunt, scilicet famulae.

[496*]

such 'run-over' words (4, 23, n. (*impulit*), above) to express moral indignation cf. Murley in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 49 (1928), 358, n. 4. Servius remarks: *qui gladium reliquit furenti. hoc autem tractum est de Homero (Il. 7, 303-305), qui dicit gladium Aiaci datum ab Hectore et Hectori ab Aiace balteum, quae eis exilio fuerunt; nam alter tractus est balteo, alter se donato telo interemit* (so Hygin. *Fab.* 112); cf. Serv. *Aen.* 4, 647, also my note on that line (*non hos*). As there appears (cf. Sil. 8, 149: *ensem Dardanii quaesitum in pignus amoris*), Dido had solicited the gift when she considered Aeneas a lover; now he is an enemy (4, 424), and the sword and clothes are subject to the superstitions attaching to such belongings of enemies, which often led either to the dedication of spoils as trophies or to their destruction or mutilation; cf. Reinach, *Cultes, Mythes, et Religions*, 3 (1908), 223-227; Fowler, *Aeneas at the Site of Rome* (1918), 95-96; *id.*, *Death of Turnus* (1927), 155-156; also Soph. *Aias*, 664-665: ἀλλ' ἔστ' ἀληθὴς ἢ βοροῶν παροιμία, / ἐχθρῶν ἄδωρα δῶρα κοῦκ ὀνήσιμα; 815; 865; 1032-1033; Eur. *Med.* 618: κακοῦ γὰρ ἀνδρὸς δῶρ' ὀνησιν οὐχ ἔχει; Clem. *Strom.* 6, 2, p. 740 P.; Quint. Smyrn. 5, 482-484, where Ajax kills himself with the sword of Hector; *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 1, 84, no. 4, and parallels cited in von Leutsch and Schneidewin's note. So the use of the enemy's shields by Coroebus and others (*Aen.* 2, 386-395), like that of the helmet of Messapus and the trappings of Rhamnes (9, 359-366), leads to no happy result; in 10, 495-505 Turnus strips Pallas of his balteus, but in 12, 941-952 this act leads to his own death; in 10, 700-701 the arms of Latagus and Palmus are given to Lausus, but in 10, 774-776 (cf. Serv. on 10, 775) the gift contributes to his destruction; in Plut. *Dion.* 58, 3, Callippus is slain by the same sword by which his fellow-conspirators had killed Dion; cf. Shakesp. *Jul. Caes.* Act 5, Sc. 3.

The gift of a sharp-edged instrument is in itself often regarded as ill-omened (cf. 9, 303-305 where Ascanius gives a sword to Euryalus before his fatal expedition; Gomme, *Folklore Relics of early Village Life* (1883), 163; Knowlson, *Origins of popular Superstitions* (1910), 181; Emily, Shareefa of Wazan (Morocco), *My Life Story* (1911), 311; Glover, *Virgil* (1912), 186, and n. 6; Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 2 (1926), 26; McCartney in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 62 (1931), 28, and n. 11. Sil. 8, 52-53 says of Dido: *tunc corripit ensem / certa necis, profugi donum exiliare mariti*; cf. Artemid. *Onirocr.* 1, 62: ὅσα γὰρ τέμνει καὶ διχάζει ταῦτα πάντα διχονομίας καὶ στάσεις καὶ θλάβας σημαίνει. The inappropriateness of the gift for a lady to receive is offset by its symbolism of his devotion to her; cf. Rébelliau, *De Verg. in informandis muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 57, n. 2; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 144, n. o; Ov. *H.* 7, 184-188: *scribimus, et gremio Troicus ensis adest, / perque genas lacrimae strictum labuntur in ensem, / qui iam pro lacrimis sanguine tinctus erit. / quam bene conveniunt fato tua munera nostros! / instruis inpensa nostra sepulcra brevi*; etc. It may be noted that the friendly presentation of arms of Neoptolemus to Aeneas by Helenus (3, 467-468) includes only defensive equipment.

496. *exuvias*: Serv.: *vestes Aeneae*. The term is used by Virgil of the skins of animals, the spoils of an enemy (e.g., 2, 275; 10, 423; 11, 7; 11, 790-791; 12, 946), and of clothing, especially when used for magic purposes; cf. *Ecl.* 8, 91-92: *has olim exuvias mihi perfidus ille reliquit / pignora cara sui* (based on Theocr. 2, 53-54: τοῦτ' ἀπὸ τὰς χλαίνας τὸ κράσπεδον ὤλεσε Δέλφης, / ὡγὼ νῦν τιλλοῖσα κατ' ἀγρίῳ ἐν πυρὶ βάλλω); *Aen.* 4, 507; 4, 651 (referring to the *Iliacas vestes*): *dulces exuviae*; Eur. *Hippol.* 509-515; Luc. *Dial. meretr.* 4, 4: δέησι δέ τι αὐτοῦ τοῦ ἀνδρὸς εἶναι,

498. cuncta viri monumenta iuvat, monstratque sacerdos.

monimenta *P.* iuvat *F* (iuvat *F¹*), iubet (*corr. in iubat*) *P.*, iubet *M* (iuvat *M¹*, iubet *M²*), iubet (a *corr. in e*) *γ*, iubet *α²βερπ*; cf. Sabbadini in *Historia (Studi storici)*, 4 (1930), 547. montrat *P.*, monstra *p.*

οἶον ἱμάτια ἢ κρηπίδας ἢ ὀλίγας τῶν τριχῶν ἢ τι τῶν τοιούτων; Dedo, *De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 21: Fahz, *De Poet. Rom. Doctr. magica* (1904), 131; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 1, 3 ed. (1913), 205-207; Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 41; Crawley-Besterman, *Mystic Rose*, 1, 2 ed. (1927), 145; 162; 164; Hopfner in *P.-W.* 14 (1928), 333; Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy* (1926), 129; Jungbauer in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 4 (1932), 1490-1491.

496. *lectumque iugalem*: Schol. Dan.: *elegantier etiam in morte perseverat in amore, et quatenus potest Aeneae se coniungit, si uno igne cum eius concremetur exuviis*. For the phrase cf. Ov. *H.* 2, 57; Claud. *In Eulrop.* 1, 67: *lectusque iugalis*; Valmagg in *Riv. di Filol.* 25 (1897), 46, and n. 2; La Cerda (*ad loc.*) would identify it with the Roman *lectus genialis*. It is doubtless the *notum . . . cubile* of 4, 648, and it may perhaps be identified with that covered with the *stratis . . . relictis* of 4, 82, which Dido's eager imagination has converted into something more significant than it really was. We must not forget that the one who uses the adjective *iugalem* is the same who in 4, 172, *coniugium* vocal.

497. *quo perii*: Serv.: *propter extinctum pudorem*; a "euphemism and a pathetic paradox," according to DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 71; cf. Ov. *Tr.* 4, 4, 37: *hanc quoque, qua perii, culpmam*; *Anth. Lat.* no. 60, 1-2 (1, p. 106 Riese): *inipulat aegra toris vim per deserta Calypso; / vim Dido incensis inipulat aegra toris*. But *perii* may be used, as in *Ecl.* 8, 41 and like the compound *deperire*, of infatuation rather than anything more tangible. Valmagg (in *Riv. di Filol.* 25 (1897), 46) compares Eur. *Alc.* 179-180 (to her bed): χαῖρ' οὐ γὰρ ἐχθαίρω σ' ἀπώλεσας δέ με / μόνην. Another explanation is found in Diomedes, *Art. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 1, 439):

minus apertum. subdistingendum enim est pro voluntate dicentis. hoc enim voluit intellegi Dido, non esse lectum iugalem quo perierit. inmorandum est ergo et respirandum post 'iugalem' et sic inferendum cum ὑποκρίσεως affectu 'quo perii.'

497. *superimponas*: perhaps first used here. Virgil seems to have coined several such double compounds with *super*; cf. Lade-wig, *De Vergilio Verborum Novatore*, 1 (1870), 5. The variant *superinponant* may be due to the thought that Anna could hardly execute all these commands; cf. Unterharnscheidt, *De Veterum in Aeneide Coniecturis* (1911), 55; also above, 4, 494, n. (*iu*). The plural seems to some editors hard to reconcile with the order of secrecy (4, 494), yet 4, 504-505 implies more help than Anna alone could give. If we read *superimponas* we do not, of course, need to infer that Anna was to do this with her own hands, but merely that Dido delegated to her the care of rearing the pyre, as in *erige* (4, 495).

497. *abolere*: cf. 1, 720-721: *abolere Sychaeum / incipit*; Tac. *H.* 1, 84: *abolete memoriam foedissimae noctis*; Aug. *C. D.* 7, 34: *flammis aboleri nefanda monumenta*; Oros. 6, 20, 6: *litterarum etiam monumentis abolitis*. Aeneas seems to have had no such feeling about Dido's gifts to him, which appear at 5, 571-572; 9, 266; 11, 72-75, as carried with him on his journey. Dido's ostensible motive is partly to put out of sight the objects recalling Aeneas and partly to apply magic through them to him, their former owner; beneath her statements, however, perhaps lurks a thought, unsuspected by Anna, of the means by which her recollection of Aeneas is to be ended; cf. 4, 638, n. (*sacra, etc.*). With the passage cf. also Ov. *Rem. Am.* 719-720: *omnia pone feros (pones invitus) in ignes / et dic 'ardoris sit rogis iste mei.'*

497. *nefandi*: the name of whom she cannot bear to speak; cf. 3, 644: *infandi*

499. haec effata silet; pallor simul occupat ora.
non tamen Anna novis praetexere funera sacris
germanam credit nec tantos mente furores

annniouis (? corr. in anna nouis) P. protexere M (praetexere M²), p . . texere (corr. m. 2 in praetexere) a.

credidit m. tantos (t pr. fere eras.) P.

499. haec . . . ora: Anth. Lat. no. 15, 133 (1, p. 55 Riese) — sumul A —. 499. haec . . . silet: Anth. Lat. no. 17, 336 (1, p. 74 Riese). 499. haec effata: Gl. Ansil. 276, 33.
499. pallor . . . ora: [Acro] in Hor. Epod. 7, 15.
500. non . . . sacris: Schol. Dan. Ecl. 7, 12. 500. praetexere . . . sacris: Schol. Dan. Aen. 6, 5. 500. funera: Gl. Ansil. 258, 188; q.v.
501-502. mente concipit: Gl. Ansil. 365, 374 — concepit —.

Cyclopes; 3, 653: gentem . . . nefandam; 4, 613: infandum caput.

498. cuncta, etc.: cf. Sil. 8, 102-103: congesit in atram / cuncta tui monumenta pyram et non prospera dona.

498. viri: cf. 4, 495, n. (viri); Theocr. 2, 3: ὡς τὸν ἐμοὶ βαρὺν εὖντα φίλον καταδῆσσαι δνδρα.

498. iuvat: the arguments of Geist (Erkl. einiger Stellen aus d. Aen. Vergils (1878), 11-12) for iubet, taken by hendiadys with monstrat, fail to see that Dido is speaking here confusedly and with feigned purpose. The Scholia Danielis gloss iuvat by συμφέρει, hoc est et voluntas mihi est et sacerdos hoc praecipit.

498. monstratque sacerdos: Mackail (ed. of Aen. (1930), 130) thinks the phrase a stop-gap (tibicen), while Sparrow (Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil (1931), 50; 145) believes that with iubet it is tautologous, with iuvat a feeble afterthought, and, noting its likeness to 4, 483: monstrata sacerdos, he would consider it the work of an interpolator trying to finish out one of Virgil's half-lines. Yet, as he admits, we need here an allusion to the sacerdos, and we have perfectly good sense as the line stands: Dido says that it will please (or help) her to get rid of all that suggests Aeneas, and the priestess directs her how to do this; cf. G. 4, 549: monstratas . . . aras; Aen. 4, 636: monstrata piacula; Hor. Ep. 2, 2, 149; Ov. Tr. 3, 11, 53.

499. haec effata: cf. 4, 30, n. (sic effata); Schol. Dan.: subitum silentium imperfectam orationem ex perturbatione mentis ostendit.

499. pallor: sometimes a sign of love (e.g., Sappho, 2, 14-15 Bergk: χαλωρότερα δὲ ποίας / ἔμμι; Theocr. 2, 55-56; Ov. Ars am. 1, 729: palleat omnia amans! hic est color aptus amanti; Pichon, De Sermone amatorio (1902), 224), but here, as the Scholia Danielis observe, ex conscientia cogitatae mortis (cf. 4, 644: pallida morte futura; 8, 709: pallentem morte futura), paleness being associated with fear, death, the spirits and rulers of the dead, and the place of the departed; cf. 4, 26, n. (pallentis). With this passage cf. Hor. Epod. 7, 15: tacent, et albus ora pallor inficit; Paul. Petric. De Vita Mart. 3, 198-199: oraque et artus / perfudit croceus glaciali corpore pallor.

499. occupat ora: cf. G. 4, 190: sopor suus occupat artus; Ov. M. 3, 40: tremor occupat artus; Mantuan, Ecl. 5, 72: situs occupat ora.

500. non tamen Anna: cf. 4, 8, n. (unanimam). Anna's insensibility — she realizes the truth all too late, at 4, 675-685 — is paralleled by that of Aeneas; cf. 6, 463-464: nec credere quivi / hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem. For her failure to make a verbal reply cf. 4, 437, n. (talīs, etc.). As Conington (ad loc.) says, tamen means "in spite of her paleness."

500. novis: Schol. Dan.: pro inusitatis et malis et per hoc magicis.

500. praetexere: her use of magic charms is merely to deceive; cf. Eur. I. T. 1316: δόλια δ' ἦν καθάρματα; Prescott, Development of Virgil's Art (1927), 286-287. Schol. Dan.: et est antisirophē, funeribus nova sacra praetexere. With the construction cf. 4, 172:

502. concipit aut graviora timet quam morte Sychaei.
ergo iussa parat.

At regina, pyra penetrali in sede sub auras

concepit Fb¹. au (corr. in aut) c, aut γ¹, aud (corr. in haud) γ², haud π, dell. sychei Pc, sychey γ, sichaei b, sychaeis (ult. s eras.) p.
ad Pγ. pura F (pyra F¹), pyram M (cf. 4, 494; pyra M¹), pyra (1 corr. ex p, a m. 2 in ras. 2 litt.) γ.

[501*] 502. quam . . . Sychaei: Gl. Ansil. 476, 97 — sicei —.

503. ergo . . . parat: Mar. Victor. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 6, 28); Anth. Lat. no. 11, 96 (1, p. 44 Riese); no. 15, 14 (1, p. 50 Riese).

504-505. erecta ingenti pyra: Gl. Ansil. 444, 224 — pira —. 504. penetrali: Gl. Ansil. 306, 1221; q.v. — impenetrabili —; Gl. Abstr. 49, 167; q.v.

praetexit nomine culpam; also other cases collected by Kvřtala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis (1881), 140-141.

500. funera: on the plural (as in 6, 874; 9, 486) cf. Spitta, Quaestiones Vergilianae (1867), 17; Braumüller, Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis, 1 (1877), 4; 13.

501. credit: cf. 6, 463-464: nec credere quivi / hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem.

501. nec . . . aut: as in 4, 338-339.

501. mente . . . concipit: cf. Ov. M. 1, 777: concipit aethera mente; 10, 403-404: nec nutrix etiamnum concipit ullum / mente nefas; Thes. Ling. Lat. 4 (1906), 59, 67-81, to which add Hier. Comm. in Is. 5, p. 181 Vall.; Comm. in Ezech. 6, p. 201 Vall.; 6, p. 227 Vall.; Comm. in Osee, 3, p. 152 Vall.; Sedul. Pasch. Carm. 3, 135: conceptos mente dolores. In 4, 474 concipit furias is used in a different sense from the metaphorical one of this line.

501. furores: cf. 7, 406: primos . . . furores (of Amata); Catull. 64, 54; 64, 94; 68, 129; Spitta, op. cit., 501; Braumüller, op. cit., 1, 15. Of course furores concipit is in quite a different sense from 4, 474: concipit furias; Cir. 164: concipit in ossa furorem; Ov. M. 2, 640: concipit mente furores.

502. graviora: cf. 4, 23, n. (adgnosco). The matter-of-fact, rather coarse nature of Anna is seen nowhere more clearly than in this line; cf. the letter of Charles James Fox to Wakefield, quoted by Henry, Aeneidea, 2 (1878), 769-770. The coarseness, it should be noted, is not that of Virgil — hence

Henry's defence against Fox is beside the point — but of the character whom he is, with such psychological accuracy, describing. As Dido had been affected for a time after the death of Sychaeus so it will be now, and then she will get over it. Anna is not comparing her own fears with those which she entertained for Dido at the death of Sychaeus (as Ribbeck supposes) but rather what will happen now with what happened then; cf. Schol. Dan.: hoc est, quae vel fecit vel passa est Dido. It should be noted that Aeneas (6, 463-464) says nec credere quivi / hunc tantum tibi me discessu ferre dolorem.

502. morte: 'at the death'; cf. 3, 333; 4, 244; 4, 436.

503. ergo, etc.: cf. Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide, 1 (1926), 357, who thinks the half-verse unnecessary but probably added by Virgil himself in the margin when he noticed, on rereading the book, that there was no reference to the execution of Dido's orders; Sparrow, Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil (1931), 33; Walter, Die Entstehung der Halboerse in der Aeneis (1933), 46.

504. at regina: cf. 4, 1, n. (at); 4, 296. Servius's criticism of this line seems somewhat captious: notatus est hic versus; vitiosa est enim elocutio quae habet exitus similes, licet sit casuum dissimilitudo. Yet, as Conington (ad loc.) well remarks, erecta . . . secta in the next line is more objectionable than reginā pyrā.

Some possible inconsistencies in the magic practices which follow seem partly due to the

505. erecta, ingenti taedis atque ilice secta,

taedds *P* (taedis *P*²). adque *F*.

[504]

author's lack of expert knowledge (for, despite the eighth *Eclogue*, he had no Canidia to instruct him), and partly, perhaps, to the lack of his final revision of the poem, yet in larger measure they accurately represent Dido's own frantic state of mind. Of the three women concerned only the witch is an expert, professing both to entangle and to disentangle human affections (4, 487-488), and her operations (4, 507-516) seem more or less consistently directed toward recovering for Dido the love of Aeneas (note especially the use of the *hippomanes*; cf. 4, 515, n. (*nascentis equi*)). If unsuccessful in this she perhaps plans to attempt the opposite (cf. 4, 479). Whither Dido's own actions (4, 517-521) tend matters little to her, since they are, after all, but a feint to deceive Anna, who, living in the palace, is as unfamiliar as the queen with the disreputable acts of magic to which Dido so reluctantly (4, 493) resorts. The feint is successful and Dido's purpose is effected; the hocus-pocus, then, is, from Dido's point of view, justified.

504. *pyra*: cf. 4, 494-495: *pyram lecto interiore sub auras / erige*; Sil. 8, 51-52 (of Dido): *in penetralibus atram / festinat furi-bunda pyram*; 8, 131-132: *celsam, quam struxerat ante / magna mole, pyram*; Dracont. *De Laud. Dei*, 3, 514 (of Dido): *ipsa pyram manibus propriis construxit ut aram*. On the methods of building a funeral pyre see Vitruv. 2, 9, 15; also *Aen.* 6, 214-225; *Stat. Theb.* 4, 449-468.

504. *penetrati in sede*: for the adjectival use cf. *G.* 1, 379: *teclis penetralibus*; *Aen.* 2, 297: *adytis . . . penetralibus*; 5, 660: *focis penetralibus*.

505. *ingenti*: cf. 4, 89, n. (*ingentes*); 6, 214-217 (the pyre of Misenus): *principio pinguem taedis et robore secto / ingentem struxere pyram, cui frondibus atris / intexunt latera et feralis ante cupressos / constituunt, decorantque super fulgentibus armis*. By a

comma after *erecta* many editors, following Wakefield, have well connected this word with *taedis atque ilice*, as in the passage just quoted *robore secto* depends on *ingentem*; cf. also 7, 483: *cornibus ingens*; 11, 124: *fama ingens, ingentior armis*; 11, 641: *ingentem animis, ingentem corpore et armis*. In *Sil.* 2, 422 Dido stands *pyram super ingentem*. Cf. also *Prud. Peristeph.* 10, 846-847: *at parte campi ex altera inmanem pyram / texebat ustor fumidus pinu arida*; etc.

505. *taedis*: pieces of resinous pine wood (cf. *Plin. N. H.* 16, 44: *taeda proprie dicta abundantior suco quam reliqua, parciore liquidiorque quam picea, flammis ac lumini sacrorum etiam grata*; etc.), doubtless cloven into what the Greeks called *σχιζαι* or *σχιδακες* (*Il.* 1, 462; 2, 425; *Od.* 3, 459; *Ar. Pax*, 1024; 1032; *Anth. Pal.* 6, 231, 3; 1 *Kings*, 18, 33; etc.), to make a hotter fire (cf. our saying "cooked over split wood"); cf. *Ecl.* 7, 49: *taedae pingues*; *G.* 2, 431; *Aen.* 7, 71. The word is also commonly used of torches or firebrands.

505. *ilice*: cf. 6, 180 (in preparation for the pyre of Misenus): *sonat icta securibus illex*; *Sil.* 10, 532; 13, 277-278: *consurgens ilice multa / extruitur rogos*.

505. *secta*: cf. 2, 16: *secta . . . abiete*, though there in reference to boards or planks, which is probably not the case here. The word emphasizes, however, that the wood is deliberately prepared rather than consisting of mere fallen branches.

506. *intendit*, etc.: *Serv.*: *ligat, ut* (2, 236-237) *'et stuppea vincula collo / intendunt.' et est hypallage, 'intendit sarta per locum'*; cf. *Cic.* 2 *Verr.* 5, 80: *tabernacula . . . carbazeis intenta velis*. One may hang garlands 'around a place' or 'hang a' place with garlands,' in Latin as in English. Cf. also 4, 202, n. (*florentia limina sertis*); *Dedo, De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 17, for such a magically binding use of garlands; Köchling, *De Coronarum apud Anti-*

506. intenditque locum sertis et fronde coronat
funerea; super exuvias ensemque relictum

coronant *F* (coronat *F*¹).

funereas γ¹, funereas (s eras.) *p*.

506-507. *intenditque . . . funerea*: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 324-325* (1, p. 74 *Riese*) — *incenditque A* — 506-507. et . . . *funerea*: *Schol. Lucan.* 3, 442 — *om. U*; coronant *WC*, coronam *G*¹; funera *WC* —; *Gl. Ansil.* 149, 2282. 506-507. *fronde . . . funerea*: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 4, 460 — *funesta fronde coronat L*; funeram *Pa* —. 506-507. *fronde funerea*: *Gl. Ansil.* 255, 211; cf. 259, 198. 506. *intenditque . . . sertis*: *Serv. Aen.* 2, 237; 5, 403; *Gl. Plac.* 25, 9. 506. *intendit*: *Gl. Ansil.* 312, 1729; *Gl. Philox.* 202, 591; *q.v.* 506. *sertis . . . coronat*: *Anth. Lat. no. 14, 20* (1, p. 49 *Riese*).

[506*] 507. ensemque relictum: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 495.

quos Vi atque Usu (1914); *Eitrem, Opfer-ritus u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 65-66.

506. -que . . . et: a correlation avoided by some writers including Cicero, but found from *Enn. Ann.* 240 onward; cf. *Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 2, 2 ed. (1914), 37.

506. *fronde . . . funerea*: *Schol. Dan.: Romani moris fuit propter caerimonias sacrorum, quibus populus Romanus obstrictus erat, ut potissimum cupressus, quae excisa renasci non solet, in vestibulo mortui poneretur, ne quis imprudens funestam domum rem divinam facturum introeat et quasi attaminatus suscepta peragere non possit; hinc ergo 'funerea' cupresso* (cf. *Paul. ex Fest.* p. 63 M. = p. 56 *Lindsay*); *Serv. Aen.* 6, 216: . . . *Varro tamen dicit pyras ideo cupresso circumdari propter gravem ustrinae odorem*, etc.; also *Virg. Aen.* 3, 63-64: *stant manibus arae / caeruleis maestae vittis atraque cupresso* (and *Serv. ad loc.*); 6, 215-216: *frondibus atris / . . . et feralis ante cupressos*; *Hor. C.* 2, 14, 23; *Epod.* 5, 18: *cupressus funebris*; *Cul.* 140: *fleta cupressus*; *Ov. Tr.* 3, 13, 21: *funeris ara mihi, ferali cincla cupressu*; *Luc.* 3, 442; *Petron.* 120, 75: *ferali . . . cupressu*; *Stat. Theb.* 4, 460-461: *cupressus / . . . plorata*; *Silv.* 5, 5, 30: *plorata cupressus*; *Plin. N. H.* 16, 139: *cupressus . . . Dili sacra et ideo funebri signo ad domos posita*; *Sil.* 10, 533-535: *devolvunt quercus et amantem litora pinum / ac, feralis decus, maestae ad busta cupressos. / funereas tum deinde pyras certamine texunt*; etc. For the history of the

cypress (*Cupressus sempervirens* L.) cf. *Olck in P.-W.* 4 (1901), 1900-1938, especially 1932-1938 for its use as a symbol of mourning and of the gods of the underworld (cf. the yew in Northern Europe; *Knowlson, Origins of popular Superstitions* (1910), 222-225); also *Dedo, De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 11; *Hopfner, Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber* (1921), 137. The pyre is here garlanded, as in *Ecl.* 8, 64 the altar is bound with a fillet; cf. *Köchling, op. cit.*, 11. The contrast between the *velleribus niveis et festa fronde* about the shrine of Sychaeus (for whom, though dead, his widow's love had continued living and active) and the dusky symbols which here portend, not only death for Dido, but also the termination of her affection for the lover whom they typify, should not be overlooked. With the phraseology here used cf. *Hor. Ep.* 1, 18, 64: *fronde coronet*; *Juvenc.* 3, 637: *fronde coronant*; *Ambros. Hexaem.* 3, 49: *sertis uvarum coronat*; *Pandoni, cited by Zabughin, Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital.* 1 (1921), 342: *solumque replent foliis et fronde coronant*.

507. *funerea*: first here; cf. *Ladewig, De Vergilio Verborum Novatore*, 1 (1870), 4. The emphasis upon black or dark objects — ominously symbolic — may be noted: *ilice, fronde funerea, nigri . . . veneni*; it is further probable that the rites took place at night (cf. 4, 522).

507. *super*: adverbial.

507. *exuvias*: cf. 4, 496, and n. (*exuvias*).

507. *relictum*: cf. 4, 647, n. (*non hos*).

508. effigiemque toro locat, haud ignara futuri.

thora c¹. iaut M (haut M¹), haud FPpabc.

508. effigiemque . . . futuri: Serv. Ecl. 8, 75. 508. toro locat: Gl. Ansil. 566, 152.
508. ignara futuri: Anth. Lat. no. 17, 337 (1, p. 74 Riese) — aut (i.e., haut) ignara A —.

508. effigiem: Schol. Dan.: *imaginem scilicet Aeneae, quia solent magi effigies eorum facere propter quos carmen instituunt*; Serv.: *exprimilur amoris adfectus, quod etiam in morte amati imagini volebat esse coniuncta, ut paulo post (4, 605-606) 'natumque patremque/cum genere extinxem, memel super ipse dedissem.'* The use of effigies or puppets to symbolize those upon whom magical effects are to be produced (Serv. Aen. 2, 116: *sciendum in sacris simulata pro veris accipi*; unde cum de animalibus quae difficile inveniuntur est sacrificandum de pane vel cera fiunt et pro veris accipiuntur) is ancient and widespread; cf. Plat. Legg. 11, 933 b, who speaks of κήρυκα μιμήματα πεπλασμένα, εἴτ' ἐπὶ θύραις εἴτ' ἐπὶ τριόδοις εἴτ' ἐπὶ μνήμασι γονέων αὐτῶν; Theocr. 2, 28-29: ὡς τοῦτον τὸν κηρὸν ἐγὼ σὺν δαίμονι τάκω, / ὡς τάκοιθ' ὑπ' ἔρωτος ὁ Μῦνδιος αὐτίκα Δέλφει; Ecl. 8, 74-75: *terque haec altaria circum / effigiem duco*; 8, 77-78: *necte tribus nodis ternos, Amarylli, colores; / necte, Amarylli, modo et 'Veneris' dic 'vincula necio'*; 8, 80-81: *limus ut hic durescit et haec ut cera liquescit / uno eodemque igni, sic nostro Daphnis amore*; Hor. Epod. 17, 76: *cereas imagines*; Serm. 1, 8, 30-34: *lanea et effigies erat altera cerea; maior / lanea, quae poenitis compesceret inferiorem; / cerea suppliciter stabat, servilibus ut quae / iam peritura modis. Hecaten vocat altera, saevam / altera Tisiphonen*; 1, 8, 43-44: *imagine cerea / largior arserit igni*; Ov. H. 6, 91: *devolet absentis simulacraque cerea figit*; Hygin. Fab. 104: *Laodamia . . . fecit simulacrum cereum simile Protesilai coniugis, et in thalamis posuit, sub simulatione sacrorum . . . (Acastus pater) ne diutius torqueretur, iussit signum et sacra, pyra facta, comburi; quo se Laodamia, dolorem non sustinens, immisit atque usta est (from some Alexandrian epic or elegiac source describing this story Penquitt (De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu (1910), 43, n. 2) thinks that Virgil borrowed the motif*

of the effigy placed on the pyre and Dido's suicide by a sword); Luc. Philopseudes, 14: ὁ Ὑπερβόρεος ἐκ πηλοῦ ἐρώτιόν τι ἀναπλάσας, ἀπιθί, ἔφη, καὶ ἄγε Χρυσίδα. καὶ ὁ μὲν πηλὸς ἐξέπτατο, καὶ μετὰ μικρὸν δὲ ἐπέστη κόπτουσα τὴν θύραν ἐκείνη καὶ εἰσελθοῦσα περιβάλλει τὸν Γλαυκίαν ὡς ἂν ἐμμανέστατα ἐρώσα, κτλ.; Paragr. Gr. mag. 1 (1928), 82 Preisendanz: *φιλτροκατάδεσμος θαυμαστός* λαβὼν κηρὸν (ἢ πηλὸν) ἀπὸ τροχοῦ κεραμικοῦ πλάσσει ζῶδια δύο, ἀρρενικὸν καὶ θηλυκόν, followed by elaborate instructions for magic words to be written on these puppets and thirteen needles to be thrust into them, together with various charms; 1, 174: *λαβὼν κηρὸν Τυρρηνικὸν πλάσσει ἀνδριάντα, κτλ.*; 2 (1931), 39 Preisendanz, where an effigy is made and the adjuration given: ἀπελθεῖν πρὸς τὴν δείνα, ἄξαι αὐτὴν τῶν τριχῶν, τῶν π(ο)δῶν φοβουμένη, φανταζομένη ἀγρυπνοῦσα ἐπὶ τῷ ἔρωτι μου καὶ τῇ ἐμοῦ φιλίᾳ . . . μὴ δυνήθῃ ἡ δείνα ἢ ὁ δείνα ἐπιτυχεῖν (sc. ὕπνου), ἕως ἐλθοῦσα πρὸς ἐμὲ τὸν δείνα . . . καὶ μὴ δυνασθῇ ἄλλω ἀνδρὶ συνμιγῆναι εἰ μὴ ἐμοὶ μόνῳ. On this and similar cases see Dedo, *De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 20-27; Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura u. die antike Zauberei* (1908), 80-85; 239-240; also Hirschfeld, *De Incantamentis et Devinctionibus amatoriis apud Graecos Romanosque* (1863), 38; 43, n. 5; Heim, *Incantamenta magica* (1892), 510-511; Kuhnert in *Rh. Mus.* 49 (1894), 40-41; Oldenberg, *Die Relig. des Veda* (1894), 484-485; Kroll, *Antike Aberglaube* (1897), 22-23; Hopkins in *Proc. Am. philos. Soc.* 49 (1910), 38-39; Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 42-44; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 1 (1913), 55-56; 70-78; 4 (1911), 217-254; 9 (1914), 7-8; 204-206; 10 (1914), 106-128; 167; 172-173; 195; etc.; Nock in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 24 (1926), 172-173; Crawley-Besterman, *Mystic Rose*, 2 ed., 1 (1927), 162; Thorndike, *Hist. of Magic and exp. Science*, 2 ed., 1 (1929), 19; 561; 563, n. 2; 666; 2

509. stant arae circum, et crinis effusa sacerdos

[st]ant P. are F (arae F¹). crines cp.

509. crinis effusa: Gl. Ansil. 153, 190.

(1929), 158; 350; 802; 818; Kittredge, *Witchcraft in Old and New England* (1929), 73; Nock in *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 17 (1931), 245.

508. haud ignara futuri: cf. 5, 284: *operum haud ignara Minervae*; 5, 618: *haud ignara nocendi*; 10, 501: *nescia mens hominum fati sortisque futurae*; Hor. Serm. 1, 1, 35: *haud ignara ac non incauta futuri*; Liv. 8, 7, 12: *ignarus fati futurique*; Ov. M. 15, 815: *ne sis eliamnum ignara futuri*; Val. Fl. 7, 192: *et adhuc ignara futuri*; Dracont. Orest. 271: *vel mens ignara futuri*; Politian, *Manto*, 216: *Dido ignara futuri*. Schueler (*Quaest. Vergilianae* (1883), 28) thinks it inconsistent in Dido in this verse clearly to foresee the future and at 4, 534 to be again in indecision, and he would assume different strata in the composition of the book (as do Gercke, Sabadini, Vivona (in *Riv. di Filol.* 26 (1898), 432-434), and others). Yet a woman contemplating suicide may perhaps be allowed some irresoluteness, as at 4, 534, and in the present line the phrase is intended to contrast the deliberate intent of Dido with the evident ignorance of it on the part of Anna and the sacerdos (cf. Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 51, which answers, I think, the doubts of Crump, *Growth of the Aeneid* (1929), 61). Pichon (in *Rev. de Philol.* 33 (1909), 249) thinks Dido's feint so good that the author must here warn the reader that it is only a pretense after all, and not far from this view is that of Fickelscherer (cited by Knorr, *Beiträge z. Erkl. einiger Stellen aus Horaz u. Vergil* (1900), 21-22) that the clause is concessive: "though she foresaw the future" yet she went on with her preparations. Knorr himself (*l. c.*) supposes that back of the magic acts lay Dido's desire to have close about her at the moment of her death all available relics which might recall her brief romance and the person of her beloved.

509. stant, etc.: cf. Sil. 1, 91-94 (of Dido): *ordine centum / stant arae caelique*

deis Ereboque potenti. / hic, crine effuso, atque Hennaee numina divae / atque Acheronta vocat Stygia cum veste sacerdos. For the use of *stant* (= 'are set up'; cf. ἵστημι as the passive of τίθημι) cf. Aen. 2, 767: *stant circum*; 3, 63: *stant manibus arae*; Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 90; 110. In most of its occurrences in Virgil it is initial in its clause or line, like *it* and *fit* (cf. 4, 130, n. (it); 4, 135, n. (stat)).

509. arae: cf. 4, 21, n. (penates). Penquitt (*op. cit.*, 44, and n. 2) observes that in the magical papyri there is usually but a single altar mentioned at magic rites, but he well suggests that several altars befit the dignity of the queen. Cf. also Ecl. 6, 65-66: *en quattuor aras: / ecce duas tibi, Daphni, duas altaria Phoebos.*

509. crinis effusa: cf. 4, 148, n. (premiu). Schol. Dan.: *crines effusos habens*; cf. G. 4, 337: *caesariem effusae*; Aen. 10, 838: *fusus propexam in pectore barbam*. The principle is recognized by Serv. Aen. 4, 518: *in sacris nihil solet esse religatum, praecipue eius quae amore vult solvi* (but this seems an inference from the present line). It may be seen, however, in the bare foot of the queen in line 518; for other combinations of loose locks and bare feet cf. Hor. Serm. 1, 8, 24 (of Canidia): *pedibus nudis passoque capillo*; Ov. M. 7, 183 (Medea): *nuda pedem, nudis umeros infusa capillis* (7, 257: *passis Medea capillis*); Sen. Med. 752-753: *tibi more gentis vinculo solvens comam / secreta nudo nemora lustravi pede*. Loosing the hair occurs not only in magic but in other prayers and in sacrifices; e.g., Callim. Hymn. Cer. 5: ἀ κατεχέβατο χαλτράν; Aen. 1, 480: *crinibus . . . passis*; 2, 403-404: *passis . . . / crinibus*; 3, 65: *crinem de more solutae* (= 11, 35); 3, 370-371; 6, 48; 12, 870: *crinis . . . solutus*; Ov. H. 6, 89: *passis discincta capillis*; F. 3, 257: *resoluto crine precelur*; Octavia, 719: *resolutis comis*; 745: *fusae comae*; Sil. 1, 93 (quoted above); 8, 130: *resolutaque crinem*; Opp. Cyneg. 1,

510. ter centum tonat ore deos, Erebumque Chaosque

(t)er P. deum (?) F (deos F¹). herebum b.

510. ter . . . deos: *Asper*, p. 538 *Hagen* — ore d. —.

496: λύσατο μὲν πλοκάμους; also the general treatments in Dedo, *De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 13; Abt, *op. cit.* (1908), 76, n. 1, and works there cited; Appel, *De Romanorum Precationibus* (1909), 203; Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit, u. Tod* (1911), 109–120; Penquitt, *op. cit.* (1910), 44–45; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 3 (1914), 310–311; Heckenbach, *De Nuditate sacra sacrisque Vinculis* (1911), 70–75; Schredelseker, *De Superstit. Graecorum quae ad Crines pertinent* (1913), 63–65 (with citation of pertinent inscriptions); Eitrem, *Opferritus u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 398–401; McCartney in *Cl. Journ.* 19 (1923), 171–172 (modern instances); *id.*, in *Papers of Mich. Acad. of Sci., Arts, and Letters*, 16 (1931), 137–138.

509. sacerdos: cf. 4, 483; Val. Fl. 1, 755 also uses it of an enchantress. With the verse-ending cf. *Cir.* 147: *lymphā perfusa sacerdos*.

510. ter centum: Serv.: non 'tercentum deos,' sed tonat ter centum numina Hecates: unde Hecale dicta est ἑκατόν, id est, centum potestates habens (with which Clark, *Numerical Phraseology in Vergil* (1913), 24, agrees). But in all the other six cases in Virgil in which the combination *ter centum* occurs (of which *G.* 1, 15; *Aen.* 9, 370; 10, 182 begin the verse, as here; cf. *Ov. M.* 14, 146), and in the one case of *bis centum* (8, 518), the numeral adverb modifies not the verb but *centum*. Further, while Virgil refers to a hundred altars (1, 416; 4, 200) and a hundred temples (4, 199), this would be his only reference to a hundred gods, and hence might just as well be made to three hundred, for in 8, 716 we find an allusion to *ter centum* . . . *delubra*. On the number three hundred as one expressing, like six hundred, indefinite greatness (Latin has a plural for *mille* but not for *centum* in the sense in which we use 'hundreds') cf. Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 773–774; Smith on Tib. 1, 4, 69; Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 2, 34. As an example of the

large numbers of gods invoked in magic rites cf. *Papyr. Gr. mag.* 1, 120–122 Preisendanz; Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 46; Ussani in *Atti del II Congresso nazionale di Studi Romani*, 3 (1931), 167. While three is a number often found in magic rites (e.g., Theocr. 2, 43; *Ecl.* 8, 73–77; Tib. 1, 2, 54; *Ov. M.* 7, 189–190; 7, 261; Dedo, *De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 15; Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 45, n. 3; Tavenner in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 47 (1916), 117–143; Lease in *Cl. Philol.* 14 (1919), 56–73; Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses*, 1 (1925), 55 (and works cited); etc.), and Penquitt (*op. cit.*, 45) and Clark (*l. c.*) would hold that Sil. 1, 91–92: *ordine centum / stant arae caelique deis Ereboque potenti* imitates our line, it should not be overlooked (1) that the sacred three is a factor in three hundred; (2) that Silius (1, 94) in writing *vocat* rather than *ter vocat* may be imitating Virgil and indicating that he construed *ter* with *centum* (Henry, *l. c.*); (3) that those who construe *ter* with *tonat* underestimate the significance and use of the number three hundred; and (4) that Virgilian usage as shown above favors our construing the numeral adverb with *centum*. For a fair sample of the contrary argument cf. Klouček, *Vergiliana* (1883), 9–15, who cites the ancient custom of threefold invocations (e.g., 6, 506: *magna manis ter voce vocavi*; *Hor. C.* 2, 22, 3: *ter vocata*; etc.).

510. tonat: Serv.: *perile dixit, in aliquibus enim sacris imitabantur tonitrua*; cf. 6, 607: *intonat ore*; 11, 383: *tona eloquio*; *Aetna*, 57: *hic magno tonat ore pater*; Prop. 3, 17, 40: *qualis Pindarico spiritus ore tonat*; 4, 1, 134: *insano verba tonare foro*; [Quintil.] *Declam.* 10, 15: *qui simul ore squalido barbarum murmur intonuit, favere superos, audire inferos, tremere terras*; 10, 19: *tu (i.e., the magus) . . . qui nocturno terribilis ululatu profundum specus et ima terrarum moves, modo servientium revocator animarum*, etc.; Mart. 8, 3, 14: *bella tonare*; Claud. *De Rapt. Pros.* 1, 83–84: *talia celso / ore tonat*; Com-

511. tergeminaeque Hecaten, tria virginis ora Dianae.

(t)ergeminamque P. haecaten P_γ (hecaten P¹), hiecaten M (hecaten M¹), haecat. en c.

511. tergeminaeque . . . Dianae: [Prob.] *De ult. Syll.* 17 (*G. L. K.* 4, 259). 511. tria . . . Dianae: *Serv. Ecl.* 8, 75; [Acro] in *Hor. C.* 3, 22, 4; *Schol. Germ. Arat. p. 200 Breysig* — hora BGG^aG^b —; *Isid. Etym.* 8, 11, 57; *Mythogr. Val.* I, 112; II, 25. 511. tergeminae: *Gl. Abba*, 132, 59; q.v.

mod. *Carm. apolog.* 598: *illi tonant ore*; Wandalbertus, *Martyrolog.* 229 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 584): *Marcus tonat ore beatus*; *Ymnus in omnes Sanctos*, 5, 2 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 604): *sacerdotum tonat ore*; [Angelo-mus,] *In IV Libr. Regum*, 4 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 676): *ore tonante sopho*; Flodoardus Remensis, *De Triumphis Christi* (Antioch.) 1, 14, 1–2: *Prudentius ore / intonuit*; Gualterus, *Alexandreis*, 2, 15: *intonat ore minas Darius*; other parallels in prose, in Greek (Βροντᾶν), and in modern languages are cited by Hunziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in d. Ged. Vergils* (1896), 96–97, and n. 159. On crying with a loud voice as part of the technique of magic cf. Dieterich, *Eine Mithrasliturgie* (1903), 41–42; Hopfner, *Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber* (1921), 201–202; Bonner in *Harv. theol. Rev.* 20 (1927), 172–173; Pfister in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 3 (1931), 358–359; Eitrem (in *Festschrift til H. Kohl* (1933), 36, and n. 5), who thinks *tonat* especially appropriate for calling up the ghosts and powers of death, and compares *Luc.* 6, 729: *manibus inlatrat*; *Stat. Theb.* 4, 472: *Lucian, Necy.* 9; to which add *Ar. Ran.* 1175–1176.

510. deos: on the accusative construction cf. Rantz, *Der Accusativus bei Vergil*, 1 (1871), 10.

510. Erebumque: cf. 4, 26, n. (Erebo). Hahn (*Coordination of non-coordinate Elements in Vergil* (1930), 227) explains this to mean "he calls on three hundred gods, including Erebus, Chaos, and three-formed Hecate," and cites parallel cases. So in the Great Paris Magical Papyrus we read (*Papyr. Gr. mag.* 1, 120 Preisendanz): *ὅτι ἐπικαλούμαι Χάος ἀρχέγονον, Ἐρεβος, φρικτὸν Στυγὸς Ἰδωρ . . . Ἑκάτη, κτλ.*; cf. *Papyr. Mus. Brit.* 121 (*Papyr. Gr. mag.* 2 (1931), 16, 350 Prei-

sendanz): *ἐπικαλούμαι ὑμᾶς χάους καὶ ἐρέβους, βοθοῦ, γαίας οἰκήτορας, κτλ.* Prescott, *Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 287, suggests that Dido invokes Hecate and other underworld powers not merely as patrons of magic but as rulers of that underworld kingdom to which she is so soon to depart; yet if this be the case why not also Dis?

510. Chaosque: cf. *Ov. M.* 14, 404–405 (of Circe); *et Noctem Noctisque deos Ereboque Chaosque / convocat et longis Hecaten ululatibus orat.* In *Aen.* 6, 265 Chaos and Phlegethon are invoked with the gods of the underworld; cf. *Sen. Med.* 740–741: *comprecor . . . vosque ferales deos / et Chaos caecum atque opacum Ditis umbrosi domum*; *Luc.* 6, 696. For the meaning of the word cf. Waser in *P.-W.* 3 (1899), 2112–2113; for its inflexion see Koczyński, *De Flexura Graecorum Nom. propr. apud Lucilium . . . Vergilium* (1892), 26; Kühner-Holzweissig, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 490.

511. tergeminae: *Schol. Dan.*: *quidam Hecaten dictam esse tradunt quod eadem et Diana sit et Proserpina, ἀπὸ τῶν ἑκατέρων*, etc. The adjective (also in the form *trigeminus*, and analogous to *septemgeminus* (6, 800) and *centumgeminus* (6, 287)) is applied to Geryon (8, 202) and Cerberus (e.g., *Ov. Tr.* 4, 7, 16: *tergeminumque virum tergeminumque canem*), as well as to Hecate; Val. Fl. 1, 781: *tergeminam . . . eram*; Auson. *Griph. tern. Num.* 18 (p. 201 Peiper): *tergemia est Hecate, tria virginis ora Dianae*; also cf. *Stat. Theb.* 10, 366–367: *te tergemini perhibent variare figuris / numen*; Claud. *De Rapt. Pros.* 1, 15: *ternis Hecate variata figuris*. Other terms are *triformis* (*Hor. C.* 3, 22, 4; *Ov. M.* 7, 94; 7, 177; *Sen. Med.* 7 = *Phaedr.* 412; Sil. 1, 119–120; *C. I. L.* II, 2660 (= Dessau 3259, 2): *Delia virgo triformis*), *triceps* (*Ov. M.* 7, 194), and *triplex* (*Ov. H.* 12, 79; *F.* 1,

512. sparserat et latices simulatos fontis Averni,

(s)parserat P. fontes γ¹.

512. sparserat . . . Averni: *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 1, 7 — sarserat P —; *Donat. in Ter. Ad.* 316 — simulatos f. a. —; *Serv. Aen.* 2, 116; [*Acro*] in *Hor. Epod.* 5, 26; *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 328 (1, p. 74 *Riese*) — simulatos fonte A —; *Mythogr. Vat. III*, 6, 30. 512. simulatos: *Gl. Ansil.* 525, 340; q.v. 512. fontis Averni: *Gl. Ansil.* 250, 70.

387), while in Greek we find τριμῶρφος (Cornut. *N. D.* 34; Chariclid. ap. Athen. 7, 126: δέσπων' Ἐκάτη, τριῶδιτι, τριμῶρφε, τριπρόσωπε; *Papyr. Gr. mag.* 2, 169, 188 Preisendanz (and parallels cited by Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses*, 1 (1925), 11; 82)), τρισσοκέφαλος or τρισσοκάρηνος (Orph. *Argon.* 979), τρικάρανος (*Papyr. Gr. mag.* 1, 152; 158; 160 Preisendanz), τριαύχην (Lycophr. 1186), τριπρόσωπος (Chariclid. (quoted above); *Artemid. Oniocr.* 2, 37; *Papyr. Gr. mag.* 1, 136; 154; 160; 164 Preisendanz), and other such compounds (cf. *Papyr. Gr. mag.* 1, 160: τριπρόσωπε, τριαύχενε καὶ τριῶδιτι, ἢ τρισσοῖς ταλάροισιν ἔχεις φλογὸς (ἄκ)άματον πῦρ καὶ τριῶδων μεδέεις τρισσῶν δεκάδων τε ἀνάσεις). In some of these passages the repetition of *ter* or *tri-* (τρι-) suggests the anaphora in the present lines: *ter centum . . . lergeminam . . . tria*.

Why Hecate had this triple form (for its representation in art, beginning with Alcamenes, cf. Roscher in *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1896), 1900–1910; Heckenbach in *P.-W.* 7 (1912), 2781–2782), has been variously explained (*ibid.*). By syncretism associated with Artemis and Selene (and hence with Diana and Luna), she formed the third member of a trinity effective in sky, earth, and underworld (*Aen.* 6, 247 calls her *caeloque Ereboque potentem*); others saw in her different forms the varying phases of the moon (Schol. Dan.; Roscher, *op. cit.*, 1888–1890; 1896–1897; Heckenbach, *op. cit.*, 2778–2779; Frazer on *Ov. F.* 1, 141), though she is perhaps originally a goddess of spirits rather than of the moon; while if the τρικέφαλος Ἑρμῆς acquires his characteristics from the places where three roads meet (*Paroemiogr. Gr.* 2, 691, no. 23) we may perhaps detect a similar origin for the goddess who appears elsewhere as Trivia (τριῶδιτις); cf. 4, 609 and n. (*trivialis*); *Ov. F.* 1, 141–142: *ora vides Hecates in tres*

vergentia partes, / servet ut in ternas compila secta vias; Farnell in *Cl. Rev.* 2 (1888), 167; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Rel.* 2 (1906), 1291, n. 1; Pearson on *Soph. Frag.* 525, 2; Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses*, 1 (1925), 95 (and works cited). Still another view appears in the Scholia Danielis: *non nulli eandem Lucinam, Dianam, Hecaten appellant ideo, quia uni deae tres adsignant potestates nascendi, valendi, moriendi; et quidem nascendi Lucinam deam esse dicunt, valendi Dianam, moriendi Hecaten; ob quam triplicem potestatem triformem eam triplicemque finxerunt, cuius in trivis templa ideo struxerunt*.

A feature of the underworld, like Erebus and Chaos, Hecate was constantly associated with magic rites (Roscher, *op. cit.*, 1894–1895; Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura u. d. antike Zauberei* (1908), 200–204; Heckenbach, *op. cit.*, 2772; 2778; Hopfner, *Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber* (1921), 227; and the many references cited by these authors), and repeatedly invoked in the magical papyri and by witches (Lact. Plac. in *Stat. Theb.* 9, 733: *Hecate quae invocatur a magis*), especially in love affairs, in which the moon has always prominently figured (cf. Plut. *De Is. et Osir.* 52, for Egyptian amatory invocations of the moon). As noted by Gsell, *Hist. anc. de l'Afrique du Nord*, 4 (1920), 335, n. 2, Virgil here ascribes to the Carthaginians Roman practices of his own day.

511. *tria*, etc.: in loose apposition with *Hecaten*; cf. Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 47. Conington (*ad loc.*) compares 7, 575: *foedatque ora Galaesi for Galaesum foedato ore*.

511. *virginis*, etc.: cf. Val. Fl. 5, 380: *haec virginis ora Dianae*. We are not told the content of the prayer of the priestess to the powers of the underworld.

512. *sarserat*: cf. *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 1, 6: *constat dis superis sacra facturum corporis*

ablutione purgari, cum vero inferis lilandum est salis actum videtur si aspersio sola contin-gat, and he compares 4, 635: *dic corpus properet fluviali spargere lymphā*; 6, 230: *spargens rore levi*; 6, 635–636: *corpusque recenti / spargit aqua*. The subject of the verb is probably the priestess rather than Dido, and Belling (*Stud. u. d. Compositions-kunst Vergils in d. Aeneide* (1899), 130) remarks that lines 504–521 divide themselves symmetrically into groups of 5 + 4 + 4 + 5, the first and last of which have Dido as subject, while the two middle groups describe the actions of the priestess and her attendants. In *Ecl.* 8, 64 water is fetched, probably for sprinkling (as in Theocr. 2, 18; 2, 21); cf. Prop. 4, 1, 106: *umbra neque e magicis mortua prodit aquis*; 4, 3, 15: *Stygio sum sparsa lacu*; Juv. 6, 528–529: *a Meroe portabit aquas ut spargat in aede / Isidis*. The magical materials here employed lack the revolting character of those (more powerful ones?) used by Canidia in *Hor. Epod.* 5, 15–40; *S.* 1, 8, 23–29.

512. *latices*: commonly of pure water in limited quantities, as for drinking, pouring libations, sprinkling, or, at the most, in a spring.

512. *simulatos*: many magical or religious rites prescribe the use of water, itself regarded as chthonic (cf. Ninck, *Die Bedeutung des Wassers* (1921), 1–46), for sprinkling, bathing, or drinking, and this is often to be taken from specified sources (Dedo, *De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 10; Eitrem, *Opferritus u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 111–112 (cf. *id.* in *Symbolae Osloenses*, 12 (1933), 31, n. 3); Hopfner, *Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber* (1921), 241–242), such as the Almo (where the image of Cybele was annually washed; cf. Hülsen in *P.-W.* 1 (1894), 1589, to which add Ambros. *Ep.* 18, 30), the Anio (Cato ap. Priscian. *Inst.* 6, 16 (*G. L. K.* 2, 208)), the Nile (e.g., *Serv. Aen.* 2, 116; *Mythogr. Vat.* III, 6, 30), the Jordan (e.g., 2 *Kings*, 5, 12–14; and, for its modern use in baptism, Burris, *Taboo, Magic, Spirits* (1931), 3–4), the pool of Siloam (John, 9, 7–11), etc.; cf. Frazer on *Ov. F.* 5, 673; Eitrem in *Festskrift til H. Kohl* (1933), 37, n. 2.

On account of distance, however, the

prescribed water might not always be available, hence it was the custom, as in other prescriptions (and as in legal *fictions*), to permit a substitute; cf. Bachofen, *Versuch u. d. Gräbersymbolik der Alten* (1859), 51–53 (= 2 ed. (1925), 51–53); Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 421; Jobbé-Duval, *Les Morts malfaisants* (1924), 186–187. So Fahz, *De Poet. Rom. Doctr. magica* (1904), 115, and more fully Nock (in *Cl. Rev.* 38 (1924), 169–170 (followed by Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy* (1926), 74–75); cf. Nock in *Proc. Brit. Acad.* 17 (1931), 258–259), compare various substitutes used for human sacrifice, and we may note that the *effigies* just mentioned by Virgil is a ritual substitute for the man himself. In magic, as in children's play, calling a thing so makes it so (cf. *Serv. Aen.* 2, 116 (quoted at 4, 508, n. (*effigiem*), above); *id.*, on our line: *in sacris . . . quae exhiberi non poterant simulabantur, et erant pro veris*; Samter, *Familienfeste* (1901), 56–57; Pichon in *Rev. de Philol.* 33 (1909), 248–249; Penquitt, *op. cit.* (1910), 49 (who cites parallels from a Leiden magical papyrus; cf. Nock, *op. cit.*, 170); Samter, *Geburt, Hochzeit, u. Tod* (1911), 190–191; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 1 (1917), 57; Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy* (1926), 75), even to the extent of changing the physical nature of an object (a comparison with the doctrine of transubstantiation is here pertinent), and Nock (*l. c.*) compares a magic charm to change wine (*Papyr. Lond.* 121, 644, in *Pap. Gr. mag.* 2, 29 Preisendanz): *σὺ εἰ οἶνος οὐκ εἰ οἶνος ἀλλ' ἡ κεφαλὴ τῆς Ἀθηνᾶς. σὺ εἰ οἶνος οὐκ εἰ οἶνος ἀλλὰ τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῦ Ὁσείρεως τὰ σπλάγχνα τοῦ Ἰάω Πακερβηθ*; cf. also *Pap. Gr. mag.* 2, 173 Preisendanz: *σὺ εἰ τὸ θεῖον, δ ἔβρεξεν ὁ θεὸς ἀνὰ μέσον Σωδόμων καὶ Γομῶρων*. This general principle is perhaps also to be seen when colonists name and construct a new town in imitation of that from which they have come, as in 3, 302; 3, 349–351.

For such pretenses in regard to water cf. *Hor. Epod.* 5, 25–26 (of Canidia's assistant): *at expedita Sagana, per totam domum / spargens Avernales aquas* (though these may be genuine); *Serv. Aen.* 2, 116 (= *Mythogr. Vat.* III, 6, 30): *et in templo Isidis aqua sparsa de Nilo esse dicebatur*; also Ambros.

513. falcibus et messae ad lunam quaeruntur aënis

(f)alcibus P. messe FM (messae FM²). quaerantur F (quaeruntur F¹), queruntur γ. aeneis F, aheneis 'plerique' codd. Pieriani (cf. 2, 470).

513-516. falcibus . . . amor: Apul. Apol. 30 — nascentis (i corr. ex e ead. m.); reuulsus (reuulsus corr. in reuulsus φ). 513-514. falcibus . . . veneni: Macrob. Sat. 5, 19, 9 — ad limam P —. 513-514. falcibus . . . herbae: Donat. in Aen. 12, 411-414 — messe (messae V) —. 513. ad lunam: Gl. Ansil. 28, 414.

Ep. 18, 30: unde igitur exemplum quod currus suos simulato Almonis in flumine lavat Cybele? Professor S. Eitrem also (by letter) suggests to me Pap. Gr. mag. 1, 182 Preisendanz: εὐνὴ δὲ μὴ εὐρὴς ὕδωρ ἀπὸ νευαναγκότος πλοίου, ἀπὸ πακτῶνος βεβαπτισμένου (sc. ἔνχρισον).

The reason for selecting water from Avernus — a place as yet unfamiliar to Aeneas and a fortiori to Dido — is that Odysseus perhaps there descended to the underworld (cf. Hülsen in P.-W. 2 (1896), 2286; Hygin. Fab. 125) and before doing so made a libation (Od. 11, 26-28: ἀμφ' αὐτῷ δὲ χοῆν χέουμην πᾶσιν νεκέεσσι, / πρῶτα μελικρήτω, μετέπειτα δὲ ἡδέϊ οἶνω, / τὸ τρίτον αἰθ' ὕδατι), this water, then, being probably thought of by Virgil as taken from Lake Avernus (Penquitt, op. cit., 48). The conception of Avernus as an entrance to the underworld (Hülsen, l. c.; Gruppe and Püster in Roscher, Ausf. Lex. 6 (1924), 60) made it constantly used in figurative expressions for that region itself and its denizens (cf. Thes. Ling. Lat. 2 (1906), 1315, 36-76) and naturally associated it with magicians (cf. Val. Fl. 6, 158) and magical arts depending on evocation of the dead (cf. 4, 490, above; Serv. on our line: bene autem de Averno, per quem descensus ad inferos dicitur; Cic. Tusc. 1, 37: Avernī lacus 'unde animae excitantur obscura umbra opertae (ex) ostio / altae Acheruntis, salso sanguine'; Sil. 13, 397-398: hortatur vicina palus, ubi signat Avernī / squalentem introitum stagnans Acherusius humor; Max. Tyr. 14, 2). Water from such a source might be a sort of opposite to holy water; cf. Lowe, Magic in Gr. and Lat. Lit. (1929), 101, n. 7.

512. fontis Avernī: usually called a lacus (though in Claud. De Rapt. Pros. 2, 348 a flumen), but Penquitt, op. cit., 49, suggests that fons here = aqua, comparing 12,

119: fontem ignemque ferebant. Whether Avernī is here a substantive or an adjective (as in G. 2, 164; Aen. 3, 442; 5, 732; 6, 118; 6, 564; 7, 91; and other authors cited in Thes. Ling. Lat. 2 (1906), 1315, 82-1316, 15) can hardly be determined, for with fons Virgil elsewhere uses each of these constructions (cf. 1, 244: fontem . . . Timavi; 12, 816: Stygii fontis).

With the end of the line cf. Sidon. Carm. 16, 2: Orpheaque et laticem simulatum fontis equini (i.e., Hippocrene). Mackail (ad loc.) considers lines 512-517 a draft not fully worked into shape, and bearing — in addition to the unfinished line 516 — various traces of incompleteness.

513. falcibus . . . aënis: placed at the ends of the verse; cf. 4, 124 n. (speluncam). Important on Virgil's source is Macrob. Sat. 5, 19, 7-11: in libro enim quarto Vergilius Elissam facit, postquam ab Aenea relinquitur, velut ad sacrularum sagarumque carmina et devotiones confugientem, et inter cetera ait sedandi amoris gratia herbas quaesitas, quae aëneis falcibus secarentur. haec res nonne quaestione digna est, unde Vergilio aëneae falces in mentem venerint? . . . Sophoclis autem tragoedia id de quo quaerimus, etiam titulo praefert: inscribitur enim 'Ριζοτόμου. in qua Medeam describit maleficas herbas secantem . . . et sucum quidem herbarum in cados aëneos refundentem, ipsas autem herbas aëneis falcibus exsecantem. Sophoclis versus hi sunt: ἡδ' ἐξοπίσω χερὸς ὄμμα τρέπουσ' / ὅπῳ ἀργιφεῖ στάζοντα τομῆς / χαλκίοισι κάδοις δέχεται, et paulo post: αἶδε καλὸν τρῶαι / κίσσαι βίβων κρύπτουσι τομάς, / ἃς ἡδε βοῶσ' ἀλαλαζομένη / γυνὴ χαλκίους ἦμα δρεπάνοις. haec Sophocles, quo auctore sine dubio Vergilius protulit aëneas falces, etc. We also find bronze sickles (for which cf. Lucr. 5, 1294) specifically mentioned by Ov. M. 7, 226-227:

placitas (sc. herbas Medea) partim radice revellit, / partim succidit curvamine falcis aënae (in H. 6, 84 sickles are similarly used: diraque cantata pabula falce meli); cf. Apul. Apol. 30. For various bronze sickles dating from the Terramara civilization cf. Peet, Stone and bronze Ages in Italy and Sicily (1909), 348-349 (and fig. 176); 423. Virgil's own consciousness of a bronze age in Italy is seen (according to Fowler, Virgil's 'Gathering of the Clans' (1918), 71) in 7, 743.

The succession of cultures represented by the stone, golden, bronze, and iron ages left its impress upon religious and magical rites — which are notoriously conservative —, so that utensils of stone, gold, or bronze continue to be prescribed for certain ritual acts long after they would be an anachronism in secular ones. Thus the use of implements of stone, such as the flint axe of the fetials (Liv. 1, 24, 8; Schol. Dan. Aen. 8, 641; Otto, Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer (1890), 305) and the stone knives used in Jewish circumcision (Exod. 4, 25; Joshua, 5, 2-3; but cf. Philastr. De Haeres. 151, in Patr. Lat. 12, 1291) and in that of the priests of Cybele (Catull. 63, 5; Cumont in P.-W. 7 (1912), 677), or of gold (Plin. N. H. 16, 251; 20, 29; Serv. Aen. 12, 87), after bronze was customary, and that of bronze after iron was usual (e.g., for cutting the hair of the Flamen Dialis (Serv. Aen. 1, 448) and for ploughing out the boundary of the city of Rome (Plut. Rom. 11, 2; cf. Macrob. Sat. 5, 19, 13)), is commonly due to a cult survival, the rite being older than the use of the metal; cf. Lucr. 5, 1275; 5, 1287; Isid. Etym. 8, 11, 66; 16, 20, 1; 16, 21, 2; Tylor, Primitive Culture, 1, 4 ed. (1903), 140 (who observes that iron is a new metal and that fairies and witchcraft belong to an earlier age); Dedo, De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria (1904), 13-15; Abt, Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura u. d. antike Zauberei (1908), 85-86 [159-161], and nn. 3-4 for a bibliography, to which add: Penquitt, op. cit., 49-50; Wächter, Reinheitsvorschriften im gr. Kult. (1910), 115-117; Lawson, Mod. Gr. Folklore and anc. Gr. Religion (1910), 140; Frazer, Golden Bough, 3 ed., 3 (1911), 225-236; Pearson on Soph. Frag. 534, 3; 534, 7; Hopfner, Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber (1921),

151-153; Kroll in P.-W. 12 (1924), 616; Eitrem, Papyri Osloenses, 1 (1925), 33; McCartney in Cl. Journ. 21 (1925), 118, and n. 57; id., in Cl. Weekly, 18 (1925), 163-164; Coulter in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc. 56 (1926), 45, n. 16; Cary and Nock in Cl. Quart. 21 (1927), 124-127 (who stress not only the newness of the metal iron but also its uncanny magnetic powers); McCartney in Cl. Weekly, 21 (1927), 38, and n. 17; Frazer on Ov. F. (1929), 2, 577; 5, 44; Burris in Cl. Weekly, 22 (1929), 120; Olbrich in Hoffmann-Krayer, Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens, 2 (1930), 717-728; Burris, Magic, Taboo, Spirits (1931), 114-123 (who thinks the taboo on iron due to its newness, its susceptibility to magnetism, and its power of producing sparks when struck); Bailey, Phases in the Relig. of anc. Rome (1932), 24-25, who thinks iron was originally tabooed as a 'stranger.' Iron consequently came to have a neutralizing or negative effect upon magic operations (cf. Od. 11, 48-50 and Eustath. ad loc.; Plin. N. H. 34, 151; Crawley in Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics, 8 (1916), 590; Crawley-Besterman, Mystic Rose, 2 ed., 1 (1927), 129), so that we often find it expressly forbidden; e.g., in the building and repair of the pons publicius (which used neither bronze nor iron; cf. Dion. Hal. 3, 45; Plin. N. H. 36, 100; Plut. Num. 9), of the bulceterium at Cyzicus (Plin., l. c.), of Solomon's temple (1 Kings, 6, 7), of various Jewish altars (Exod. 20, 25; Deut. 27, 5; Joshua, 8, 31), and of the temple of Tōji and the building called Azekura (or Kuji-nashikura) at Kyoto (Official Guide to Eastern Asia, 2 (1914), 241); at various points in the rites of the Arvals (Acta Fratr. Arval. 132; 135 Henzen), and other religious ceremonies (in C. I. L. IX, 3513, 6 it is allowed in an exceptional instance), at certain sacred places (Justin, 44, 3, 6), times (Schol. Dan. G. 1, 268), and rites (e.g., Plin. N. H. 30, 102), as well as in connection with taboos affecting certain persons (Plut. Aristid. 21, 4; Griffiths, Corea the Hermil Nation (1882), 219). On the positive side mana may be considered as especially resident in particular substances like stone; cf. Rose, Primitive Culture in Italy (1926), 46.

Especially in point is the requirement

514. pubentes herbae nigri cum lacte veneni;

(p)ubentes P.

[513] 514. pubentes herbae: Serv. *Aen.* 12, 413; *Gl. Abol.* 160, 5; *Gl. Aa.* 335, 1658 — herbe —. 514. nigri . . . veneni: *Macrob. Sat.* 6, 6, 9; [Acro] in *Hor. Serm.* 1, 4, 85; *Porphy.* in *Hor. C.* 1, 12, 27 — nigro M; uenenum M —; in *Serm.* 1, 4, 85; *Gl. Ansil.* 391, 57.

that certain herbs, particularly for magic purposes, be gathered *sine ferro*; e.g., *Plin. N. H.* 19, 177; 23, 163; 24, 12; 24, 68; 24, 103; 24, 171–172; 24, 176; [Apul.] *Herbar.* 92; 131 (of the mandragora): *cum videris cito circumducis eam ferro, ne tibi fugiat; talis ac tanta est virtus eius ut venientem ad se hominem inmundum, cito ante eum fugit, ideo circumducis eam ferro et ita circa eam effodis ne eam de ferro tangas, et diligentissime de palo eburneo amoves ante eam terram*; [Ant. Musa.] *De Herba Beton.*, praef.; *Marc. Emp.* 25, 13; *Abt, op. cit.*, 86, n. 6; *Thorn-dike, Hist. of Magic and exp. Science*, 2 ed., 2 (1929), 496. The *Aeneid* is set at the beginning of the iron age in Italy; cf. *Carcopino, Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (1919), 269, n. 6 (Harland in *Am. Journ. of Arch.* 34 (1930), 59–60, would put the general use of iron in the Aegean countries not earlier than the twelfth or eleventh century B.C.). *Hopfner* (in *P.-W.* 14 (1928), 326–327) observes that different planets are associated with different metals, Venus being thus connected with bronze (cf. *Berthelot, Les Alchimistes grecs*, 1 (1888), 24, 5); this perhaps lends added appropriateness to the use of bronze sickles for gathering love-charms. Further, bronze is noted at times as standing for necessity or compulsion; cf. *Wünsch in Inscr. Gr.* III, 3, App. (1897), iii–iv (for bronze nails in *defixiones*).

513. et: on its deferred position cf. 4, 33, n. (*Veneris nec*); 4, 418, n. (et), above.

513. ad lunam: Serv.: *herbae enim pro lunae ratione tolluntur; nec omnes eodem modo, unde perile et 'aënis falcibus' dixit, quia aliae velluntur, aliae inciduntur; et 'ad lunam' non ad noctem sed ad lunae observationem, i.e., according to the phases of the moon, which were widely believed to influence the growth of both plants and animals* (cf. my notes on *Cic. De Div.* 2, 33, with much on the effect

of the moon on the proper times for pruning and cutting trees; *Eitrem, Papyri Osloenses*, 1 (1925), 126–129). For herbs cf. *Ov. M.* 7, 180–227; *Plin. N. H.* 24, 149; [Apul.] *Herbar.* 7, 1; 78, 2; *Marc. Emp.* p. 13, 11 *Helmreich: Terenti Euelpisti in ultimo libello leges dynames herbarum, quas ut crescentibus numeris lunae observes, dum tollis et componis, curato*; also *Roscher, Selene u. Verwandtes* (1890), 84–87, and the material on *Βοτάνη ἀρσεύς* from the magical papyri quoted by *Abt, op. cit.*, 87–89.

It is much more likely, however, that *ad lunam* here means 'by moonlight,' for with the phrase we may compare *Colum. De Arbor.* 15: *noctu ad lunam pulabimus*; *Hor. Serm.* 2, 8, 31–32: *me docuit melimela rubere minorem / ad lunam delecta*; *Juv.* 10, 21: *molae ad lunam . . . harundinis*; *Plin. N. H.* 21, 62: *nyctegreton . . . erui post aequinoctium vernum radicibus siccarique ad lunam triginta diebus*; in *C. I. L.* IV, 3884 (= *Dessau* 5145) the phrase *ad luna(m)* seems somewhat obscure. The custom of gathering herbs at night is well attested; e.g., *Theophr. Hist. Pl.* 9, 8, 5: *τὰς δὲ νύκτωρ τὰς δὲ μεθ' ἡμέραν, ἐνίας δὲ πρὶν τὸν ἥλιον ἐπιβάλλειν* (sc. συλλέγειν κελεύουσι); 9, 8, 6: *τὴν παυωνίαν . . . νύκτωρ κελεύουσιν δρῶνται* (cf. *Hor. S.* 1, 8, 21–22: *nec prohibere modo, simul ac vaga luna decorum / protulit os, quin ossa legant herbasque nocentis*; *Plin. N. H.* 25, 29; [Apul.] *Herbar.* 65); 9, 19, 2; *Colum. R. R.* 2, 10: *silenti luna fabam vellito ante lucem*; *Plin. N. H.* 24, 133: *si quis ante solis ortum eam* (sc. *chamelaeam*) *capiat*; 24, 170: *herba quaecumque e rivis aut fluminibus ante solis ortum collecta ita ut nemo colligentem videat*; 27, 85: *tradunt nocte effodiendas*; [Apul.] *Herbar.* 23: *ante solis ortum*; *Achill. Tat.* 5, 26, 12: *διανυκτερεύσειν γὰρ ἐλεγεν εἰς τὸν ἀγρὸν βοτάνων ἐνεκεν χάριν, ὥς ἐν ὄψει τῆς σελήνης αὐτὰς ἀναλάβοι*; *Marc. Emp.*

14, 65. In a charm quoted by *Abt, op. cit.*, 86, n. 6 (= *Heim, Incantamenta magica* (1892), 554) we find various points combined: *antequam maturescat flos eius tollas eam ante solis ortum plenilunio dextra manu sine ferro*; cf. *Heim, op. cit.*, 562; also *Shakesp. Hamlet*, Act 3, Sc. 2: "thou mixture rank, of midnight weeds collected"; *Macbeth*, Act 4, Sc. 1: "Root of hemlock digg'd i' the dark." For the significance of the night (with moon present and sun absent) for the purposes of magic rites cf. *Hopfner, Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber* (1921), 226; *id. in P.-W.* 14 (1928), 353–356; *Eitrem, Papyri Osloenses*, 1 (1925), 126–129; 12 (1933), 32 and n. 1. *Roscher, Nachträge zu . . . Selene u. Verwandtes* (1895), 30, suggests that the moon by its supposed connection with the dew enhanced the magical power of herbs. With *lunam* = 'moonlight' cf. 2, 340; 3, 152; 6, 270.

513. quærantur: this verb and *quæritur* in line 515 do not mean that the priestess or her attendants now set out to cull such herbs, for one could hardly insure, in this winter season, that they or the moonlight could be had when needed (but cf. 4, 514, n. (*pubentes*) below), or that one could secure a new *hippomane*s at will. Rather the priestess-witch fetches from her stores ritual ingredients previously laid up there, as is shown by the participles *messae*, *revolsus*, and *praereptus* (cf. *Arist. Hist. An.* 6, 23, 577 a 12–13 (of the *hippomane*s): *διὸ καὶ τοῦτο αἱ φαρμακίδες ζητοῦσι καὶ συλλέγουσιν*; *Ecl.* 8, 95–96: *Ponto mihi lecta venena / ipse dedit*; *Eitrem in Symbolae Osloenses*, 12 (1933), 31, n. 2). Hence the doubts of *Klouček (Krit. u. Exeget. z. Vergilius* (1879), 17–18) are needless, he probably being deceived by the different use of *quærare* in 7, 758: *Marsis quæsitae montibus herbae*. *Eitrem* (in *Festschrift til H. Kohl* (1933), 37) would like to place lines 513–516 after 508, but lines 504–508 refer to the part played by Dido, 509–516 to the operations of the *sacerdos*, and it is surely the latter who has fetched from her stores the small articles (water, herbs, and *hippomane*s), while Dido provides the pyre, the sword, the effigy (perhaps decked in Aeneas's garments?), and (517) the *mola* — all things to be had in the palace and needing no specialized preparation.

514. pubentes: Serv.: *quia aliae siccae, aliae viridiores leguntur. et sciendum inter homines et herbas esse reciprocam translationem: sic enim 'pubentem herbam' dicimus, quemadmodum 'flore[m] aetatis'*; cf. the note on *quærantur*, above. *Valentine* (in *Cl. Weekly*, 21 (1928), 107) thinks this word an indication of winter rather than of summer (when North African vegetation is parched), but this view lays, perhaps, undue emphasis upon greenness implied in the adjective and too little upon the notion that the plants are in a vigorous and hence potent state with abundant juices (not 'woolly,' which the adjective means in modern botanical usage and as *Buscaroli* (*ad loc.*) would understand it here; in 12, 413 it is difficult to decide upon the meaning of *puberibus caule[m] foliis*). Further, we cannot be sure that Virgil is attempting to describe realistically conditions in Tunisia. For other adjectives applied to magic herbs cf. *Abt, op. cit.*, 89. *Pubentes* so used is found as a variant reading in *G.* 3, 126, but probably occurs first in Latin literature in our line; cf. [Ter.] *Carm. adv. Marc.* 1, 16, 13 (*Patr. Lat.* 2, 1059): *mirificos tribuit succos pubentibus herbis*; *Ermoldus, Carm.* 3, 97 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 64): *tellus pubentes parlurit herbas*; *Stat. Silv.* 3, 3, 129 uses it of roses, and *Ausonius* (*Mosella*, 203) of *germina* (corr. by *Boecking* to *gramina*); cf. *Ep.* 20, 14: *pubentes salicium . . . frondes*; also the use of *pubescere*, as in *G.* 2, 390; *Ov. Tr.* 3, 12, 7.

514. herbae: ποῖαι; cf. *Theophr. Hist. Pl.* 9, 8, 1: *καλοῦσι γὰρ καὶ πᾶν ἓνα τῶν φαρμακῶδων οἱ ῥιζοτόμοι*. Between medicinal and magical uses of herbs it is not always easy to distinguish (but cf. *Aug. De Doctr. Christ.* 2, 45). For the latter cf. *G.* 2, 129 (= 3, 283): *miscuerunt herbas et non innoxia verba*; *Aen.* 7, 758: *Marsis quæsitae montibus herbae*; *Hor. Epod.* 5, 21–22; 5, 67–68; *S.* 1, 8, 22; *Tib.* 1, 2, 51; 1, 2, 60; 1, 8, 17; 1, 8, 23; *Prop.* 1, 12, 10; 3, 6, 25; 4, 5, 11; 4, 7, 72; *Ov. Am.* 3, 7, 28; *H.* 6, 93; *Med. Fac. fem.* 35–36: *Ars am.* 2, 101: *non facient ul viva[m] amor Medaeides herbae* (cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 844–868 on *Medea*'s use of herbs); 2, 415–416; *Rem. Am.* 261–263; *M.* 7, 224–227; *Dedo, De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 10–11; *Abt, op. cit.*, 89–92; *Penquitt, De*

515. quaeritur et nascentis equi de fronte revulsus

quaerentistur *M* (quaeritur *M*¹). fronde (?) *F* (fronte *F*¹). reuulsus *FPγabc*.

[513*] 515-516. quaeritur . . . amor: *Schol. Iuv.* 6, 616 — reuulsus —.

Didonis Vergilianae Exilu (1910), 48-51; Hopfner, *Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber* (1921), 114-141; *Papyr. Gr. mag.* 1 (1928), 80; 168 Preisendanz; Lowe, *Magic in Gr. and Lat. Lit.* (1929), 27-28; also the work of Teirlinck, *Flora magica* (1930).

514. *nigri*: Serv.: *aut noxii, quia nigri fiunt homines post venenum, aut certe illud est quia sunt herbae 'nigri lactis,' id est suci. dicunt autem per periphrasin agreste papaver significari*; cf. *G.* 2, 130 (= *Seren. Samm.* 839): *membris agili atra venena*; *Aen.* 2, 221: *atroque veneno*; 4, 507, n. (*funerea*); *Hor. C.* 1, 37, 27-28: *atrum / . . . venenum*; *Sil.* 3, 312: *atro . . . veneno*; *Seren. Samm.* 820: *virus . . . atrum*; Flodoardus Remensis, *De Triumphis Christi* (Palaeat.), 1, 1, 55: *atra venena*; 2, 4, 6: *altri . . . veneni*; 2, 4, 13: *nigra venena coquens*; Porphyry in *Hor. Sermon.* 1, 4, 85: *nigrum autem pro malo ac noxio*. Note the oxymoron in combining *nigri* and *lacte* (cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 392, for other cases). For *lac* of the milky juice of a plant cf. *Ov. M.* 11, 606-607: *innu-meraeque herbae quarum de lacte soporem / Nox legit et spargit per opacas umida terras*; *Nux*, 95; *Colum.* 7, 8, 1; *Cels.* 5, 7.

514. *cum*: cf. 2, 72: *poenas cum sanguine*; *Cic. De Off.* 1, 40: *interitum cum scelere*; *Ov. M.* 15, 87: *dapibus cum sanguine gaudent*.

514. *veneni*: the etymology (**venes-no-m*, from *Venus*; hence 'love-potion'; cf. Ernout and Meillet, *Dict. étym. de la Lang. lat.* (1932), 1040-1041) and the fact that poisonous herbs were often employed in philtres (cf. Abt, *op. cit.*, 90; 237-240; also Lenormant, *La Magie chez les Chaldéens* (1874), 57) help to explain the passage; cf. *Ecl.* 8, 95-96: *has herbas atque haec Ponto mihi lecta venena / ipse dedit Moeris*; *Aen.* 7, 190-191: *versumque venenis / fecit avem Circe*; *Hor. Epod.* 5, 21-22: *herbaeque quas Iolcos atque Hiberia / mittit venenorum ferax*; 5, 61-62: *cur dira barbarae minus / venena Medae valent*; 5, 87-88: *venena magnum fas*

nefasque non valent / convertere humanam vicem; 17, 35: *cales venenis officina Colchicis*; *Ov. M.* 2, 198: *nigri madidum sudore veneni*; 14, 403 (of Circe): *spargit virus sucosque veneni*. In *Aen.* 1, 688 the use is figurative.

515. *quaeritur*: cf. 4, 513, n. (*quaeruntur*). The repetition is thought by Eitrem (in *Symbolae Osloenses*, 12 (1933), 31, and n. 1) to indicate feverish haste, and he compares that of *iubet* in the magical rites described in *Hor. Epod.* 5, 17-18.

515. *nascentis equi*: Serv.: *secundum Plinium, qui dicit in naturali historia* (8, 165) *pullos equinos habere in fronte quandam carnem, quam eis statim natis admittit mater; quam si quis forte praeriperit odit pullum et lac ei denegat . . . et merito suspicantur amorem creari ex carne, sine qua maler non alit ex se creatum*; but contrast Serv. *G.* 3, 280: *scilicet lectum esse apud Hesiodum* (Fr. 232 Rzsch) *herbam esse quandam quae hippomanes vocatur, quasi ἵππου μανία; si enim eam comederint equi furore quatuntur . . . re verā autem hippomanes dicitur esse virus, defluens ex equarum inguinibus quo tempore feruntur amoris furore, ut sit hippomanes virus natum ἀπὸ τῆς μανίας τῆς ἵππου* (cf. *Schol. Dan.*). With these three views of the *hippomanes* cf. the following: *Arist. Hist. An.* 6, 18, 572 a 10-12: αἱ μὲν οὖν ἵπποι αἱ θήλειαι ἵππομανοῦσιν. ὅθεν καὶ ἐπὶ τὴν βλασφημίαν τὸ ὄνομα αὐτῶν ἐπιφέρουσιν ἀπὸ μόνου τῶν ζώων τὴν ἐπὶ τῶν ἀκολάστων περὶ τὸ ἀφροδισιάζεσθαι; 6, 18, 572 a 19-22: (when mares are 'wind-impregnated') τότε δ' ἐκβάλλουσι τι. καλοῦσι δὲ καὶ τοῦτο, ὥσπερ ἐπὶ τοῦ τικτομένου, ἵππομανές· ἔστι δ' οἶον ἡ καπρία, καὶ ζητοῦσι τοῦτο μάλιστα πάντων αἱ περὶ τὰς φαρμακείας; 6, 22, 577 a 7-13: ὅταν δὲ τέκη ἡ ἵππος, τότε χόριον εὐθὺς κατεσθίει, καὶ ἀπεσθίει τοῦ πώλου δ' ἐπιφέρεται ἐπὶ τοῦ μετώπου τῶν πάλων, καλεῖται δὲ ἵππομανές· ἔστι δὲ τὸ μέγεθος ἑλαττον μικρῷ ἰσχυρότερον, τὴν δ' ἰδέαν πλατύ, περιφερές, μέλαν. τοῦτο ἐάν τις φθῇ λαβὼν καὶ ὀσφρηται ἡ ἵππος, ἐξίσταται καὶ μαίνεται

πρὸς τὴν ὁσμὴν· διὸ καὶ τοῦτο αἱ φαρμακίδες ζητοῦσι καὶ συλλέγουσιν; 8, 24, 605 a 2-6: τὸ δ' ἵππομανές καλούμενον ἐπιφέρεται μὲν, ὥσπερ λέγεται, τοῖς πώλοις, αἱ δ' ἵπποι περιλείχουσιν καὶ καθαίρουσιν ἀποτρώγουσιν αὐτό· τὰ δ' ἐπιμυθεύμενα πέπλασται μᾶλλον ὑπὸ γυναικῶν καὶ τῶν περὶ τὰς ἐπιφάδας; Theophr. Fr. 175 Wimmer (ap. Phot. Bibl. 278, 8): καὶ ἡ ἵππος ἀπεσθίει τῶν πάλων τὸ ἵππομανές· καὶ γὰρ τοῦτο πρὸς ἔνια χρήσιμον; Laevius ap. *Apul. Apol.* 30: *hinnientium dulcedines*; *Virg. G.* 3, 280-282: *hic demum hippomanes, vero quod nomine dicunt / pastores, lentum destillat ab inguine virus, / hippomanes, quod saepe malae legere novercae* (cf. 3, 266-268); *Tib.* 2, 4, 57-58: *et quod, ubi indomitis gregibus Venus adflat amores, / hippomanes cupidae stillat ab inguine equae*; *Prop.* 4, 5, 17-18: *et in me / hippomanes felae semina legit equae*; *Ov. Am.* 1, 8, 8: (*scilicet*) *quid valeat virus amantis equae*; *Ars am.* 2, 100: *datque quod a teneri fronte revellit equi*; *Med. Fac. fem.* 38: *nec tempe late nocens virus amantis equae*; *Colum. R. R.* 6, 27, 3: *curandum est praedicto tempore anni ut lam feminis quam admisariis desiderantibus coeundi fiat potestas, quoniam id praecipue armentum si prohibeas libidinis exstimulatur furis, unde etiam veneno inditum est nomen ἵππομανές, quod equinae cupidini similem mortalibus amorem accendat*; *Juv.* 6, 133: *hippomanes carmenque loquar coctumque venenum, etc.* (*schol.*: *hippomanes quod de partu equarum rapitur a fronte pulli statim ut nascitur, quod mater ab eo delambit, quod datum in poculum ad amatorias res facit*); 6, 615-617: *et furere incipias, ut avunculus ille Neronis, / cui totam tremuli frontem Caesonia pulli / infudit* (also *schol.* and *Suet. Calig.* 50); 6, 626 and *schol.*; *Luc.* 6, 455-456: *cum turgentia suco / frontis amaturae subducunt pignora felae*; *Plin. N. H.* 8, 165: *et sane equis amoris innasci (enasci Sillig) veneficium hippomanes appellatum in fronte, caricae magnitudine, colore nigro, quod statim edito partu devorat feta aut partum ad ubera non admittit. si quis praeruptum habeat, olfactu in rabiem id genus agitur* (cf. *Solin.* 45, 17; *Vincent. Bellov. Spec. nat.* 18, 49); 28, 180; 28, 181: *hippomanes tantas in veneficio viris habet ut adsumum aeris mixturae in effigiem equae Olympiae admodos maris equos ad rabiem coitus agat*; *Ael. N. A.* 3,

17: ἵππος δὲ ἐρωτικὰς τῷ πᾶσι συντίκτουσα ἵππος οἶδε· ταῦτά τοι καὶ ἅμα τῷ τεχθῆναι τὸ βρέφος ἢ δὲ τὸ ἐπὶ τῷ μετώπῳ σαρκίον ἀπέτραγεν. ἵππομανές ἀνθρωποὶ καλοῦσιν αὐτό. καὶ οἱ γένητες τὰ τοιαῦτά φασι δρμάς τινας ἐλκτικὰς ἐς μῆξιν ἀκατάσχετον καὶ οἰστρον ἀφροδισίον παρέχειν καὶ ἐξάπτειν; 14, 17: ἵππος ὅταν τέκη τοῦ βρέφους ἐκπεφυκυῖαν σάρκα οὐ πολλὴν ἀλλὰ ὀλίγην ἀπηρητῆσθαι οἱ μὲν κατὰ τοῦ μετώπου φασι, οἱ δὲ κατὰ τῆς ὀσφύος, ἄλλοι γὰρ μὴν κατὰ τοῦ αἰδοῦ. ταύτην οὖν ἀποτραγοῦσα ἀφανίζει, καλεῖται δὲ τὸ σαρκίον τοῦτο ἵππομανές; *Paus.* 5, 27, 3; *Hesych. s.v.*: τοῦτ' ἡρῶνται πρὸς τὰ φίλτρα αἱ φαρμακίδες. It thus appears that the *hippomanes* might be a lump on the forehead (or on other parts) of a foal at birth or a *lentum ab inguine virus*. The chief agricultural writers (e.g., *Varr. R. R.* 2, 7; *Pallad.* 4, 13, 6) do not mention it. By others (e.g., *Theocr.* 2, 48-49 and *schol.* (cf. *Prob.* in *Virg. G.* 3, 282); *Dioscur.* 2, 173; [4, 80;] *Abt, op. cit.*, 103, n. 2; and perhaps *Soph. Aias*, 142; *Elym. M.* 474, 42) the name is applied to plants of hot and aphrodisiac qualities.

Among later allusions — derived from those already mentioned — may be cited Bartholomaeus Anglicus, *De Proprietatibus Rerum* (1485), 18, 39 (cf. *Stelle, Medieval Lore* (1893), 126); Agrippa von Nettesheim, *Geheim. Philos.* 1 (1916 ed.), 192-193; Gesner, *Hist. Anim.* 1 (1551), 478-479; Lyly, *Euphues* (1916 ed.), 331: "in the head of a young colt a bunch named Hippomanes"; Needham, *Disquis. anatom. de formato Foetu* (1667), 57-58; 182, concluding: *magis insignis est illa concretio quae lienem bubulum fere repraesentat, sed multo minor est, linguam pulli equini vocant nostrates inventamque et reservatam boni ominis esse credunt. forte etiam illud est quod Cornelius Agrippa (si bene memini) pulli frontis adnasci putat, matremque, nisi illud comederit, pulli oblivisci; indeque philtrum componit*; Tytler, *Hist. of Scotland*, 4 (1864), 201, for a magic potion including among its ingredients "the hippomanes in the head of a young foal"; Leyel, *Magic of Herbs* (1927), 104, who quotes the lines: "Hippomanes, for shepherds call it so / Distil a venom from their parts below, / Hippomanes that wicked stepdames pluck / Mingling with herbs that bring bad luck."

516. et matri praereptus amor.

praereptus (corr. in praeruptus) γ, praeruptus (corr. in praereptus) ρ, praeruptus c'dell.

[513, 515] 516. et . . . amor: Schol. Lucan. 6, 456 — praeruptus UG^V —; Anth. Lat. no. 17, 402 (1, p. 77 Riese) — praeruptus A —; Mythogr. Vat. III, 9, 11.

Modern anatomical explanations are discussed at length by Thieke in *Anatom. Anzeiger*, 38 (1911), 454-460; 465-486, with plates, a summary of the views of various anatomists (454-456), and a large bibliography (484-486), and by Stadler in *P.-W.* 8 (1913), 1881 (and works there cited). Add also: Hirschfeld, *De Incantamentis et Devinctionibus amatoris apud Graecos Romanosque* (1863), 42, n. 6; Le Breton, *De Animalibus apud Verg.* (1895), 515-516; Dedo, *De Antiquorum Superstitione amoris* (1904), 6-7; Fahz, *De Poet. Rom. Doctr. magica* (1904), 28 (134); Chauveau and Arloing, *Traité d'Anatomie comparée des Animaux domestiques*, 5 ed., 2 (1905), 702-703: "on désigne sous ce nom [i.e., Hippomanes] une sorte de concrétions discoïdes, jaunes ou brunâtres, d'apparence fibreuse, que l'on trouve en suspension dans le liquide allantoidien des Solipèdes et aussi des Ruminants. . . . Pour M. Dastre les hippomanes prennent naissance entre le chorion et l'allantoïde; etc."; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 1 (1906), 83, n. 4; Bonnet, *Lehrbuch d. Entwicklungsgesch.* (1907), 194-195 (and fig. 142) — an important account; Ellenberger u. Baum, *Handb. d. vergl. Anat. der Haustiere*, 12 ed. (1908), 625; Abt, *Die Apologie des Apuleius von Madaura u. d. antike Zauberei* (1908), 92 [166], n. 2; Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 51-52; Royds, *Beasts, Birds, and Bees of Virgil* (1918), 15; Grosser, *Frühentwicklung Eihautbildung u. Placentation des Menschen u. der Säugetiere* (1927), 101: "Die Konkreme des Allantois hohlraumes ('Hippomanes') sind nicht aus der Allantoisflüssigkeit niedergeschlagen, sondern abgekapselte, in den Hohlraum eingewanderte Brocken eingedichten Uterussekretes, die dann mit verschiedenen Salzen, auch Harnsäure, inkrustiert werden"; Lowe, *Magic in Gr. and Lat. Lit.* (1929), 29; Steller in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 4 (1932), 73-74, and

works there cited; Spargo, *Virgil the Necromancer* (1934), 85-86; 354, n. 18.

As summarized by Thieke (*op. cit.*, 454), antiquity and the middle ages used the term *hippomanes* for a flattish, olive-green or dull body about the size of a fig, lying free in the allantoid cavity or on the forehead of the foetus, but from Bourgelat on it has been employed for other formations, of which Thieke recognizes three kinds: (a) inpocketings of the allantoids; sessile swellings or stalked cysts filled with yellowish serous fluid, with walls like those of the allantoids, in two layers; (b) inpocketings of the 'Allantoischorion'; degenerative, sessile or stalked, with more or less indurated contents; (c) flattened discoid structures, of varying size and color, at the end of twisted and knotted threads coming from the allantochorion but not forming a terminal cavity. These structures may become detached as free bodies, but there is no indication of how they may come to be — if indeed they are — on the forehead of the foal.

The magical properties associated with the *hippomanes* suggest those ascribed to umbilical cords, afterbirths, cauls, etc. (cf. Jonson, *Alch.* 1, 2, 613; Dickens, *David Copperfield*, ch. 1; Hood, *Sea Spell*, 9-10; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 1 (1913), 186-201; *id.*, *Folk-Lore in the Old Test.* 3 (1918), 175; Eitrem, *Papyri Osloenses*, 1 (1925), 114; Westermarck, *Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 2 (1926), 400), but inquiry among anatomists and practical veterinarians — in which I have been greatly helped by Professor F. T. Lewis of the Harvard Medical School — has not indicated that mares eat these substances.

The appropriateness of the *hippomanes* in magic philtres, transferring to the persons for whom they were intended the amatory violence of mares (Hor. C. 1, 25, 13-14; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 853,

517. ipsa mola manibusque piis altaria iuxta

molam MPγ¹c, mola Fabb, Serv.

517. ipsa . . . iuxta: Schol. Lucan. 1, 610 — om. U —. 517. ipsa . . . piis: Eutych. Ars, 2 (G. L. K. 5, 477) — ipsam B; molam —. 517. ipsa mola: Schol. Dan. Ecl. 8, 82 — ipsam molam L —. 517. manibus piis: Gl. Ansil. 356, 627. 517. altaria iuxta: Cento Probae, 325 — altarria S; iuxta SAπ² —; Gl. Ansil. 46, 298.

n. o), is obvious. Dedo, however, objects (*op. cit.*, 48) that the drug was used only in potions, which could not be administered by Dido to Aeneas after he had set sail; hence he concludes that the poet is here inconsistent. But Virgil may have contemplated some other use of the *hippomanes*, such as burning (a frequent magical use of herbs; cf. *id.*, 10) or its application, in sympathetic magic, to the *effigies* which represented Aeneas (the *mola* mentioned in line 517 was probably sprinkled over objects to be burned; cf. Ecl. 8, 82: *sparge molam et fragilis incende bitumine laurus*).

516. et, etc.: Sparrow (*Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 33) thinks lines 515-516 are perhaps a marginal jotting intended as an alternative to 513-514, for in addition to the incomplete line there is an unusual meaning in *amor* (= 'love-charm'). Yet the heaping up of the magical equipment is in itself effective, and the unusual use of *amor* (cf. στέργημα in Soph. Trach. 1138) deserves not to be lost. A partial parallel is Plin. N. H. 8, 165: *equis amoris innasci veneficium hippomanes appellatum in fronte*, if *amoris* be taken as a sort of appositional genitive with *veneficium*. In Anth. Lat. no. 17, 402 (1, p. 77 Riese) this hemistich recurs as an incomplete line.

516. praereptus: cf. Plin. N. H. 8, 165 (quoted in 4, 515, n. (nascentis equi), above); Solin. 45, 17, in both of which the same verb is used of the *hippomanes* snatched away before the mare can devour it.

517. ipsa: reverting from the *sacerdos* to Dido. With the phrase cf. Anth. Lat. no. 4, 116 (1, p. 24 Riese): *ipsa mola et manibus*.

517. mola: the variant *molam* — probably due to dittography before the initial *m* of *manibus* — is not recognized by cod. F or by Servius or the scholia to Lucan, and syn-

tactically depends on nothing. If, with many editors, we retain it we must either, with Sabbadini (*ad loc.*; cf. *id.*, in *Riv. di Filol.* 28 (1900), 82), awkwardly supply *sparserat* from line 512 and treat 513-516 as parenthetical, or assume that a governing verb would eventually have been supplied in 4, 516 (but for this the only possible parallel among the half-lines as they now stand is 3, 340: *quam tibi iam Troia*, where the omission seems due to an intentional delicacy on the part of the speaker), or else must make some transposition. Ribbeck places 486 after 517, making *molam* depend on *spargens* (cf. Ecl. 8, 82: *sparge molam*; based on Theocr. 2, 18), but in this few have followed him. The logical inconcinnity of *mola manibusque* in the same construction (Hahn, *Coordination of non-coordinate Elements in Virgil* (1930), 153) must be admitted, but offers no serious grammatical difficulty. The ablatives are probably modal; cf. Plin. N. H. 18, 7: *mola salsa supplicare*; Val. Fl. 1, 781-782: *Stygiasque supremo / obsecrat igne domos*.

Schol. Dan.: *mola, id est, farre et sale, quam molam salsam a molendo appellant*; Val. Max. 2, 5, 5: *in sacrificiis mola quae vocatur ex farre et sale constat*; Paul. ex Fest. p. 141 M. (= p. 125 Lindsay): *mola vocatur etiam far tostum et sale sparsum, quod eo molito hostiae asperguntur*. Plin. N. H. 31, 89 states: *maxime tamen in sacris intellegitur auctoritas (sc. salis), quando nulla conficiuntur sine mola salsa*; and the custom gives rise to the verb *immolare* (cf. Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 57: *olim enim hostiae 'immolatae' dicebantur mola salsa tactae*; Suet. Prat. p. 314 Roth: *immolari dicitur hostia cum mola salsa in caput adiecta est*; other passages in Pease on Cic. De Div. 2, 37). For the cult importance of salt, especially when mixed with spelt

518. unum exuta pedem vinclis, in veste recincta,

uestae F (ueste F¹).

518. unum . . . recincta: Serv. Aen. 2, 134 — uinctis H; retincta H —; 3, 370; Anth. Lat. no. 17, 326 (1, p. 74 Riese) — retincta A (recincta A¹) —; Mythogr. Vat. III, 6, 30. 518. exuta . . . vinclis: Gl. Ansil. 229, 1433. 518. vinclis: Gl. Ansil. 588, 193; q.v. 518. in . . . recincta: Gl. Ansil. 315, 1958.

(far), cf. Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig. 2 (1906), 815; 850, n. 1; 889, n. 3; 893, n. 5; Eitrem, Opferritus u. Voropfer der Gr. u. Römer (1915), 261–275; 309–343; Hopfner, Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber (1921), 150–151; 242; Frazer on Ov. F. 1, 337; 2, 23; 5, 421; 6, 249; Koch in P.-W. 15 (1932), 2516–2517; Eitrem in Symbolae Osloenses, 12 (1933), 15, and n. 4.

Other typical passages on *mola* at sacrifices are: Plaut. Amphitr. 740; Aen. 2, 133: *salsae fruges*; 12, 173–174: *dant fruges manibus salsas . . . / . . . patrisque altaria libant*; Dion. Hal. 2, 25, 2: *Ῥωμαῖοι τιμωτάτων τε καρπὸν καὶ ἀρχαυότατον εἶναι νομίζοντες τὰς ξέας διὰ τούτων ἀπάσης ἐμπύρου θυσίας καταρχονται*; Tib. 1, 5, 14; Ov. F. 2, 535–538; 3, 284; 4, 409; Hygin. Fab. 277: *inde primum inventum est super hostias molam salsam imponere*; Sen. Oed. 335: *sparge salsa colla taurorum mola*; Thy. 688: *tangensque salsa victimam culter mola*; Mart. 7, 54, 5; Plin. N. H. praef. 11: *mola tantum salsa litant qui non habent tura*; 18, 7: *Numa instituit deos fruge colere et mola salsa supplicare*; Acta Frat. Arv. cxvi Henzen: *immolavitque vino mola cultroque*, etc.; Arnob. 3, 24; 5, 3; 6, 1; 7, 20; Dracont. Romul. 10, 194–195; Serv. Aen. 2, 133: *mola salsa qua et frons victimae et foci aspergebantur et cultri. fiebat autem de horna fruge et horno sale*; 3, 178; Schol. Dan. Ecl. 8, 82: *far enim pium, id est, mola casta, salsa . . . ita fit: virgines Vestales tres maximae ex nonis Maiis ad pridie idus Maias alternis diebus spicas adreas in coribibus mesuariis ponunt easque spicas ipsae virgines torrent, pinsunt, molunt atque ita molitum condunt. ex eo farre virgines ter in anno molam faciunt . . . adiecto sale cocto et sale duro. igitur quod in sacris mola casta dicitur; ideo Vergilius in quinto Aeneidis (745) 'farre pio' enuntiat; quid enim est pium nisi*

castum; etc.; Schol. Dan. G. 1, 31; Schol. Pers. 2, 71; Mythogr. Vat. III, 6, 32.

517. piis: Serv.: *piis manibus, id est, puris*; cf. Aen. 3, 42: *pias . . . manus*; 4, 637: *pia . . . villa*; 5, 745: *farre pio*; Hor. C. 3, 23, 20: *farre pio et saliente mica*; Tib. 3, 2, 16: *perfusaeque piis ante liquore manus*; 3, 4, 10: *farre pio placant et saliente sale*; Aug. Conf. 8, 27: *pias manus*; also Soph. O. C. 470: *δι' ὁρίων χειρῶν θιγῶν* (and Jebb's n.); Ps. 24, 4; also Tib. 2, 1, 14: *manibus puris sumile fontis aquam*. On the ritual washing cf. 4, 635; infra.

517. altaria iuxta: cf. 4, 204, n. (ante aras); 4, 255, n. (iuxta); Tac. Ann. 2, 41, 1: *Tiberim iuxta*.

518. unum, etc.: Schol. Dan.: *solent enim et resolutoria sacrificia ab aruspibus fieri. et (ad) Iunonis Lucinae sacra non licet accedere nisi solutis nodis*. Three principles seem to underlie the frequent ritual prescription of bare feet: (1) that leather footgear (i.e., the skins of dead animals) was taboo in sacred rites (cf. Schol. Dan.: *flaminicae non licebat neque calceos neque soleas morticinas habere; morticinae autem dicuntur quae de pecudibus sua sponte mortuis fiebant* — the common prescription of linen and other vegetable substances is doubtless due to the same principle; Hier. De Viris illustr. 2: *huic soli licitum erat ingredi sancta sanctorum; siquidem vestibibus laneis non utebatur sed lineis*; Kretschmer in Jahreshfte d. österr. arch. Inst. 5 (1902), 145, publishing an inscription from Eresus which reads: *(μη)δὲ εἰς τὸν ναὸν εἰσφέρειν σῖδαρον μηδὲ χάλκον πλὰν νομίσματος μηδὲ ὑπόδεσιν μηδὲ ἄλλο δέρμα μηδὲν*, and citing parallels at other shrines; Wächter, Reinheits-Vorschriften im gr. Kult (1910), 23; 55; 57–58; 61; Eitrem, Opferritus u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer (1915), 392–394; Hopfner, Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungs-

zauber (1921), 238–239; id., in P.-W. 14 (1928), 362–363; Frazer on Ov. F. 1, 629; Burriess, Taboo, Magic, Spirits (1931), 78–80), and hence might not be brought upon holy ground (e.g., Eur. Ion, 220–221: *θέμις γυνάων ὑπερ-βῆναι λευκὸν ποδὶ βηλόν*; inscriptions of sacred spots at Ialysus, Andania, and Lycosura (Dittenberger, Sylloge Inscr. Gr., 2 ed., 2 (1900), nos. 560; 653; 939); Cook, Zeus, 2 (1925), 922 (and works there cited) for an inscription of the first century B.C. at a sanctuary on Mt. Cynthus bidding worshippers enter *(ἀνν)ποδέρους*; Varr. L. L. 7, 84: *in aliquot sacris ac sacellis scriptum habemus: 'ne quid scortum adhibeatur,' ideo ne morticinum quid adsit* (cf. C. I. L. I, 2 ed., 1, p. 231, 12); Menipp. 439 Bücheler; Solin. 11, 8: *aedem numinis* (Diana Britomartis in Crete) *praeterquam nudus vestigia nullus licito ingreditur*; Philostr. Vit. Apollon. 8, 7, 4 (on Pythagoras wearing sandals of byblus); Exod. 3, 5 (cf. Acts, 7, 33); Joshua, 5, 15; 2 Sam. 15, 30 (Dittmar in Zeitschr. f. neutest. Wiss. 9 (1908), 344); Ambros. De Isaac, 16: *exuta vinculis pedem*; Hier. Comm. in Amos, 1, p. 260 Vall.: *unde et apostoli absque calciamentis et ulla mortui animalis pellicula nudis pedibus iubentur incedere* (Matt. 10, 10); Comm. in Mich. 1, p. 439 Vall.: *deponentque de pedibus suis quidquid mortiferum haberunt, et erunt discalciati, quia terra in qua staturi sunt locus est sanctus*; Epist. Alex. ad Aristol. p. 211 Kuebler; a Christian charm in Heim, Incantamenta magica (1892), 554; Raymund of Agiles, Hist. Franc. 15 (Patr. Lat. 155, 614); Koran, Sura 20, 12; cf. Eitrem, op. cit., 91 and n. 6; MacCulloch in Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics, 11 (1921), 474–476; Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco, 1 (1926), 241–242, or into sacred ceremonies; (2) to keep the performer of magic rites in touch with the earth and underworld powers (cf. the Antaeus myth (Oertel in Roscher, Ausf. Lex. 1 (1884), 362; also Amelung in Diss. d. pontif. Accad. Rom. di Arch., 2 Ser., 9 (1905), 115–135 and pl. V; Penquitt, De Didonis Vergilianae Exiliu (1910), 53; Hopfner, Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber (1921), 239–240), leather acting as a sort of magic insulation); and (3) that, as all magic and many religious rites must be kept free from the hampering influ-

ence of knots (Serv. Aen. 2, 134: *piaculum est in sacrificio aliquid esse religatum*; cf. Dedo, De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria (1904), 13; Wächter, op. cit., 23, n. 2; Heckenbach, De Nuditate sacra sacrisque Vinculis (1911), passim, especially 28; 48–49; Weinreich in Hess. Blätter f. Volkskunde, 10 (1911), 129–130 (additions to Heckenbach); 212–213 (modern Greek custom); Samter, Geburt, Hochzeit, u. Tod (1911), 121–130; Dilling in Hastings, Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics, 7 (1915), 747–751; Frazer, Golden Bough, 3 ed., 3 (1914), 293–317; Pease on Cic. De Div. 2, 84; Gruppe in Burs. Jahresb. 186 (1921), 177–178; Hopfner, Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber (1921), 239; Burriess in Cl. Philol. 24 (1929), 157; Frazer on Ov. F. 3, 257; 5, 432–433; McCartney in Cl. Philol. 26 (1931), 166–171, especially 166, n. 2 (with bibliography); Burriess, Magic, Taboo, Spirits (1931), 109–114 — a prescription which often entails complete nudity (Heckenbach, op. cit., passim; Pearson on Soph. Frag. 534, 7) —, so many cases of bare feet may be explained, and this Virgil's use of the term *vinclis* indicates is his own explanation; cf. Callim. Hymn. 6, 124: *ἀπεδλωτοὶ καὶ ἀνάμυκες ἄστυ πατεῦμες*; Euphorion ap. Plut. De sera Num. Vind. 12 (Collectanea Alexand. (1925), 40, no. 53 Powell); Hor. Serm. 1, 8, 24: *Canidiā pedibus nudis passoque capillo*; Ov. M. 7, 182–183 (of Medea): *egreditur tectis vestes induta recinctas, / nuda pedem, nudis umeros infusa capillis*; F. 5, 432: *habent gemini vincula nulla pedes*; Strab. 7, 2, 3, of priestesses among the Cimbri who are *γυμνόποδες*; Sen. Med. 752–753: *vinculo solvens comam / secreta nudo nemora lustravi pede*; Petron. 44, 18: *stolatae ibant nudis pedibus in clivum, passis capillis, mentibus puris, et Iovem aquam exorabant* (for other references to the rain-making ceremony called *nudipedalia* cf. Sil. 3, 28; Tert. De Ieiunio, 16; Apol. 40 (and Mayor's n.); Hier. Chron. Euseb. ann. Abr. 1345; Comm. in Gal. 1, p. 407 Vall.; Eitrem, op. cit., 93, n. 2; 399 and n. 1); Plin. N. H. 17, 266; 24, 103 (of selago): *legitur sine ferro dextra manu . . . candida veste vestito pureque lautis nudis pedibus eant, capillo cinctuque dissoluto*; Columell. 11, 3, 64; Suet. Aug. 100; Solin. 11,

519. testatur moritura deos et conscia fati

519. testatur . . . deos: *Anth. Lat. no. 15, 116* (1, p. 54 Riese) — deo —. 519. conscia fati: *Gl. Ansil. 139, 1382*.

8 (see above); *Pythag. Symbol. 3* (Boehm, *De Symbolis Pythagoreis* (1905), 9-10): *θεῶν χρη ἀνυπόδητον καὶ πρὸς τὰ ἱερὰ προσ-ἔναι*; Marinus, *Vita Procli*, 11; Pallad. 1, 35, 3; *Geopon. 12, 8, 5*; [Apul.] *Herbar. praecantatio*; Thorndike, *Hist. of Magic and Exper. Sci.*, 2 ed., 1 (1929), 729; also Sartori in *Zeitschr. des Vereins f. Volkskunde*, 4 (1894), 178-180; Dedo, *De Antiquorum Superstitione amatoria* (1904), 13, and n. 3; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 3 (1911), 312, n. 3. The explanation of Smith, *Religion of the Semites*, 1 ed. (1889), 434, that shoes were put off the feet in holy places because they could not, like the rest of one's clothing, be purified by washing and hence were unclean, seems less likely than the reasons above given.

Previous examples have illustrated chiefly the baring of both feet. For 'one shoe off and one shoe on' cf. the reasonable explanation of Servius: *quia id agitur ut et ista solvatur et implicetur Aeneas*. That the bare foot was the left may be judged from Hesych. s. v. *Διὸς κώδιον*; cf. Frazer on Paus. 2, 31, 8; Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 53-54, and Henry's explanation (*Aeneidea*, 3 (1889), 604) of *Aen.* 7, 689-690: *vestigia nuda sinistri / instituere pedis* (though Fowler, *Virgil's Gathering of the Clans* (1918), 60-61, thinks the reason not magical but practical, to get a firmer hold upon the ground, comparing Macrob. *Sat.* 5, 18, 13-21; to which add Thuc. 3, 22, to which Rauchenstein in *Philologus*, 35 (1876), 578 cites a parallel from Swiss history); Clem. Alex. *Paedag.* 2, 11: *καὶ γὰρ πῶς ἐγγὺς τὸ ὑποδέεσθαι τῷ δεδέεσθαι*; cf. Sannazaro, *Ecl.* 5, 26: *ipsa comas effusa, pedemque exuta sinistram*. Of persons wearing but one sandal the most famous case was that of Jason, whose left foot was accidentally bare (Pind. *Pyth.* 4, 75; 4, 95; Pherecyd. *Frag.* 60 (*Frag. Hist. Gr.* 1, 87); Apoll. Rh. 1, 5-11; Lycophr. *Alex.* 1310; Hygin. *Fab.* 12; 13; Apollod. *Bibl.* 1, 9, 16 (cf. Zenob. 4, 92 in *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 1, 111); Schol. Dan. *Ecl.* 4, 34; Lact. *Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 3, 516; 5, 336;

Mythogr. Vat. II, 135; Eitrem, *Hermes u. d. Tolen* (1909), 44-45, who discusses the aphrodisiac character of the shoe); for Hermes and Perseus cf. Artemid. *Onirocr.* 4, 63. At times the loss of a sandal is due to accident, excitement (*App. Planud.* 127, 1), or drunkenness (*id.*, 306, 5-6; 307, 3-4; 308, 5-6); at other times there is probably a magical significance (e.g., in addition to some passages already cited, Luc. *Philopseud.* 27; *Papyr. Gr. mag.* 1, 142; 1, 144; 1, 150 Preisendanz: *ἐγὼ ἴδον τὴν μεγίστην θεὸν (Selene) καταλιποῦσαν τὸν πόλον τὸν οὐράνιον ἐπὶ γῆς γυμνοσάνδαλον*, κτλ.; Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 13, 6, 1: *e scinto e nudo un piè*; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 3 (1914), 312-313; Eckstein in Hoffmann-Krayer, *Handwörterbuch des deutschen Aberglaubens*, 1 (1927), 922; Bächtold-Stäubli in the same work, 3 (1931), 229). For examples in art cf. Lenormant in *Contemp. Rev.* 38 (1880), 137, followed by De Witte in *Gaz. arch.* 9 (1884), 352-353 and pl. 44-46; Frazer on Paus. 2, 31, 8 (these on a hydria of Theseus undergoing purification; yet cf. Beazley, *Gr. Vases in Poland* (1928), 40-41); Reinach, *Bronzes figurés de la Gaule romaine* (1894), 64-66 and fig. 48 (a statuette of Mercury in the museum of S. Germain-en-Laye, with left foot shod and right bare); Amelung, *op. cit.*, 123-135; Reinach, *Rép. de la Statuaire gr. et rom.*, 2 ed., 1 (1906), 506; Esdaile in *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* 29 (1909), 2 and pl. 1 b; Helbig-Amelung, *Führer durch d. öffentl. Sammlungen kl. Alt. in Rom*, 3 ed., 1 (1912), 514-515 (a statue in the Palazzo dei Conservatori); Helbig-Amelung, *op. cit.*, 2 (1913), 393-395; Hauser in *Jahresh. d. österr. arch. Inst. in Wien*, 16 (1913), 57-77 (a seated female statue in the Palazzo Barberini formerly identified with Dido); Helbig-Amelung, *op. cit.*, 1 (1912), 129; Hauser, *op. cit.*, 63-66, for an Athenian relief of a figure seated on an *omphalos*; Dieterich-Fehle, *Mulier Erde*, 2 ed. (1925), 81, n. 2 (the Augustus of Prima-porta); Hauser in *Röm. Mitteilungen*, 25

520. sidera; tum, si quod non aequo foedere amantes

siquod (*corr. in siquoi*) *M*, siquid *p*, *cod. Leid. m. pr.* fodoere *π.* amantes *p*.

520-521. tum . . . precatur: *Prisc. Inst.* 7, 32 (*G. L. K.* 2, 314) — equo *G*; federe *RL*; amantes; praecatur *RB* —; *Aug. Reg.* (*G. L. K.* 5, 503) — tum sit quod non equos edere amantes cure nomen *F* —. 520. non . . . foedere: *Gl. Ansil.* 394, 147 — aeque —; *Gl. Abol.* 150, 23.

(1910), 273-292, and pl. 2 (a seated Heracles from Torre Nova with the right foot bare, the left shod).

With the beginning of the line cf. 11, 649: *unum exserta latus*; with the syntax Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 2 (1933), 421.

518. *vinclis*: of sandals in Tib. 1, 5, 66; Ov. *M.* 3, 168; *F.* 5, 432 (quoted above).

518. in veste: Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) compares 5, 179; 7, 167; 12, 169; etc.

518. *recincta*: Serv.: *quia . . . in sacris nihil solet esse religatum, praecipue eius quae amore vult solvi*; cf. 4, 509, n. (*crinis effusa*); the same taboo upon knots which applied to the sandal extended to the girdle (e.g., Ov. *Am.* 1, 5, 9; 3, 1, 51; *H.* 2, 116; *M.* 1, 382: *cinctasque resolute vestes*; 1, 398; 7, 182: *vestes induta recinctas*; Val. Fl. 8, 115: *cum veste recincta*; Plin. *N. H.* 17, 266: *muliere . . . nudis pedibus, recincta*; Colum. 10, 361: *sed resoluta sinus, resoluta maesta capillo*; Molsa, *Eleg. ad Sodalem*, 47: *et veste recincta*; Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 54; Hopfner, *Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber*, 1 (1921), 239) and to bindings of the hair (Sommer in *P.-W.* 7 (1912), 2109). This is the earliest occurrence of the verb. Our passage was perhaps in the mind of Ambros. *De Isaaco et Anima*, 16: *exi quasi exuta vinculis pedem et nudo exserta vestigio*.

519. testatur: cf. 12, 581: *testaturque deos*.

519. moritura: cf. 4, 308, n. (*nec, etc.*).

519. conscia fati: Serv.: *id est, planetas, in quibus fatorum ratio continetur*. So DeWitt (in *Cl. Journ.* 26 (1930), 22) would detect an astrological allusion here. It may be, however, that the stars are here invoked as the sun is in 4, 607 (Penquitt, *op. cit.*, 54, n. 5); cf. 4, 167, n. (*consciis aether*); and for swearing by the stars, as the eyes of heaven, cf. 2, 154-155: *vos aeterni ignes et non violabile*

vestrum / testor numen; 3, 599: *per sidera testor*; 6, 458: *per sidera iuro*; 9, 429: *caelum hoc et conscia sidera testor*; 12, 197: *terram, mare, sidera iuro*; Stat. *Theb.* 12, 393: *per socios manes et conscia sidera iuro*. Similar phrases without the idea of swearing are Stat. *Theb.* 6, 240-241: *nec conscia fallit / sidera*; 8, 206; Manil. 1, 1-2: *et conscia fati / sidera*; Claud. *De Rapt. Pros.* 2, 7: *conscia fati*; Auson. *Parent.* 4, 17: *conscia sidera fati*; Pascoli, *Le Ciaramelle*, 27-28: *le stelle . . . / conscie del nostro breve mistero*. Dietsch (*Theologum. Vergilian. Particula* (1853), 27) questions whether the stars can be properly called *conscia fati*, i.e., aware that Dido is near her death, when in 4, 696 she is said to die *nec falo*, etc. But the latter passage expresses the thought of the author, who is, for literary purposes, omniscient, while the present line may well be interpreted as showing Dido's own feeling; she knows herself about to die and addresses the stars which she believes observe her actions, just as the next day her appeal is to the sun (4, 607).

520. si quod: Serv.: *'si quod' autem bene dubitat utrum res malae habeant praepositas potestates* (cf. 4, 382: *si quid pia numina possunt*). *sensus autem hic est: 'Ἀντέρωτα invocat, contrarium Cupidini, qui amores resolvit, aut certe cui curae est iniquus amor, scilicet ut implicet non amantem*; Schol. Dan.: *amatoribus praeesse dicuntur Ἐρως, Ἀντέρωτα, Δυσέρωτα*; cf. Furtwängler in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1890), 1343; Wernicke in *P.-W.* 1 (1894), 2354-2355; also the inscription in *Inscr. Lat. sel.* 8754 Dessau (= Audollent, *Defix. Tabell.* (1904), no. 270).

520. aequo foedere: cf. 11, 321-322: *foederis aequas / dicamus leges*; Theocr. 12, 15-16: *ἀλλήλους δ' ἐφίλησαν ἰσὺ ἑυγῶ. ἡ ῥα τὸτ' ἦσαν / χρύσειοι πάλαι ἄνδρες, δὲ ἀντρεφίλησ' ὁ φιληθείς*; Ov. *Ep.* 15, 163-164: *non*

521. curae numen habet iustumque memorque, precatur.

[520*] 521. curae habet: *Gl. Ansil.* 158, 293.

ignibus aequis / ureris; *Tr.* 2, 535-536: *nec legitur pars ulla* (sc. of the *Aeneid*) *magis de corpore toto / quam non legitimo foedere iunctus amor*; *Mart.* 4, 13, 8: *iamque pari semper sit Venus aequa iugo*. For the phrase cf. *Manil.* 3, 310: *aequo stat foedere tempus*; *Digest.* 49, 15, 7 (of a people): *sive aequo foedere in amicitiam venit*; *Pichon, De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 152.

521. *curae . . . habet*: for the syntax cf. *Caelius ap. Cic. Ad Fam.* 8, 8, 10; *Sall. Cat.* 21, 5; *Suet. Aug.* 48.

521. *numen*: cf. 4, 382, n. (*pia numina*).

521. *memor*: *Schol. Dan.*: 'iustum' ad iudicandum . . . 'memor' ad vindicandum; 1, 543: *at sperate deos memores fandi atque nefandi*; cf. *Jackson in Harv. Stud. in cl. Philol.* 24 (1913), 49-50.

521. *precatur*: the object of the prayer is doubtless divine vengeance upon Aeneas; cf. 4, 607-629; also *Penquitt, op. cit.*, 55, who cites similar prayers from *defixiones*, etc. *Schueler (Quaestiones Vergilianae* (1883), 28) queries why Dido breaks off the sacrifices at this point, for if she wishes to be freed from her cares she might set the pyre afire at once. But, as already intimated, Virgil seems psychologically correct in making her waver in her intention, especially when any step leading toward suicide was irrevocable; cf. *Penquitt, l. c.*; also 4, 531, n. (*ingeminant*).

522. *nox erat, etc.*: *Serv.*: *protenditur ista descriptio ad exaggerationem vigiliarum Didonis*. This passage belongs in a large class of descriptions of the calmness of night (frequently introduced by *nox erat*, or *nox erat, et*; cf. *Stearns, Studies of the Dream as a technical Device in Latin Epic and Drama* (1927), 21-22, n. 65), often contrasted, as here, with the sleepless anxiety of lovers, soldiers, and others; cf. *Il.* 2, 1-2: *ἄλλοι μὲν ῥα θεοὶ τε καὶ ἄνθρωποι ἵπποκορυσται / εἶδον παννύχιοι, Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε ἥδυμος ὕπνος*; 10, 1-4 (similarly, of Agamemnon); *Od.* 20, 54-58: *Ἀλκμάν, 65, 1-7: εὐδουσιν δ' ὄρεων κορυφαὶ τε καὶ φάραγγες, / πρῶτονές τε καὶ χαράδραι, / φύλα θ' ἔρπετα τόσσα τρέφει μέ-*

λαῖνα γαῖα. / θήρῃς τ' ὄρεσκόωσι καὶ γένος μελι-σάν / καὶ κνώδαλ' ἐν βένθεσι πορφύρας ἁλός / εὐδουσιν δ' ὄϊων / φύλα τανυπτερόγων; *Sapph.* 50, 1-4: *δέδυκε μὲν ἂ σελάννα / καὶ Πληγάδες, μέσαι δὲ / νύκτες, παρὰ δ' ἔρχεται ὥρα, / ἐγὼ δὲ μόνα καθέδω*; *Anacreontea*, 31, 1-7: *μεσο-νυκτίος ποθ' ὥραις, / στρέφεται ἥμος* "Ἄρκτος ἤδη / κατὰ χεῖρα τὴν Βώϊτου, / μερόπων δὲ φύλα πάντα / κέεται κόψα δαμέντα, / τότε Ἐρως ἐπισταθείς μιν / θυρέων ἔκοπτε ὀχῆας, κτλ."; *Eur. I. A.* 9-12: *Αἴ. οὐκ οὐκ φέγγος γ' οὐτ' ὀρνίθων / οὔτε θαλάσσης· σιγαὶ δ' ἀνέμων / τόνδε κατ' Ἑβρίπον ἔχουσιν. / ΠΡ. τί δὲ σὺ σκηνῆς ἐκτός ἀίσσεις; κτλ.*; *Ar. Thesmoph.* 46-48: *πτηνῶν τε γένη κατακοιμάσθω / θηρῶν τ' ἀγρίων πόδες ὑλοδρόμων / μὴ λυέσθων*; *Theocr.* 2, 38-39: *ἡνίκα σιγῇ μὲν πόντος, σιγῶντι δ' ἄηται / ἂ δ' ἐμὰ οὐ σιγῇ στέρνων ἐντοσθεν ἀνία, κτλ.*; *Apollon. Rh.* 3, 744-753: *νύξ μὲν ἔπειτα ἐπὶ γαίαν ἄγαν κνέφας· οἱ δ' ἐνὶ πόντῳ / ναῦται εἰς Ἑλλήν τε καὶ Ἀστέρας Ὀρῖωνος / ἔδρακον ἐκ νηῶν ὕπνοιον δὲ καὶ τις ὁδότης / ἤδη καὶ πύλας ἔλδεται . . . / οὐδὲ κυνῶν ὑλακὴ ἔτ' ἀνὰ πτόλιν, οὐ θρόος ἦεν / ἡχῆς· σιγῇ δὲ μελαινομένην ἔχεν ὄρνυον. / ἀλλὰ μάλ' οὐ Μήδειαν ἐπὶ γλυκερὸς λάβεν ὕπνος. / πολλὰ γὰρ Αἰσονίδας πόψα μελεδήματ' ἔγειρεν / δευδύταν ταύρων κρατερὸν μένος, κτλ.*; 4, 1058-1061: *στρενγομένοις δ' ἂν ὅμιλον ἐπὶ λυθεν εὐνήτετρα / Νύξ ἔργων ἀνδρῶσι, κατευκῆ-λησε δὲ πᾶσαν / γαῖαν ὁμῶς· τὴν δ' οὐτι μινυθὰ περ εὔνασεν ὕπνος, / ἀλλὰ οἱ ἐν στέροισι ἀχέων εἰλίσσεται θυμός* (cf. *Conrardy, De Vergilio Apollonii Rhodii Imitatore* (1904), 22-23; *DeWitt, The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 62-63, for an analysis of the treatment of the theme by the two poets); [*Orph.*] *Argon.* 1009-1014: *κοιμήσας δ' ὄγε φύλα πανημερίων ἀνθρώπων, / καὶ ζαμενέας ἀνέμων πνοίας, καὶ κύματα πόντου, / πηγὰς τ' ἀνείων ὑδάτων, ποταμῶν τε ῥέεθρα, / θηρὰς τ' οἰωνοὺς τε, τὰ τε ζώει τε καὶ ἔρπει, / ἐνράδων ἡμῖν ὑπὸ χροστέας πτερύγεσσιν, κτλ.*; *Varr. Atac. Argon.* 3, 1-2 (*F. P. R.* 333 *Baehrens*): *desierant latrare canes urbesque silebant; / omnia noctis erant placida com-posita quiete*; *Aen.* 2, 268-269: *tempus erat*

522. Nox erat, et placidum carpebant fessa soporem

522-554: *MP.*

522-523. *nox . . . corpora*: *Serv. Aen.* 2, 268. 522. et . . . *soporem*: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 388 — *membra quietem* (cf. 1, 691; 7, 414; *Anth. Lat.* no. 17, 122 (1, p. 66 *Riese*); *Regel, Quaest. Verg. crit. Specimen* (1866), 16-17) — 522. *nox erat*: *Mar. Victor. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 29); *Mall. Theod. De Metris*, 1 (G. L. K. 6, 587).

quo prima quies mortalibus aegris / incipit et dono divom gratissima serpit; 3, 147: *nox erat, et terris animalia somnus habebat*; 5, 835-836: *iamque fere mediam caeli nox umida metam / contigerat, placida laxabant membra quiete*, etc.; 8, 26-30: *nox erat, et terras animalia fessa per omnis / alituum pecudumque genus sopor altus habebat, / cum pater . . . / Aeneas, tristi turbatus pectora bello, / procubuit seramque dedit per membra quietem*; 9, 224-226: *celera per terras omnis animalia somno / laxabant curas et corda oblita laborum; / ductores Teucrum primi, delecta iuventus, / consilium summis regni de rebus habebant*; *Cir.* 231-233: *qua causa ad patrium solam vigilare cubile, / tempore quo fessas mortalia pectora curas, / quo rapidos etiam requiescunt flumina cursus*; *Ov. Am.* 3, 5, 1: *nox erat, et somnus lassos submisit ocellos*; *M.* 7, 180-188 (185-188: *homines volucresque ferasque / solverat alta quies; nullo cum murmure saepes, / inmolae silent frondes; silel umidus aër; / sidera sola micant*); 10, 368-370: *noctis erat medium, curasque et corpora somnus / solverat. at virgo Cinyreia pervigil igni / carpitur indomito*; 10, 446-448: *tempus erat quo cuncta silent . . . / ad facinus venit illa suum*; *Tr.* 1, 3, 27-28; *Ex Pont.* 3, 3, 5: *nox erat, et bifores intrabat luna fenestras*; *F.* 1, 421-422: *nox erat, et viro somnum faciente iacebant / corpora diversis victa sopore locis*; 2, 792-793: *nox erat, et tota lumina nulla domo; / surgit, et auratum vagina liberal ense*; 3, 639; 4, 549-550; 5, 429-430: *nox ubi iam media est, somnoque silentia praebet / et canis et variae conticuistis aves, etc.*; 6, 673; *Sen. Controv.* 7, 1, 27; *Val. Fl.* 3, 32-33: *nox erat, et leni caneabant aequora sulco, / et iam prona leves spargebant sidera somnos*; 3, 417-418; *Stat. Theb.* 1, 336-341 (339-341: *iam pecudes volucresque tacent, iam somnus avaris / inrepsit curis pronusque ex*

aethere nutat, / grata laboratae referens obliviam vitae); 2, 337 (and *Lact. Plac. in loc.*); 3, 415-418: *nox subiit curasque hominum motusque ferarum / composuit nigroque polos involvit amictu, / illa quidem cunctis, sed non tibi mitis, Adraste, Labdacioque duci*; *Silv.* 5, 4, 1-6: *crimine quo merui, iuvenis placidissime divum, / quove errore miser, donis ut solus egerem, / Somne, tuis? tacet omne pecus volucresque feraeque / et simulant fessos curvata cacumina somnos, / nec trucibus fluviis idem sonus; occidit horror / aequoris, et terris maria adclinata quiescunt*; *Sil.* 7, 282-287: *cuncta per et terras et lati stagna profundi / condiderat somnus, postloque labore dierum / pacem nocte datam mortalibus orbis agebat. / at non Sidonium curis flagrantia corda / ductorem vigilesque metus haurire sinebant / dona soporiferæ noctis, etc.*; 8, 164-167: *iacito nox atra sopore / cuncta per et terras et lati stagna profundi / condiderat, tristi cum Dido aegerrima vultu / has visa in somnis germanae effundere voces*; 15, 612-613; *Il. Lat.* 111-112: *nox erat, et toto fulgebant sidera mundo / humanumque genus requies divumque tenebat*; *Quint. Smyrn.* 4, 62-64; 7, 672: *νύξ, ἣ τ' ἀνθρώποισι λύσιν καμάτου φέρονσα*; *Claud. De VI Cons. Hon.* 453: *nox erat, et, etc.*; *Anth. Lat.* no. 83, 48-53 (1, p. 115 *Riese*); no. 808, 101-105 (2, p. 289 *Riese*): *sed nox umbriferis per caelum roscida pinnis / presserat aërios fugientis solis honores / cunctaque per terras animalia pressa sopore; / solus ibi dulci numquam Perdica quieti / tradidit assiduis ardentia lumina flammis*. Cf. the later parallels noted by *Henry (Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 777-778), *Patin (Études sur les Trag. gr. Sophocle* (1896), 27), *Smyth (Gr. melic Poets* (1906), 199), and *Spingarn (Crit. Essays of the Seventeenth Century*, 2 (1908), 174-179), and add: *Paul. Diac. Carm.* 18, 1-5; *Heiricus, Vit. S. Germ.* 3, 173 (*Poet.*

523. corpora per terras, silvaeque et saeva quierant
quierunt ^a.

[522] 523. quierant: *Gl. Ansil.* 480, 131; *q.v.* — quieverant —.

Aevi Carol. 3, 466): *nox erat et plenum carpebant cuncta soporem*; Gualterus, *Alexandreis*, 1, 504–507; Kaltubek, *Lechias*, 10, 25 (cited by Pilch in *Eos*, 33 (1931), 16): *nox erat et*, etc.; Ariosto, *Orl. fur.* 8, 79, 1–6: *già in ogni parte gli animanti lassi / davan riposo ai travagliati spiriti / . . . / tu le palpebre, Orlando, a pena abbassi, / punto da'tuoi pensieri acuti et irti*, etc.; Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 2, 96, 1–97, 2: *era la notte, allor ch'alto riposo / han l'onde e i venti, e pareo muto il mondo. / gli animai lassi . . . / . . . / e i pinti augelli . . . / sopian gli affanni e raddolciano i cori. / ma nè 'l campo fedel nè 'l franco Duca / si discioglie nel sonno*; etc.; Sannazaro, *De Partu Virg.* 2, 309–317; Fracastoro, *Syphilis*, 370–373: *interea dulces somnos noctisque soporem / omnia per terras animalia fessa trahebant; / illis nulla quies aderat, sopor omnis in auras / fugerat*; Castiglione, *Prosopopoeia*, 7: *nox erat, et*, etc.; Dryden, *Absalom and Achitophel*, 2, 1085–1088; *Indian Emperor*, Act 3, Sc. 2; *Annus mirabilis*, 861–869; Chateaubriand, *Les Natchez*, 3, 196 (cf. Naylor in *Johns Hopkins Stud. in Rom. Lit. and Lang.* 18 (1930), 131); Carducci, *La Chiesa di Polenta*, 121–128 (125 reads *taccion le fiere e gli uomini e le cose*).

On Virgil's fondness for descriptions of night cf. DeWitt, *op. cit.*, 63; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 25. For the present passage cf. also Shairp, *Poetic Interpr. of Nature* (1890), 163–164, who thinks that the contrast between Nature's repose and the tumult of the human heart, thus felt and expressed, belongs to a late and self-conscious age; Fairclough, *Attitude of the Gr. Tragedians toward Nature* (1897), 56–57; Geikie, *Love of Nature among the Romans* (1912), 224–228.

When night and sleep, the soothers of cares (cf. 4, 528, n. (*oblita*), below; also Soph. *Fr.* 197 Pearson: *ὑπνον ἰατρὸν νόσου*; Ov. *M.* 8, 81–82: *curarum maxima nutrix / nox*; 11, 623–625; Sen. *Ep.* 56, 6; etc.), not

only fail in their customary effect but seem to stand in unsympathetic harshness toward some hapless individual (cf. Pease in *Cl. Journ.* 22 (1927), 651–654, on the 'antipathetic' type of the 'pathetic fallacy' in Latin literature), we have a contrast especially dear to tragedy (e.g., Soph. *O. T.* 1088–1109; *Aias*, 693–717, where joyous hyporchemes precede the catastrophes of the plays).

522. *placidum . . . soporem*: cf. 4, 5, n. (*placidum . . . quietem*); 8, 405–406: *placidumque petit / . . . per membra soporem*; Enn. *Ann.* 5: *somno leni placidoque revinctus*; Ov. *Ep.* 15, 102: *placido victo sopore*; Angilbertus, *Carm.* 6, 325 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 374): *membra solo exoptant placidum defessa soporem*; *Dialogus Agii*, 6, 325 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 509): *placidum . . . soporem*.

522. *carpebant*: in addition to passages cited above cf. G. 3, 435: *sub divo carpere somnos*; Aen. 4, 555: *carpebat somnos*; 7, 414: *carpebat nocte quietem*; Petron. *Frag.* 38, 1–2 Bücheler: *lecto compositus vix prima silentia noctis / carpebam et somno lumina victa dabam*; Val. Fl. 5, 48: *carpere securas . . . nocles*; Sil. 16, 119: *carpentis somnos*; 17, 160: *carpit dum nocte quietem*; Stat. *Silv.* 2, 6, 98: *carpitque quietem*; Claud. *De Bell. Gild.* 1, 328: *carpebat teneros . . . somnos*; Auson. *Perioch.* II, 2, 2 (p. 379 Peiper): *carpebant munera somni*; Sedul. *Pasch. Carm.* 3, 56: *ipse autem placidum carpebat pectore somnum*; *Perioch.* Od. 6, 1 (p. 394 Peiper): *carpebat somnos*; *Anth. Lat.* no. 83, 83–84 (1, pp. 116–117 Riese): *nec somni pia dona placent nec munera lucis / carpit*; also the use of *ἀσπείρειν* (e.g., Il. 10, 159; Od. 10, 548).

523. *silvae, etc.*: with the slight personification cf. Serv.: *secundum eos qui dicunt omnia quae crescunt animalia esse*; G. 1, 476: *lucos . . . silentis*.

523. *saeva quierant*: cf. Sall. *Iug.* 17, 5: *mare saevom*. Val. Fl. 2, 404–405: *modo saeva quierant / aequora* seems to combine

524. aequora, cum medio volvontur sidera lapsu;
cum tacet omnis ager, pecudes pictaeque volucres,

uoluuntur *codd.*

524. cum . . . lapsu: *Gl. Ansil.* 156, 132 — uoluuntur —. 524. medio lapsu: *Gl. Ansil.* 362, 96. 524. volvontur: *Gl. Ansil.* 596, 112; *q.v.* — uoluuntur —.

525. cum . . . volucres: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1, 339. 525. cum . . . ager: *Non. p.* 463 M. (p. 742 L.); *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 2, 255; 9, 391. 525. tacet: *Gl. Ansil.* 550, 48; *q.v.* 525. omnis ager: *Gl. Ansil.* 411, 51.

this passage with 7, 6–7: *alta quierunt / aequora*; cf. also Sen. *Ep.* 107, 8: *turbantur maria, cum quieverunt*. On the tense of *quierant* ('had sunk to rest'; cf. Claud. *In Rufin.* 2, 237) and the use of the following historical presents cf. Ley, *Vergil. Quaest.* 1 (1877), 8. The quiet may result because leaves have ceased to rustle and waves to dash or because the denizens of woods and sea are silent in sleep; Servius apparently has the former view: *elementa etiam animalia esse voluerunt*. Kvřčala (*Neue Beitr.* 2. Erkl. d. *Aeneis* (1881), 149–150) thinks all nature, both animate and inanimate, is at rest, and compares the dying down of winds at evening, noted by Virgil himself (3, 568) and by Rut. Nam. 1, 343. Hes. *Theog.* 762–763 says of Sleep: *τῶν ἑτερος γαῖαν τε καὶ εὐρέα νῶτα θαλάσσης / ἥσυχος ἀνσπρέφεται καὶ μελιχρὸς ἀνθρώποισι*. The juxtaposition of *saeva* and *quierant* brings out clearly the contrast between them; contrast also 4, 532: *saevit amor magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu*.

524. *medio*: Dido's wakefulness continues at midnight. *Schol. Dan.*: *noctem describit per sidera, hoc est, cum medium cursum tenent sidera, quae orta sunt*.

524. *volvontur*: cf. Cic. *De Rep.* 6, 17: *infixi sunt illi qui volvontur stellarum cursus sempiterni*, i.e., the fixed stars rather than the planets; in *De Div.* 1, 17, however, *lapsu spatioque feruntur* is said of planets. *Sidera* may be either constellations or single stars. Cf. also Quint. Smyrn. 12, 104: *ἦμος δ' αἰγλήεντα περιστρέφει οὐρανὸν ἄστρον, κτλ.*

524. *lapsu*: cf. 4, 77, n. (*labente die*). The verb *labor* is frequently used of the noiseless motions of the heavenly bodies.

525. *tacet*: cf. Stat. *Theb.* 1, 339: *iam pecudes volucresque tacent*; Haecckermann,

Comment. in Aeneidis Lib. alterum (1863), 26–28, on nocturnal silence. With the phrase *tacet . . . ager* cf. *Ecl.* 9, 57: *et nunc omne tibi stratum silet aequor*, and with *omnis ager* cf. *Ecl.* 3, 56: *et nunc omnis ager*.

525. *pecudes*: if line 528 be deleted we must understand *tacent* as a verb with *pecudes* and *volucres*.

525. *pictaeque volucres*: *Schol. Dan.*: *uno verbo multos et varios colores avium demonstravit; pictura enim ex multis coloribus constat*; cf. G. 3, 243: *pecudes pictaeque volucres*; Lucr. 2, 342–346: *praeterea genus humanum multaeque natantes / squamigerum pecudes et laeta armenta feraeque / et variae volucres* (cf. 1, 589), *laetantia quae loca aquarum / concelebrant circum ripas fontisque lacusque / et quae pervolant nemora avia pervolantes*; Ov. *M.* 2, 532: *pavonibus . . . pictis*; 2, 533; Manil. 2, 43: *pictas volucres*; Opp. *Cyneg.* 2, 190: *ἀνθοκόμοις πεπορόμεσιν οἰωνοῖσι*; Claud. *Carm. min.* 31, 3: *ferae picturaeque volucres*; Wandalbertus Prumiensis, *De Creat. Mundi*, 119 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 620): *pictae . . . volucres*; *De Mens. XII Nomin.* 14: *pictas . . . volucres*; Sedulius, *Carm.* 2, 49, 3 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 211): *pictae volucres*; the phrase becoming frequent in the Renaissance, e.g., Sannazaro, *Eleg. ad Ioan. Pardum*, 19: *pictas . . . volucres*; Vida, *Poet.* 3, 42–43: *genus omne ferarum / atque hominum, pictae volucres, multaeque natantes*; *Christias*, 1, 634: *pictae volucres*; Fracastoro, *Ver.* 4–5: *unde hominum genus et pecudum vilaeque natantum / et pictae volucres*; Aonius Palearius, *De Anim. Immortal.* 1, 450: *hac pecudes hominumque genus pictaeque volucres*; Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 2, 96, 6: *i pinti augelli*; Ioan. Arnolletus, *Ecl.* 4, 172: *pecudes pictaeque volucres*; Milton, *P. L.* 7, 434: "spread their

526. quaeque lacus late liquidos quaeque aspera dumis
rura tenent, somno positae sub nocte silenti.

locus *M* (lacus *M*¹). liquidus *M* (liquidus *M*²).
somnos *P* (somno *P*²). posite *γ*.

526–527. quaeque . . . silenti: [*Acro*] in *Hor. Epod.* 5, 55 — silua tenet *Av*, silua te *V*,
rura tenent *cp*; posita —. 526–527. aspera rura: *Gl. Ansil.* 68, 131.

[526*] 527. somno . . . silenti: *Charis. Inst. gram.* 4 (*G. L. K.* 1, 269). 527. sub . . .
silenti: *Gl. Ansil.* 543, 268.

painted wings"; Pope, *Windsor Forest*, 118:
"his painted wings." Cf. also Hilar. Arelat.
In Genes. 11–12 (*C. S. E. L.* 23, 231): *gens*
hominum pecudesque ferae milleque volucres,
et quae per liquidos discurrunt agmina
campos.

526. quaeque . . . quaeque: with the di-
chotomy cf. 6, 612: *quique ob adulterium caesi*
quique arma secuti; and examples cited by
Kvřčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881),
150–151; with the thought cf. *Cir.* 195–197:
gaude, o celeres, . . . / quae mare, quae viridis
silvas lucosque sonantis / incolitis, gaude,
vagi laris ante volucres. That the division (as
in *Lucr.* 2, 344–346) is into water birds (cf.
7, 32–34) and those of field and thicket is
clear from *positae* in the next line; otherwise
quaeque . . . quaeque might be construed as
neuter and applied to indefinite animals.

526. lacus: note the alliteration — *latus*
late liquidos — in a line designed to describe
liquidity. La Cerda (*ad loc.*) makes the curi-
ous suggestion that lakes are naturally muddy
but are at this time clear because the ani-
mals which in the daytime roil them are now
asleep!

526. aspera dumis: cf. 2, 379: *aspris*
. . . *sentibus*; 8, 348: *silvestribus horrida*
dumis; 9, 381–382: *dumis . . . / horrida*;
11, 570: *in dumis interque horrentia lustra*;
Amm. Marc. 27, 10, 12: *per hirta dumis et*
aspera. The reference is doubtless to the
shrubby thickets so common in some Medi-
terranean lands; cf. the Italian *macchia*.

527. tenent: cf. *G.* 4, 321–322: *gurgitis*
huius / ima tenes; *Aen.* 6, 434: *tenent*
maesti loca; Ermoldus, *In Hon. Hludowici*,
4, 34 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 59): *quicquid rura*
tenent.

527. somno positae: cf. 2, 644: *sic*

positum . . . corpus; 11, 30; *Ov. Am.* 1, 4,
53: *si bene compositus somno vinoque iacebit*;
Aug. *C. D.* 13, 11, 2: *in somno positos.*
Somno is doubtless here the ablative of place;
cf. *Ecl.* 6, 14: *somno . . . iacentem* (= *G.* 4,
404); Varr. *Atac. Argon.* 3, 2 (*F. P. R.* 333
Baehrens): *placida composita quiete*; Kvřčala,
Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis (1881), 151.

527. sub nocte silenti: = 7, 87; *Stat.*
Theb. 9, 793; 10, 202; *Claud. De VI Cons.*
Hon., praef. 11; *Dracont. Romul.* 5, 193; 10,
360; cf. *Aen.* 7, 102–103: *monitusque silenti /*
nocte datus; *Tib.* 1, 5, 16: *nocte silenti*; *Ov.*
M. 4, 84: *nocte silenti* (= *Andrelinus, Ecl.*
11, 70); *Petron.* 89, 32: *silenti nocte*; *Paul.*
Nol. Carm. 15, 238: *iam nocte silenti*; similar
expressions are collected by Kvřčala, *op. cit.*,
152. *Sub*, as *Ladewig-Deuticke (ad loc.)*
note, means "under the protection of"; cf.
8, 369: *nox ruit et fuscis tellurem amplectitur*
alis; also 6, 268: *sola sub nocte per umbram.*

528. lenibant, etc.: cf. 9, 224–225:
cetera per terras omnis animalia somno /
laxabant curas et corda oblita laborum. The
nearly complete equivalence of our line to
the second of these (*laxabant* being changed
to *lenibant* through recollection of 4, 393, ac-
cording to Belling, *Stud. ū. d. Compositions-*
kunst Vergils in der Aeneide (1899), 201),
added to the fact that here it has no first-
rate manuscript support, led Wagner, Rib-
beck, and many other editors to delete it;
cf. the Heyne-Wagner ed. *ad loc.*; Wagner,
Lectionum Vergil. Libellus (1859), 36–37;
Kvřčala, *op. cit.*, 152–153; Sparrow, *Half-*
lines and Repetitions in Virgil (1931), 130;
also 4, 273, n. (*nec, etc.*), above. On the other
hand, Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 778),
Forbiger (*ad loc.*), and *Ladewig-Deuticke*
(*ad loc.*) defend it as enhancing the contrast

528. [lenibant curas et corda oblita laborum.]
at non infelix animi Phoenissa neque umquam

Versum 528 om. MPpγ¹a¹c¹m, ignorat Serv., m. rec. add. in marg. γc, inter lineas a, add. infra
dein del. M¹, del. m. rec. b; cf. 9, 225.

animis *b¹*. foenissa *γ¹*, poenissa (*corr. in phoenissa*) *γ²*. neque *P* (*nec P²*), naeque *M* (*nec*
M¹), nec *pyabcr*.

528. corda . . . laborum: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 108* (1, p. 65 *Riese*) — oblita tuorum —.

529–530. neque . . . somnos: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 486 — nec; in *om. F* —; [*Acro*] in
Hor. C. 3, 7, 8 — haud *ATp*, nec *c* —. 529. at . . . Phoenissa: [*Iul. Rufin.*] p. 55 *Halm*;
Serv. Aen. 9, 121. 529. infelix animi: *Gl. Ansil.* 300, 677.

introduced by *at non* in the next line, resum-
ing the tense of *carpebant* in 522. It may be
said that the interpolation, if such, as I be-
lieve, it is, may be of an early date in some
part of the Virgilian tradition, if we may as-
sume — as is not at all certain — that our
lines were in the minds of Statius (*Theb.* 1,
339–341: *iam pecudes volucresque tacent, iam*
Somnus avaris / inrepsit curis pronusque ex
aethere nulat, / grata laboratae referens ob-
livia vitae) and Seneca (*Dial.* 4, 33, 6: *pro-*
pianantibus senem crebris, ut cura leniretur,
admonens lacescebat; contra ille se laetum et
oblitum quid eo actum esset die praestitit; cf.
Wirth, De Vergili apud Senecam Philosophum
Usu (1900), 27, and n. 1 for the occasional
divergence of Seneca's text of Virgil from
ours).

Those who retain the line usually change
the punctuation; e.g., Forbiger, in line 525,
begins a new sentence with *pecudes*, places
a comma after 527, and a colon after 528;
others use other combinations.

On the form *lenibant* (for *leniebant*) cf.
Kühner-Holzweissig, Ausf. Gram. d. Lat. Spr.
2 ed., 1 (1912), 724–725. It has been objected
that this form is too rare to have been coined
by an interpolator. Yet Virgil uses *lenibat*
(6, 468), and comparable cases are found in
7, 485; 7, 790; 8, 160; 8, 436; 10, 538; 11,
572.

528. corda: cf. 4, 4, n. (*pectore*). Some
editors think *curas* and *laborum* too dignified
words for the interests of *pecudes* and *volucres*,
yet in 9, 225 they are used of *animalia* in gen-
eral, and for *labor* used of animals cf. *G.* 4,
114; 4, 156; 4, 184 — all of bees.

528. oblita: forgetfulness of cares in
sleep is a commonplace; e.g., 4, 522, n. (*nox*
erat, etc.); Eur. *Bacch.* 282–283: *ὑπνον τε*
λήθην τῶν καθ' ἡμέραν κακῶν / διδῶσιν, οὐδ'
ἔστ' ἄλλο φάρμακον πόνων; *Orest.* 211–213: *ὦ*
φίλον ὕπνου θέλγητρον . . . / ὦ πότνια
λήθην τῶν κακῶν; Quint. Smyrn. 12, 104–105:
ἦμος δ' αἰγλήεντα περιστρέφετ' οὐρανὸν ἄστρο
πάντοθε μαρμαίροντα, πόνου δ' ἐπιλήθεται
ἄνθρω; *Shakesp. Macbeth*, Act 2, Sc. 2: "Sleep
that knits up the ravel'd sleeve of care."

529. at non, etc.: cf. 4, 1, n. (*at*); *G.* 4,
530: *at non Cyrene*; *Il.* 2, 2: *Δία δ' οὐκ ἔχε*
ἦδυμος ὕπνος; 10, 1–4; 24, 677–679; *Apoll.*
Rh. 3, 751: *ἀλλὰ μάλ' οὐ Μῆδειαν, κτλ.*;
Theocr. 2, 38–39 (quoted at 4, 522, n. (*nox*
erat, etc.), above); *Sil.* 7, 285 (quoted on 4,
522, n. (*nox erat, etc.*)): *at non Sidonium,*
etc.; Quint. Smyrn. 3, 661: *ἀλλ' οὐχ ὕπνος*
ἔμαρπτε, θεὸν θέτιν, κτλ.; 7, 244: *ἀλλ' οὐ*
Δηϊδάμειαν ἐπήρατος ὕπνος ἔμαρπτεν.

529. infelix animi: cf. 4, 68, n. (*infelix*);
4, 203, n. (*animi*).

529. Phoenissa: of Dido in 1, 670; 1,
714; 4, 348 (where cf. the n. on *Phoenissam*);
6, 450; *Ov. F.* 3, 595; cf. 4, 75, n. (*Sidonias*).
The predicate must be supplied from *car-*
pebant . . . soporem in 522 or *quierant* in 523,
unless we retain 529 and supply it from
lenibant. With the ellipsis Nettlehip (ap.
Conington, *ad loc.*) compares *Liv.* 32, 33,
11–12: *in bello non congregi aequo campo*
neque signis collatis dimicare . . . at non
antiquos Macedonum reges, sed acie bellare
solitos, etc.

529. neque: has the best MS support;
yet cf. Wagner's 4 ed., 4 (1832), 534.

530. solvitur in somnos oculisve aut pectore noctem
accipit; ingeminant curae rursusque resurgens

ue add. P¹, que a, del., ue aut m. rec. in ras. π.
russus c. resurgens P.

[529*] 530-531. oculisve . . . accipit: *Macrob. Sat.* 6, 6, 7 — oculisque; accipit P¹ —.

[530*] 531. resurgens: *Gl. Ansil.* 496, 1681; q.v.

530. solvitur: λέλυται: cf. *Od.* 20, 56: ὕπνος . . . λύων μελεδῶματα θυμοῦ; 23, 342-343: ὕπνος / λυσίμελής; *Ov. M.* 2, 253: in plenos resolutum carmine somnos; 7, 185-186: homines volucresque ferasque / solverat alta quies; *Volusianus* (ap. *Aug. Ep.* 135, 2): in somnos resolvitur; *Aug. Ep.* 137, 9: in somnos solvitur; and, below, 4, 695: nexosque resolveret artus; 5, 836: placida laxabant membra quiete; 5, 857: quies laxaverat artus; 12, 951: solvuntur frigore membra; *Cul.* 161: dulcem capiebat corde quietem; also *G.* 4, 198-199: corpora . . . / in Venerem solvunt.

530. somnos: on the plural cf. 4, 81, n. (somnos).

530. oculisve, etc.: *Serv.*: quia potest aliud esse sine alio, ut si quis dormiens mente turbetur. Cf. 4, 80, n. (obscura) for Achill. *Tat.* 1, 6, 3-4, showing how the cares of the soul may be worse when the body is at rest; 9, 326: toto proflabat pectore somnum; *Henry, Aeneidea*, 1 (1873), 810; also *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 8, 57, 7-8: né l'agitato sen né gli occhi ponno / la quiete raccorre o 'l molle sonno.

530. noctem accipit: cf. *Stat. Theb.* 9, 599-600: dum gemil . . . / abrupte oculi noctem; 10, 219; *Sil.* 3, 216: promissa evoluit somni noctemque retractat; *Anth. Lat.* no. 83, 69 (1, p. 116 *Riese*): noctem per vota capit; also an emendation proposed in *Carm. Lat. epigr.* no. 943, 1 *Bücheler*, to read (nox) nulla est animi, non somnos claudat ocellos; *Tennyson, Marriage of Geraint*, 531-532: "She found no rest, and ever failed to draw / The quiet night into her blood"; *Rizpah*, 16: "But the night has crept into my heart." For this use of noctem cf. *Braunmüller, Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 2, who cites as (not very convincing) parallels 7, 427; 8, 67. *Henry (Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 778) compares *Theocr.* 21, 4: κά

δλίγον νυκτός τις ἐπιψάσῃσι, τὸν ὕπνον / αἰφνίδιον θορυβεῖσιν ἐφιστάμεναι μελεδῶναι.

531. ingeminant: the figure is that of a storm (cf. *Conington ad loc.*), as in *G.* 1, 333: ingeminant austri et densissimus imber; *Val. Fl.* 7, 195: ingeminant . . . aestus. On the recurrence of Dido's love for Aeneas cf. 4, 521, n. (precatur); *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 132, n. 2.

531. curae: cf. 4, 1, n. (curae); also 1, 662: sub noctem cura recursat; *Vida, Christianas*, 5, 31: curae ingeminant.

531. rursusque resurgens: an onomatopoeic alliteration, representing the rising of the surges of passion. As parallels to the apparent pleonasm *Henry (Aeneidea*, 3 (1889), 404) compares *G.* 2, 78: rursum . . . resecantur; 2, 231-232: repones rursus; 2, 480: rursusque in se ipsa residant (of billows); *Aen.* 6, 750-751: revisant, / rursus; 9, 391: rursus . . . revolvens; and some cases in other authors; cf. also *Soph. Philoct.* 952: αἰὲς αὖ πάλιν; *Ov. M.* 10, 63: revolutaque rursus; *Luc.* 1, 391: rursus redeuntis; *Placek, Re in den Compositis in Vergils Aeneis* (1882), 6.

532. saevit amor: = 7, 461; cf. 4, 307, n. (amor); *Sil.* 8, 112-113: cur . . . / incustodito saevire dedistis amor? With the figure cf. *Sall. Iug.* 78, 3: mare . . . saevire ventis coepit.

532. magnoque, etc.: cf. *Catull.* 64, 62: prospicit et magnis curarum fluctuat undis; 65, 4; *Lucr.* 3, 298: nec capere irarum fluctus in pectore possunt; 6, 34: volvere curarum tristis in pectore fluctus; 6, 74: magnos irarum volvere fluctus; *Aen.* 4, 564: variosque irarum concitat aestus; 8, 19: magno curarum fluctuat aestu; 9, 798: mens exaestuat ira; 10, 680: animo nunc huc, nunc fluctuat illuc; 10, 813-814: saevae iamque altius irae / Dardanio

532. saevit amor magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu.
sic adeo insistit secumque ita corde volutat:

saeviti P (saevit P²). estu P (aestu P¹).
existit (corr. in existit) p.

532. magnoque . . . aestu: *Anth. Lat.* no. 17, 149 (1, p. 67 *Riese*) — fructuat A —.
532. fluctuat: *Gl. Abba*, 65, 65; q.v.

533. insistit: *Gl. Ansil.* 310, 1550; q.v. 533. secumque . . . volutat: *Anth. Lat.* no. 8, 67 (1, p. 36 *Riese*).

surgunt ductori; 12, 486: vario nequiquam fluctuat aestu; 12, 527: fluctuat ira intus; 12, 831: irarum tantos volvis sub pectore fluctus; *Val. Max.* 9, 3, init.: ira quoque et odium in pectoribus humanis magnos fluctus excitant; *Sen. De Benef.* 5, 12, 6; *Sil.* 8, 32: insanos curarum comprime fluctus; *Val. Fl.* 3, 637: at pius ingenti Telamon iam fluctuat ira; *Cypr. De Laps.* 4: fluctuans vario mentis aestu; *Macrob. Sat.* 4, 2, 3: inter aestus iracundiae fluctuare; *Prud. Hamartig.* 278: mens fragilis facili vitiorum fluctuat aestu; *Aug. C. D.* 9, 7: amatores . . . dixit *Apuleius* (cf. *Apul. Apol.* 31: aestus amorum; *M.* 11, 29: cogitationis aestu fluctuantem) salo mentis per omnes cogitationum aestus fluctuare; and other cases in *Vasold, Aug. quae hauserit ex Vergilio*, 2 (1900), 36. For other writers cf. the numerous parallels in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 1121, 45-1129, 9; 6 (1920), 943, 59-944, 15; also *Pichon, De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 81; *Preston, Studies in the Diction of the Sermo amatorius in Roman Comedy* (1916), 49. In Greek cf. *Pind. Frag.* 100 (88), 3: ὅς μὴ πόθῳ κυμαίνεται; *Aesch. Eum.* 832: κοῖμα κελαυοῦ κύματος πικρὸν μένος; *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 391: ὥς φάτ' ἀναξέλουσα βαρὺν χόλον. Cf. also *Tasso, Ger. lib.* 10, 3, 8: in gran tempesta di pensieri ondeggia.

532. irarum: angry thoughts.

532. fluctuat: as in parallel instances (*Catull.* 64, 62; *Aen.* 4, 564; 8, 19; 12, 486; 12, 831; *Val. Fl.* 3, 637), the subject is probably personal (i.e., Dido) rather than amor; cf. *Kvřčala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 157-159. Professor A. D. Nock calls my attention to a somewhat similar shift of subject in 12, 70: illum turbat amor, figitque in virgine voltus.

533. sic adeo: "thus, then"; cf. *Sil.* 12,

646: sic adeo orantes, etc.: *Serv.*: scilicet furuit; ut in hoc proposito permaneret vitandae sine dubio lucis.

533. insistit: cf. *G.* 3, 164: viam . . . insiste (= incipe); *Aen.* 12, 47 (in cod. R and Donatus): sic institit ore. *Kvřčala (Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 159-161) proposes another, but I think less likely, explanation, namely, that Dido, who has been lying down, at this point rises up, comparing *Il.* 10, 21, where, after a passage similar to the present, Agamemnon δρῶνθεις δ' ἐνδυνε περί στήθεσσι χιτῶνα.

533. secumque, etc.: cf. 4, 30, n. (sic effata). *Leo (Der Monolog im Drama, in Abh. d. kgl. Ges. d. Wiss. (Göttingen), Phil.-hist. Kl.*, 10, 5 (1908), 4-5) observes that Virgil keeps a clear distinction between spoken and silent monologue, this being silent, as in 1, 37 (haec secum) and 1, 50 (Italia flammato secum dea corde volutans); cf. *Ecl.* 9, 37: tacitus Lycida mecum ipse voluto; *Aen.* 6, 157-158: caecosque volutat / eventus animo secum; 6, 185: haec ipse suo tristi cum corde volutat; 10, 159-160: secumque volutat / eventus belli varios; 12, 843: secum ipse volutat; *Lucil.* 1017 *Marx*: in corde volutas (cf. *Bolisani in Atti e Mem. della r. Acc. d. Sc., Lett., ed. Arti in Padova, N. S.*, 49 (1933), 73); *Lucr.* 3, 240: quae mente volutat; *Liv.* 30, 14, 3: haec secum volutanti; 40, 8, 5: multa secum animo volutans; 42, 11, 5: haec secum volutantiem in animo (and *Weissenborn's n.*); *Juv.* 1, 168: tecum prius ergo voluta; 4, 435: corde volutat; *Sil.* 8, 177: sub corde volutat (= 12, 556); *Sidon. Carm.* 7, 431: haec secum rigido Vesuvius dum corde volutat; *Angilbertus, Carm.* 6, 403 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 376): in corde volutas; *Smaragdus, Carm.* 1, 15, 11 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1,

534. 'en, quid ago? rursusne procos inrisa priores
experiar, Nomadumque petam conubia supplex,

heu quid m. agam m, dett. (cf. 4, 283). rursusne in ras. c.

experiar c¹. nomadum (corr. in numadum) γc, Servii cod. N, numadum a¹π, Servii cod. L.

534-535. en . . . experiar: Macrob. Sat. 4, 6, 11; Iul. Rufin. p. 44 Halm — procos om. B; inrisa —. 534. en . . . ago: Donat. in Ter. Eun. 46 — hem (en V); agam —; [Prob.] De ult. Syll. 1 (G. L. K. 4, 219; 4, 220); Serv. Aen. 1, 37; Anth. Lat. no. 11, 81 (1, p. 44 Riese); no. 17, 148 (1, p. 67 Riese); C. I. L. XII, add., p. 809, no. 5744, 3 (= Carm. Lat. epigr. 1762 Bücheler) — ag. —. 534. quid ago: Gl. Ansil. 479, 18.

[534] 535. Nomadumque . . . supplex: Serv. Aen. 1, 73 — om. K —.

615): quid corde volutet; Candidus, De Vita Aeigili, 2, 7, 19 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 100): sub corde volutat; Gualterus, Alexandreis, 9, 152: tacito sub corde volutat. Rütten (De Verg. Studiis Apollonianis (1912), 75) compares Apoll. Rh. 3, 771: ἐξομένη δ' ἔπειτα δόασατο φώνησέν τε, κτλ.

534. en: occasionally introducing excited questions or exclamations; e.g., Ecl. 1, 67; 1, 71; 8, 7; 8, 9; Aen. 6, 346; cf. Serv.: 'en' ecce: 'et quasi demonstrantis particula est, per quam intellegimus eam multa cogitasse et sic prorupisse 'ecce, quid actura sum?' est autem comicum principium, nec incongrue amatrici datum (citing Ter. Eun. 46).

534. quid ago: cf. 10, 675: quid ago; 12, 637: nam quid ago; Cic. Ad Att. 1, 16, 10: sed quid ago; Pers. 3, 5 (= 5, 154): en, quid agis; Prud. Apoth. 470: en, quid ago? Elsewhere the inquiry often is not "What am I doing?" but "What am I to do?" (quid agam); cf. Macrob. Sat. 4, 6, 11: facili apud oratores pathos etiam addubitatio quam Graeci ἀπόρησιν vocant. est enim vel dolentis vel irascentis dubitare quid agas, and he cites G. 4, 504; Aen. 4, 677; 9, 399; to which we may add Ter. Eun. 46 and the note of Donatus (which compares the Greek τί ποιῶω). Dido herself wonders at her own irresolution (cf. 4, 508, n. (haud ignara futuri), above), and Henry's attempt (Aeneidea, 2 (1878), 781) to make quid ago equivalent to quid agam overlooks the distinction between the two moods (in 3, 88 quem sequimur, which is sometimes cited as a parallel, means "Whom have we as our leader?" as in 2, 322); cf. Kvíčala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis (1881), 166, n., who

points out (p. 167) Virgil's fondness for abrupt beginnings of speeches (e.g., 1, 37; 2, 535; 3, 247; 4, 93; 4, 305; 4, 365). "What am I doing?", Dido asks herself, and goes on to reflect that such hesitation in her purpose of suicide can, if she yields to it, offer only one of two alternatives: (a) to reopen relations with her former suitors, or (b) to go with Aeneas, since he will not tarry at Carthage. To the former of these possibilities line 536 suggests the obvious answer, to the latter lines 538-546.

For such ἀπορήσεις or διαπορήσεις cf. Soph. Aias, 457-460: καὶ νῦν τί χρὴ δρᾶν; ὅστις ἐμφανῶς θεοῖς / ἐχθαίρομαι, μισεῖ δέ μ' Ἑλλήνων στρατὸς, / ἔχθει δὲ Τροία πάντα καὶ πῆδία τάδε. / πότῃ πρὸς οἴκους, κτλ.; Eur. Med. 502-505: νῦν ποῦ τράπωμαι; πότῃ πρὸς πατρός δόμους, / οὗς σοὶ προδοῦσα καὶ πάτραν ἀφικόμεν; / ἢ πρὸς ταλαίνας Πελοπιδας; καλῶς γ' ἂν οὖν / δέξαιντό μ' οἴκους ὧν πατέρα κατέκτανον; Apoll. Rh. 3, 772-801; Enn. Sc. 276-277: quo nunc me vortam, quod iter incipiam ingredi? / domum paternamne anne ad Peliae filias? Catull. 64, 177-201 (177-180: nam quo me referam? quali spe perditam nitor? / Idaeosne petam montis? . . . / an patris auxilium sperem; etc.; Gracch. ap. Cic. De Or. 3, 214: quo me miser conferam? quo vertam? in Capitoliumne? / at fratris sanguine redundat. an domum? matremne ut miseram lamentantem videam et abieclam? Cic. Pro Mur. 88-89; Liv. 40, 10, 3-7; Pacatus, Panegy. Theod. 38, 2-3 (Panegy. Lat., 2 ed., 122 Baehrens); Heinze, Virgils epische Technik, 3 ed. (1915), 136, n. 1; Duckworth, Fore-shadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil (1933), 22-

536. quos ego sim totiens iam dedignata maritos?
Iliacas igitur classes atque ultima Teucrum

sim (corr. in sum) γπ.

agitur M (igitur M¹). atque (at add. sup.) b.

536. quos . . . maritos: Serv. Ecl. 8, 18 — quod L —; Aen. 2, 344; 4, 399; 7, 190 — om. LHM —. 536. dedignata: Gl. Ansil. 163, 258; Gl. Abol. 118, 90; q.v.

537. Iliacas . . . classes: [Prob.] De ult. Syll. 10 (G. L. K. 4, 251); Cledon. Ars (G. L. K. 5, 74).

23, who compares Apoll. Rh. 3, 766-824. The long series of questions in a monologue is unusual; cf. Kvíčala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis (1881), 168.

534. rursus: Serv.: duo significat: frequenter 'iterum,' raro 'vicissim,' id est, 'mutuo,' ut hoc loco; Schol. Dan.: alii hoc loco 'rursus' pro 'similiter' accipiunt, ut sil: ergo ego similiter rogabo eos, sicut me illi antea rogaverunt. The second and third of these explanations seem here nearly identical. Cf. Sen. Med. 218-219: pelebant nunc meos thalamos proci / qui nunc petuntur. Peerkamp (ad loc.) joined rursus with inrisa, but it seems better taken with experiar.

534. procos: Henselmanns (Die Widersprüche in Vergils Aeneis (1914), 119) objects that, while here Dido's suitors are plural, in 4, 196 and 4, 326 only Iarbas is mentioned. But he overlooks 4, 35-38; 4, 320-321; Iarbas is merely selected by Virgil as the outstanding representative of a group.

534. inrisa: with this fear of mockery cf. 4, 591 and n. (inluserit); Aesch. Prom. V. 158-159: νῦν δ' αἰθέριον κινυγμ' ὁ πάλας / ἐχθροῖς ἐπὶ χαρτα πέπονθα; Eur. Med. 381-383: εἰ ληφθήσομαι / . . . / θανούσα θήσω τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἐχθροῖς γέλω; Hor. C. 1, 37, 30-32 (of Cleopatra): saevius Liburnis scilicet invidens / privata deduci superbo / non humilis mulier triumpho; Ps. 80, 6; Is. 50, 7; etc. Whether Dido expects to be mocked by Aeneas (cf. 4, 591), by her former suitors, or by the general public has been disputed; cf. Kvíčala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis (1881), 161-162; Knorr, Beiträge z. Erkl. einiger Stellen d. Aen. (1898), 24. But Aeneas has shown no disposition to ridicule her, and the position of inrisa between procos and priores suggests the answer: Dido in voluntarily reopening

negotiations with her former suitors (and that she should continue as a celibate now seems as impossible to her as it did to Anna in 4, 31-44) would become the object of ridicule to them (for she had been jilted by Aeneas as they had been by her) and also to the public at large.

535. Nomadum: cf. 4, 41; 4, 320.

535. petam: Serv.: invidia a personis; petam mulier et regina Nomadas, id est, vagos; cf. Sall. Cat. 25: lubido sic accensa ut saepius peleret viros quam peleretur.

535. conubia: cf. 4, 35-38; 4, 172, n. (coniugium vocal); for the plural cf. 4, 213, n. (conubia); Spitta, Quaest. Vergilianae (1867), 23; Norden on Aen. 6, 623, who thinks it is frequently used for metrical reasons.

536. quos, etc.: cf. Ov. F. 3, 553-554 (of Iarbas): seque memor spretum, 'thalamis tamen,' inquit, 'Elissae / en ego, quem totiens reppulit illa, fruor.'

536. sim: subjunctive in a relative clause with concessive notion; cf. 2, 248.

536. dedignata: first here. Cf. Ov. H. 12, 83; Ep. 15, 195: da modo te facilem nec dedignare maritum; Ex Pont. 1, 7, 33; Curt. 6, 10, 28: qui regem nostrum dignatus est filium.

536. maritos: Serv.: futuros scilicet; cf. 4, 35, n. (mariti).

537. Iliacas . . . classes: singular in 5, 607: Iliacam ad classem; but cf. Auson. p. 420 Peiper, no. 2, 6: classibus Iliacis; also (for classes = naves) 4, 313, n. (classibus). With Dido's momentary doubt whether to accompany the Trojan fleet compare the bolder request of Medea that Jason take her with him (Apoll. Rh. 4, 83-91, lines 85-86 reading: ἀλλ' ἐπὶ νηὶ / φεύγωμεν, πρὶν τόνδε

538. iussa sequar? quiane auxilio iuvat ante levatos
et bene apud memores veteris stat gratia facti?

Versum 538 om., in marg. m. ant. add. c. se quiane *M* (sequar *M*¹).
aut *bcm.* apud *P.* sat *P* (stat *P*²).

538. quiane: *Gl. Ansil.* 479, 3.

539. et . . . stat: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* 9 (*G. L. K.* 4, 249). 539. memores: *Gl. Ansil.* 364, 278; *q.v.* 539. veteris . . . facti: *C. I. L. VIII*, 591 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 817 Bücheler) — fact(i) — 539. veteris facti: *Gl. Ansil.* 586, 566. 539. stat . . . facti: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 153 (1, p. 67 Riese).

ἡθὺν ἐπιβήμεναι ἱππῶν). Boissier (*Roman Africa*, Engl. tr. (1899), 69, n.) observes that Dido does no more than suggest to herself that she might go, this being more in keeping with the dignity of the epic and that of a queen, though Sil. 8, 83–88 makes her go beyond this restraint: *ora videre / postquam est ereptum miserae tua, litore sedit / interdum, stetit interdum; ventosque secula / infelix oculis, magno clamore vocabat / Aenean comitemque tuae se imponere solam / orabat paterere rati*. Dion. Hal. 1, 59, 3, following another tradition, says of Launa, daughter of the king of Delos, συμπελευσαι δ' αὐτὴν τοῖς Τρωσὶ λέγεται δοθεῖσαν ὑπὸ τοῦ πατρὸς Αἰνεία δεσφέντι μαντικὴν οὖσαν καὶ σοφὴν.

537. igitur: for she has already answered in the negative the previous question.

537. ultima, etc.: Serv.: *aut intellegimus Aeneam ei obtulisse navigandi facultatem aut 'Teucrum iussa' non quae ipsi iusserant sed quae eis a Iove iussa sunt*; Schol. Dan.: 'ultima' deterrima, an superba . . . alii κέλμα: unde iubere κελεῖν dicitur Graece. The first explanation of the Scholia Danielis, despite Henry's objections (*op. cit.*, 2, 783–785) seems probable; cf. Catull. 64, 160–161 (of Ariadne): *at tamen in vestras poluisti ducere sedes / quae tibi iucundo famularer serva labore*, etc.; Ov. *H.* 7, 168: *dum tua sil Dido quidlibet esse feret*; Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 25. Ultima (cf. Ov. *M.* 14, 483; *Tr.* 3, 2, 11; etc.) may mean her reduction to the position of a handmaid (cf. Alciph. *Ep.* 43, 4: ὡς ἑσχατον ἀνδράποδον), with loss of both station and character; cf. τὸ ἑσχατον (τὰ ἑσχατα). Dido raises this possibility only in a moment of frantic despair and almost as quickly dismisses it.

538. iussa sequar: cf. 4, 396, n. (*iussa*). For the zeugma in the use of *sequar* with both classes and *iussa* cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 309; 335. In 4, 384 Dido had predicted that she would follow Aeneas, but in another sense.

538. quiane: this second question, like the first, is itself answered by a rhetorical one. The particle *-ne* implies a question not formulated in words; cf. Plaut. *Pers.* 851; Catull. 64, 180: *an patris auxilium sperem? quemne ipsa reliqui* (and Merrill's n.); Stat. *Theb.* 10, 592; Warren in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 2 (1881), 50–82; Knapp in *Cl. Weekly*, 18 (1925), 161, n. 2. The passage is, of course, bitterly ironical.

538. auxilio . . . levatos: cf. 2, 452: *auxilioque levare viros*; Ov. *Tr.* 1, 3, 102: *auxilio sublevis*; Justin, 5, 2, 12: *auxilio levandos*. The event mentioned is described in 1, 571: *auxilio tutos dimittam opibusque iuvabo*.

538. iuvat: surely we are to supply *eos* as the object, rather than *me* (as is done by Kvčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 162–164).

539. bene: this may modify *memores* or *stat* or *facti*, most appropriately the last, with perhaps a diffused influence upon the other two words as well, though Damsté (in *Mnemosyne*, 26 (1898), 179) thinks *bene* . . . *facti* a case of tmesis.

539. apud memores: cf. Liv. 5, 44, 3: *nec enim exprobanda apud memores sunt*.

539. stat: Serv.: *permanet*; probably correctly (cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 152), despite the attempt of Henry (*Aeneidea*, 3 (1889), 528), on the strength of 1, 646; 7, 291; 10, 494, to make it little more than a

540. quis me autem, fac velle, sinet ratibusve superbis
invisam accipiet? nescis heu, perdita, necdum
Laomedontae sentis periuria gentis?

sinat *P* (sinet *P*²). ratibusque (*corr. in ratibusve*) *b*, ratibusque *π*, *dett.* invisam *M* (inrisam *M*³), invisam (ui in *ras.*) *b*, inrisam (1 *m.* 2 in *ras.*) *γ*, inrisam *π*; Schol. Dan.: inrisam alii invisam; cf. 4, 534. laomedontae *b*¹.

541–542. nescis . . . gentis: *Donat. in Ter. Eun.* 50 — perdita n. d. l. s. p. g. (necdum *T*; s. i. g. *BCV*, s. e. g. *T*) — 541–542. necdum . . . gentis: [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 3, 3, 22; *Serv. Aen.* 1, 468. 541. nescis . . . necdum: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 44 (1, p. 63 Riese) — eu *A* (*corr. a*) — 541. nescis . . . perdita: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 199 (1, p. 69 Riese). 541. heu . . . necdum: *Cento Probae*, 265 — perdita nescis —

[541*]

synonym of *est*; cf. 2, 56: *Troiaque nunc staret*; Sil. 15, 466: *sed stant nulla diu deceptis gaudia divis*.

539. gratia facti: with the phrase cf. 7, 232: *tantique abolescat gratia facti*; Manil. 2, 618: *nec longa est gratia facti*; with the thought *Od.* 4, 695: οὐδὲ τίς ἐστι χάρις μετόπισθ' εὐεργέων; Pind. *Isthm.* 6, 16–17: ἀλλὰ παλαιὰ γὰρ / εὐδὲ χάρις, ἀννάμνες δὲ βροτοί.

540. quis, etc.: Schol. Dan.: *ordo est: fac me autem velle, quis sinet?*

540. fac: 'suppose'; cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 1, 70; 1, 82; *Ad Fam.* 7, 23, 1: *fac, quaeso, qui ego sum esse te*; Phil. 2, 5: *fac potuisse*.

540. ratibusve: as remarked by Conington (*ad loc.*), in this context the distinction between *-ve* and *-que* becomes negligible.

540. superbis: Schol. Dan.: *vel magnis et altis, vel in quibus superbi navigaturi sunt, hoc est, qui me tanto contemptu deserunt*; the second explanation seems more probable.

541. invisam: the Trojans hated Dido because she had caused the delay of their expedition in sailing, for which they were eager (cf. 4, 294–295; 4, 400; 4, 418; 4, 581), and perhaps also because they felt that they had not repaid her hospitality (Wagner, *Lectio. Vergil.* (1859), 37: *invisus autem nobis esse coepit cui provocati beneficiis male fecimus*).

541. heu: cf. 4, 13, n. (*heu*).

541. perdita: cf. *Ecl.* 2, 59: *perditus*; 8, 87; Catull. 64, 177: *quali spe perdita nilor*. With the apostrophe of one's self Kvčala (*Vergil-Studien* (1878), 132–133) compares

4, 547; 4, 596–597; perhaps 1, 463; also Ov. *M.* 7, 11; 7, 17–18; 7, 21–23; 7, 47–50; Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) cites Ov. *Am.* 3, 6, 80; *Ex Pont.* 1, 3, 90.

542. Laomedontae: Schol. Dan.: *nunc fraudulentatae*. The deception of Neptune and Apollo by Laomedon is described in *Il.* 21, 441–460; Ov. *M.* 11, 199–206; *Serv.* and the Schol. Dan. on *Aen.* 1, 550; etc. Though Virgil does not in 1, 25–30 mention it as a cause of the exile of Aeneas, yet in *G.* 1, 501–502 he recognizes it as still a potent force (*satis iam pridem sanguine nostro / Laomedontae luimus periuria Troiae*), and elsewhere the mention of Laomedon implies deception; e.g., 3, 248 (where Donatus remarks: *Laomedontiadas, quod nomen pro convicio posuit*); *Hor. C.* 3, 3, 22–24; Sil. 8, 171–172: *ac nondum nostro infaustos generique soloque / Laomedontae noscis telluris alumnos*; Aug. *C. D.* 3, 2: 'Priamo,' *inquunt, sunt reddita Laomedontea paterna periuria*; Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 1, 273: *ex aliis rebus alia dat nomina, ut pios Aeneadas appellavit, ut timidos Phrygas, ut nobiles Dardanidas, ut periuros Laomedontiadas*. Cf. also Virgil's allusion in 5, 811: *periuriae moenia Troiae*.

542. periuria: cf. 4, 305, n. (*perfidie*). So Ariadne complains of the *periuria* of Theseus (Catull. 64, 135; 64, 148). DeWitt (*The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 21) observes that the conduct of Aeneas had been sufficiently discreet so that Dido could not directly charge him with *periuria*, and

543. quid tum? sola fuga nautas comitabor ovantis,
an Tyrii omnique manu stipata meorum
inferar et quos Sidonia vix urbe revelli

quit *MP.* ouantes *cp.*
manus *P* (manu *P²*).

infern *M* (inferar *M³*; cf. Fairclough in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 63 (1932), 220; vid. *Schol. Dan.*: insequare alii inferat). quo *P*, quod *P²*, quos (uo in *ras.*) *M¹*.

543. comitabor: *Gl. Ansil.* 129, 452; *q.v.*
544. omni manu: *Gl. Ansil.* 411, 37.
545. inferar . . . urbe: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* 7 (*G. L. K.* 4, 236) — uix u. (uix ū. ū. *B*) —
545. et . . . revelli: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 361.

so lays the charge against his race; its reputation had not been improved by Paris (cf. 4, 215). With the ending of the verse cf. Politian, *Manto*, 219: *vanae periuria gentis*.

543. quid tum: introducing a new aspect of the case: she could not go alone nor could she persuade her Carthaginian subjects to accompany her again in a migration. On the phrase cf. Ter. *Eun.* 389; 604; *Phorm.* 541; *Hor. S.* 2, 3, 230.

543. sola: cf. 4, 467, nn. (*sola*; *longam . . . viam*). She thinks of the indignities to which an unprotected woman would be exposed among the rude soldiers and sailors of Aeneas; cf. Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 168, n.; Rébelliau, *De Verg. in inform. muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 79, n. 2.

543. nautas: suggesting rough, unfeeling men, among whom there was no place for a woman; cf. Kvíčala, *op. cit.*, 168, n., who compares *Hor. S.* 1, 5, 4; *Juv.* 8, 174.

543. ovantis: doubtless suggesting to the Roman reader not only the joy of the Trojan sailors (4, 541, n. (*invisam*), above), but also, as Servius recognizes, the *ovatio*, or *minor triumphus*, of a Roman victor. Dido, in her *fuga*, would then be, as it were, attending the triumph of the Roman, the thing which Horace (*C.* 1, 37, 30–32) described Cleopatra as too proud to do; cf. Carcopino, *Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (1919), 658, n.

544. stipata: cf. 4, 136: *magna stipante calerva*.

545. inferar: some editors explain as 'attack' (cf. Rébelliau, *De Verg. in inform.*

muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore (1892), 79, n. 3, and works there cited; Knorr, *Beitr. z. Erkl. einiger Stellen der Aeneide* (1898), 23–25), others as 'proceed' (cf. *Stat. Theb.* 5, 240–241; etc.) or 'introduce myself among' (Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 170; Mackail, *ad loc.*). Virgil nowhere else uses a middle construction with this verb, but a reflexive with *inferre* is found in each of these senses (e.g., 'attack': 9, 401; 10, 66; 10, 575; 11, 742; 'proceed': *G.* 2, 145; *Aen.* 1, 439; 4, 142; 5, 622; 11, 36). The sense, however, seems to support the second meaning; Dido queries whether her attending the Trojan sailors should be unescorted or with her entire Tyrian force, and recognizes the difficulty she would find in persuading them to a second migration; for the conflict between her interests and theirs cf. 4, 295, n. (*laeti*); Ogle in *Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 261. Though that difficulty might not apply in the case of an attack made by them on the enemies of their queen, such as she for a moment considers at 4, 590–594, yet a war against the Trojans would not have been treated as lightly as line 546 mentions the dangers of wind and wave.

545. Sidonia . . . urbe: cf. 4, 75, n. (*Sidonias*); but contrast 1, 340: *imperium Dido Tyria regit urbe profecta*.

545. vix: *Serv.*: aut *max*, id est, paulo ante . . . aut *re vera vix* . . . nam nulla ratione dimitterent patriam nisi eos aut odium Pygmalionis coegisset, aut timor. Despite the recent foundation of Carthage and the fact that in 1, 361–362 there is no mention of compulsion

546. rursus agam pelago et ventis dare vela iubebo?
quin morere, ut merita es, ferroque averte dolorem.
tu lacrimis evicta meis, tu prima furem

uella *c¹*. iuebo *M*.

es *add. sup. b.* auertere (*m. 2 in ras.*) *π*.

Versum 548 *add. m. 2 (?) in π.* tum lacrimis *p*.

547. quin . . . dolorem: *Victorin. De Metr. et de Hex. (G. L. K. 6, 211)*. 547. quin . . . es: *Centio Probae*, 267 — nunc morere (morare *L*) —. 547. ut . . . es: *Gl. Ansil.* 598, 49. 547. merita es: *Gl. Abol.* 145, 23 — merit —. 547. ferroque . . . dolorem: *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 51* (*1, p. 63 Riese*); [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 3, 27, 38.

548–552. tu . . . Sychaeo: *Hier. Ep.* 123, 13, 1 — onera *N*; abicis *Ψ*; talami *B*; tales; feraetrales (*corr. m. 2 ex feraetales*) *II*, fera et alis *N*; sycheo *KII*, sicheo *cell.* —. 548–549. tu prima . . . malis: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 418. 548. tu . . . meis: *Anth. Lat. no. 15, 141* (*1, p. 55 Riese*). 548. lacrimis . . . meis: *Gl. Ansil.* 327, 177.

of the emigrants, the second meaning seems somewhat more effective in the present context.

545. urbe revelli: for Virgilian cases of the ablative of separation with verbs compounded with *re-* cf. Forbiger on *Aen.* 1, 358.

546. agam pelago: cf. 10, 540: *quem congressus agit campo*; 12, 501–502: *quos aequore toto / . . . Turnus agit*. It is possible, however, that *pelago* is neither ablative of place nor an ablative of the way by which, but a dative; cf. 1, 181; 2, 36; 2, 85; 2, 398; 2, 688; 5, 451; etc.

546. ventis dare vela: cf. 3, 9: *dare fatis vela iubebat*; 8, 707–708: *ipsa videbatur ventis regina vocatis / vela dare*; *Ov. Rem. Am.* 58: *vento vela dedisse*; *M.* 1, 132: *vela dabant ventis*; *Nep. Hann.* 8; also 4, 417, n. (*vocal*).

547. quin morere: cf. 2, 550 (= 10, 743): *nunc morere* (so *Vida, Christias*, 5, 53); *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 798–801: ἡ τ' ἂν πολλὸν κέρδιον εἴη / τῆδ' αὐτῇ ἐν νυκτὶ λιπεῖν βίον ἐν θαλάμοισιν / πότμω ἀνωίστω, καὶ ἐλέγχεα πάντα φυγοῦσαν, / πρὶν τὰδε λωβήεντα καὶ οὐκ ὀνομαστὰ τελέσσαι; *Serv.*: 'quin' immo. et bene omnis eius intentio tendit ad moriem; nam si procos rogare turpe est, solam sequi impossibile et inhonestum, Tyrios trahere difficile, sola mors superest. For *quin* with the imperative cf. *Ecl.* 3, 52 (= *G.* 4, 329); *Aen.* 5, 635; 6, 824.

547. ut merita es: cf. 4, 541, n. (*perdita*). Verse 552 justifies her decision to die.

547. averte dolorem: cf. *Marc. Empir.* 8, 25; 8, 45: *omnem dolorem . . . avertere*; 9,

119; also 4, 394, above: *avertere curas*; *Lucr.* 2, 363: *avertere curam*; *Schol. Dan.*: *hoc secundum eos dixit qui cum aliquid impulsu animi constituerint voluntatis suae rationem adhibere conantur. ergo et haec quasi rationem adprobat quod furore paulo ante decreverat*.

548. tu, etc.: this verse and the next Ribbeck placed after 418, because they interject Dido's reproaches upon Anna in the midst of those upon herself and hence seem to interrupt the sense (cf. Kvíčala, *Vergil-Studien* (1878), 256–257; Schueler, *Quaest. Vergilianae* (1883), 26–27). But this, as Ribbeck realized, necessitated the assumption of a lacuna after them and before verse 419, and since nothing was gained thereby Janell has restored the order of the MSS, which is further attested by Servius and Jerome. To expect a rigidly logical sequence in Dido's thought at this time we should have to overlook the excited mental state in which she is. Further, though Dido may seem to blame Anna she really excuses her in the words *lacrimis evicta meis*, which imply that Anna's better judgment was overborne by the desires of Dido (cf. *Serv.*: *bene totum ei imputat, sed cum excusatione*; *quae Aeneae nuptias suasit, sed 'victa lacrimis,'* etc.; *Regel, Quaest. Vergil. crit. Specimen* (1866), 21–23; especially 22, defending the order of lines in the MSS. (Against the view that Dido is here excusing Anna cf. Rébelliau, *De Verg. in inform. muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 60, n. 1, who cites an un-

549. his, germana, malis oneras atque obicis hosti.
non licuit thalami expertem sine crimine vitam

honeras γ.
talami (corr. in thalami) α.

[548*] 549. his . . . hosti: [Prob.] *De ult. Syll.* 7 (G. L. K. 4, 236).

[548*] 550-551. non . . . ferae: *Quintil. Inst.* 9, 2, 64; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 458; *Comm. Crug. in Hor. C. 1, 31, 18.* 550-551. sine . . . degere: *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 467) — *degerit cod. Parrh.* — 550-551. vitam degere: *Gl. Ansil.* 591, 416. 550. non licuit: *Gl. Ansil.* 394, 158. 550. thalami expertem: *Gl. Ansil.* 550, 85 — talami — (cf. 224, 896: expertem talami).

convincing parallel from *Ov. H.* 7, 191: *soror Anna meae male conscia culpa*. Important also is the treatment by Ogle in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 56 (1925), 26.)

Virgil makes comparatively little use of the stock motive of the reproach, so frequent in tragic monodies (cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 139, n. 2), e.g., *Eur. Hippol.* 311: ἀλώλεσάς με, μαῖα, κτλ. With the present passage cf. *Racine, Phèdre*, 1309-1312.

With the anaphora *tu . . . tu* cf. 1, 78; 6, 834; 7, 41; 7, 335-337; 8, 293-294; 9, 404; 10, 254; 12, 57-59.

548. lacrimis evicta: cf. 4, 30: *sinum lacrimis implevit obortis*.

548. *tu prima*: cf. *Val. Fl.* 7, 37-38: *tu prima malorum / causa mihi, tu, Phrix gener*. Serv.: *Urbanus hoc dividit, licet alii iungant, et vult hunc esse sensum: tu persuasisti ut nuberem, victa lacrimis meis, tu etiam nunc me his oneras malis: nam me olim occidissem, nisi te deserere formidarem*.

549. *his, etc.*: as Aeneas had passed from a *coniunx* or a *hospes* to a *hostis* (4, 424, n. (hostem), above), so Anna, in Dido's thought, had changed from being sympathetic (4, 8: *unanimam*) to being held, in part at least, responsible for her present situation, through the advice she had given. Kvřčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 171), however, explains otherwise: Dido is here expressing her regret that it should, through the ordering of fate, have to be her sister who is the one who exposes her to misfortune.

549. *oneras*: cf. 4, 54-55; *Octavia*, 5: *tot tantis onerata malis*.

549. *obicis*: Serv.: 'ob' naturaliter brevis est, sicut et 're-' et 'ad'; sed plerumque producantur hac ratione: obicio, reicio, adicio 'i' habent vocalem sequentem, quae per declinationem potest in consonantis formam transire, ut obieci, reieci. ergo etiam ante quam transeat interdum fungitur officio consonantis et praecedentem longam facit.

549. *hosti*: cf. 4, 424.

550. *non licuit*: = 5, 82; *Cir.* 446. This line and the next are well discussed by Ogle in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 56 (1925), 26-37. In *non licuit* two doubts arise: (a) have we here (1) a question without an interrogative word introducing it, or (2) an exclamation ("to think that it was not permitted me" = "why was I not permitted"), or (3) a statement of fact; and (b) does the inhibition arise from (a) Anna, or (β) fate and the gods, or (γ) from Dido's loyalty to the memory of Sychaeus? The numerous combinations of these possible elements are summarized by Ogle, whose treatment, in the main, I accept.

(1) Against considering this a question is the fact that parallel cases are made clearly and unambiguously such (e.g., 4, 39: *nec venit in mentem*, etc.; 4, 600: *non potui*, etc.) and that the anaphora *non . . . non* (552) suggests some coordination of construction, which, since line 552 is clearly declarative, can be found only by considering *non licuit* as the same. (2) Virgil is careful to indicate exclamatory clauses as such, by *heu, o, ut, utinam*, an interrogative, or the accusative and infinitive, with or without *-ne* (cf., in this book, lines 47; 267; 597). These considerations make for supposing (3) that *non licuit*

551. degere more ferae, talis nec tangere curas.

[548*, 550*] 551. degere . . . ferae: [Acro] in *Hor. C.* 3, 29, 42 — fere A — 551. nec tangere: *Gl. Ansil.* 387, 130.

is a statement of fact, now regretfully realized to have been true, and with this view the words of Quintilian (9, 2, 64; used by scholars in support of every one of these possibilities!) seem not inconsistent: *est emphasis etiam inter figuras cum ex aliquo dicto latens aliquid eruitur, ut apud Vergilium: 'non licuit . . . more ferae.' quamquam enim de matrimonio queritur Dido, tamen huc erumpit eius affectus ut sine thalamis vitam non hominum putet sed ferarum*, or, as Ogle (*op. cit.*, 33) renders: "although Dido is complaining about marriage, still her feeling breaks through to this extent that she considers life without lawful wedlock characteristic not of human beings but of wild beasts." Dido, then, is not longing for the free love of beasts, simple and innocent though they may appear, but recognizes that such love was not permissible for her and that she should not have indulged in it.

In the second place, the check upon Dido, expressed by *non licuit*, was imposed (a) not by Anna, who had been persuaded by Dido's tears to abet her plans for union with Aeneas, nor (β), probably, by fate or the gods (though in 4, 371-372 she emphasizes their apparently arbitrary injustice), but rather, (γ) as line 552 clearly states, by her marriage with Sychaeus (cf. Ogle, *op. cit.*, 35) and that loyalty to his memory which in 4, 25-29 she had recognized as for her fundamental and essential.

550. *thalami expertem*: cf. *Eur. Med.* 672: δάμαρτος οὐσης, ἢ λέχους ἀπειρος ὢν; *Schol. Dan.*: *non omnino, sed post Sychaeum*. I should follow Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 796-797) and Ogle (*op. cit.*, 35) in translating this phrase 'unjoined in lawful wedlock,' rather than 'unmarried' or 'virgin,' and in supposing *expertem* to modify *me* (understood) rather than *vitam*. DeWitt (*The Dido Episode in the Aen. of Virgil* (1907), 53) perhaps goes too far in comparing the purity of the widow Dido with that of the virgin Camilla; Conington (*ad loc.*) and Mac-

kail (*ad loc.*) are on surer ground in comparing the woodland life of Camilla (11, 570-584) with the life here longingly idealized by Dido.

On the figurative use of *thalami* cf. 4, 18, n. (*thalami taedaeque*); Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 5. The use of *conubii* or *nuptiarum* is metrically more difficult (cf. Norden on 6, 623), though *Stat. Theb.* 10, 62 reads *expers conubii*, and Horace, in a different metre, can say (*C.* 3, 11, 11): *nuptiarum expers*. With our phrase cf. *Stat. Theb.* 7, 298: *expertem thalami*; *Claud. Laus Seren.* 119: *expertes thalami*.

550. *sine crimine*: cf. the *culpa* of 4, 19; 4, 172. With the phrase cf. *Hor. Ep.* 1, 7, 56; *Ov. Am.* 1, 3, 13; 3, 4, 39; *H.* 4, 31; 9, 137; *Nux.* 1: *sine crimine vitae*; etc.; *C. I. L.* II, 391, 4 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 485): *sine crimine vitae* (cf. *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 803, n.; 1004, 1; 1088, 6); *Aug. C. D.* 11, 12: *vitam ducere sine crimine*; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 6, 67: *sine labe et crimine vitam*; *Venant. Fort. Poem.* 3, 8, 31: *sine crimine vitam*; *Sext. Amarius, Serm.* 3, 802: *sinceram ducunt sine crimine vitam*; and other cases in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 4 (1909), 1192, 8-19, to which add many inscriptional instances, in which it is a frequent attribute of a deceased spouse; e.g., *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 486, 2; 552, 1; 618, 7; 1104, 1; 1105, 1; 1203, 3; 1238, 27: *discite mortales sine crimine degere vitam*; 1433, 5; cf. Tolman, *Study of the sepulchral Inscr. in Bücheler's Carm. Lat. epigr.* (1910), 43; *Crabbanus Maurus, Carm.* 81, 39 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 235): *vitam sine crimine ducens*; *Walahfridus Strabo, De Vita Mammae*, 2, 18 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 278): *vitam sine crimine duxit*. The expression seems to mean 'blamelessly.'

551. *degere*, etc.: cf. *Ermoldus, In Hon. Hludowici*, 3, 52 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 42): *degere more ferae*.

551. *more ferae*: Serv.: *Plinius in naturali historia dicit lyncas post amissos coniuges*

552. non servata fides cineri promissa Sychaeo.⁷

Hunc vers. in ras. m. rec. b. sychaeies (i.e., sychaei est) *P*, sychaeo *P*², sychaei *M*, sycheo *p*, sicheo *ac*, suchaeo *codd.* *Pieriani*, sychaeo 'pro sychaeio' *Serv.*

[548*] 552. non . . . Sychaeo: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 34; 4, 50 — non servata f. c. p. s. *LHM*; cineri *om. FN* —; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 458 — sycheo *F*, sicheio *T* —.

aliis non iungi. multi 'fere' adverbium volunt, ut sil sensus: more scilicet quo iam viduitatem fere consueverat. The statement here ascribed to Pliny is lacking in the *Natural History* (Thomas, *Essai sur Servius* (1880), 192), though 8, 43 speaks of a popular belief about the lynx that *semel . . . edi partum* (cf. *Isid. Etym.* 12, 2, 20: *lynxes dicit Plinius Secundus extra unum non admittere fetum*). The *Schol. Dan.* on *Aen.* 4, 458, explain *ferae* as = *lupae*. The monogamy of animals was not, however, so proverbial that we are justified in accepting the explanation of *Servius*; in fact the brutes are more often the types of free love, as I shall show.

Such phrases as *more (modo, ritu, instar, etc.) ferae (ferarum), pecudis (pecudum), pecoris (pecorum), bestiarum, brutorum, etc.*, appear in great abundance in Latin literature, and as applied to human beings, whose characteristics are thus compared with those of animals, imply a wide range of concepts, e.g., the use of rude, vegetable food, the eating of which keeps the eyes on the ground, as opposed to the notion of the *ἄνθρωπος* (cf. Pease on *Cic. De Div.* 1, 15) or 'up-looker' (as in *Xen. Hell.* 4, 1, 33; *Isoc. Panegy.* 28; *Sall. Cat.* 1, 1; *Iug.* 18, 1; *Diod.* 14, 111; *Luc.* 4, 313; *Plut. Inst. Traiani*, 2, p. 185 *Bernardakis*; *Lact. De Ira Dei*, 20, 10; *Avien.* 3, 1146–1147; *Mamertin. Grat. Act.* 23, 5; *Amm. Marc.* 22, 8, 42; *Hier. Ep.* 100, 2, 3; *Comm. in Is.* 5, p. 176 *Vall.*; *Comm. in Dan.* p. 645 *Vall.* (of *Nebuchadnezzar*; cf. *Dan.* 4, 25–33); *Schol. Pers.* 2, 61; [*Ambros.*] *De Morib. Brachm.* (*Patr. Lat.* 17, 1171 *B*); 2 *Resp. Alexandri*, p. 186 *Kuebler*; *Isid. Etym.* 11, 1, 5), or of raw or revolting animal food (*Val. Max.* 5, 4, *Ext.* 5; *Plin. N. H.* 7, 18; *Justin.* 27, 2, 8), and consequent bloodthirsty characteristics (*Il. Lat.* 990; *Amm. Marc.* 27, 6, 1; *Hier. Comm. in Tit.* p. 709 *Vall.*), quarrelsomeness (*Lact. Inst.* 3, 23, 10)

and anger (*Liv.* 35, 18, 6), unsocial qualities (*Lact. Inst.* 6, 10, 25), silence (*Sall. Cat.* 1, 1), lack of initiative (*Lact. Inst.* 2, 7, 4) and cowardice (*Liv.* 40, 27, 12; *Curt.* 8, 14, 30), which lead to their falling an easy prey to capture or slaughter (*Sall. Cat.* 58, 21; [*Sall.*] *De Rep.* 1, 4, 1; *Liv.* 25, 16, 19; 30, 13, 7; *Vell. Pat.* 2, 119, 2; *Curt.* 5, 3, 19; 5, 9, 6; *Sen. N. Q.* 5, 18, 9; *Agam.* 974; *Flor.* 1, 5, 11, 13; 1, 43, 8, 6; 2, 9, 21, 26; 2, 33, 12, 48; *Suet. Calig.* 27; 2 *Peter*, 2, 12; *Dict. Cret.* 5, 13; *Amm. Marc.* 14, 2, 7; 19, 8, 4; *Claud. De Bell. Goth.* 44; *Veget. Epit.* 1, 21; 3, 21; *Gualterus, Alexandreis*, 6, 412; cf. 7, 232). Again, comparison is made to the brutes' defective intelligence, as seen in various forms (*Liv.* 5, 44, 6; *Tac. Ann.* 4, 25; *Epict.* 2, 9, 2; 2, 10, 2; *Hilar. Tract. in 118 Ps.* (*Patr. Lat.* 9, 543 *B*); *Lact. De Ira Dei*, 12, 3; *Zacchaeus, Consultat.* 3, 7 (*Patr. Lat.* 20, 1160 *B*); *Hier. Ep.* 82, 9, 1; 98, 3, 5; 131, 17, 1; *Comm. in Is.* 5, p. 170 *Vall.*; *Claud. In Eutrop.* 2, 499; *C. I. L.* IX, 1164, 1; *Paul. Diac. Carm.* 22, 21), and their lack of religion (*Lact. Inst.* 1, 21, 18; 3, 10, 14) and of moral distinctions (*Amm. Marc.* 31, 2, 11). Men who resemble the brutes are the slaves of their appetites (*Cic. De Am.* 20; 32; *Parad.* 14; *De Off.* 1, 105; *Sall. Cat.* 1, 1; *Gell.* 19, 2, 3; *Lact. Inst.* 3, 8, 6; 7, 7, 11; *De Ira Dei*, 7, 2; *Ambros. Hexaem.* 6, 10; *Isid. Etym.* 11, 1, 5; 12, 2, 2; cf. *Reid* on *Cic. De Fin.* 2, 18; 2, 32; 2, 33), incontinent (*Amob.* 3, 10; *Hier. Adv. Iovin.* 1, 38; *Salvian. De Gub. Dei*, 4, 28; 7, 18), and promiscuous in love (*Hdt.* 1, 203; 4, 180 (of the Libyans): *κτηνῶδον μισγόμενοι*; *Cic. De Invent.* 1, 2 (of early man): *nemo legitimas viderat nuptias*; *Lucr.* 4, 1264; *Hor. Sermon.* 1, 3, 109; *Ov. M.* 10, 324–334 (in 331–334 *Myrrha* says: *gentes tamen esse feruntur / in quibus et nato genetrix et nata parenti / iungitur, et pietas geminato crescit amore.*

me miseram, quod non nasci mihi contigit illic, etc.); *Liv.* 3, 47, 7: *placet pecudum ferarumque ritu promisce in concubitus ruere*; 4, 2, 6: *ut ferarum prope ritu vulgentur concubitus plebis patrumque*; *Dion. Hal.* 2, 24, 4; *Sen. H. F.* 478; *Luc.* 8, 391–401; *Lact. Inst.* 3, 22, 9; *Hier. Adv. Iovin.* 2, 7; *Claud. De Rapt. Pros.* 3, 44–45; *Ogle, in Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 56 (1925), 26–36, who concludes (35): "no editor cites any evidence from a passage which deals, as this one does, with the relationship between the sexes to show that the phrase ever has any other meaning" than unlawful intercourse).

Such was the life of primitive or barbarous man (*Aesch. Frag.* 182a *Sidgwick*; *Diod.* 3, 49, 3; *Cic. De Invent.* 1, 2; *Ov. F.* 2, 291–292; *Justin.* 18, 6, 3; *Hier. Comm. in Is.* 12, p. 520 *Vall.*; *Oros.* 1, 1, 3; *Ep. Alex. ad Aristot.* p. 207 *Kuebler*; *Eustath. ad Dionys. Perieg.* 963 (*Geogr. Gr. min.* 2, 385); *Mythog. Vat.* III, 1, 10; cf. *Venant. Fort. Misc.* 3, 9, 103 (*Patr. Lat.* 88, 133)), in a wild or nomadic state (*Cic. De Invent.* 1, 2; *Lucr.* 5, 932; *Curt.* 6, 5, 17; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 20, 416; *Claud. De Rapt. Pros.* 3, 42; *Priscian. Carm.* 2, 182; 2, 895; *Vida, Christias*, 4, 473), sometimes, though less often than in modern romantic literature, idealized as a life of innocence (*Sen. Phaedr.* 913–914: *ferae quoque ipsae Veneris evitant nefas, / generisque leges inscius servat pudor*; *Dracont. De Laud. Dei*, 1, 439–440: (*ibant*) *simpliciter pecudum ritu vel more ferarum, / corporibus nudis et nescia corda ruboris*; *Henry, Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 800, who thinks that *ferae* in our line means a life of innocence impossible to Dido after Anna had precipitated her marriage with Aeneas; *DeWitt, The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 23–24, who interprets *ferae* as the frontier woman or huntress (cf. *Camilla*); *id.*, in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 45 (1924), 176–178, where *fera* becomes a devotee of Diana in a wild, celibate life — a view rightly rejected by *Ogle, op. cit.*, 35–36, n. 6; cf. 4, 465, n. (*agit, etc.*), above). *Lact. Inst.* 3, 8, 21–22, sums up the essential qualities of the brute: *voluptates adpetunt, metuunt, fallunt, insidiantur, occidunt, et . . . deum nesciunt. quid ergo me docet* (sc. *Zeno*) *ut vivam secundum naturam, etc.* The contrast of brutes and

men appears constantly (e.g., *Xen. Anab.* 5, 7, 32; *Ernout in Bull. de la Soc. de Linguistique de Paris*, 25 (1924), 77–78, n. 1 (for *Lucretius*); *Virg. G.* 3, 242; *Lact. De Ira Dei*, 7, 1; etc.). *Guillemin (L'Originalité de Virgile* (1931), 70) suggests that *more ferae* here has some relation to *Justin*, 18, 6, 3 (of the Dido story): *barbaros et ferarum more viventes*.

To sum up, Dido now sees that she should not have tried to have any marital relations with Aeneas, in view of her faith pledged to Sychaeus, for by so doing she has degenerated from the self-restraint of a civilized human being to the lower (because less intelligent and less morally controlled) level of the brute.

551. talis . . . curas: cf. *Ov. Ex Pont.* 1, 5, 11: *in talis animum contendere curas*; *Val. Fl.* 2, 308–309: *thalamos excussaue vincula quod ausae / induere, atque iterum tales admittere curas*. *Ogle (op. cit.*, 36) explains: "I was not free (as you conceived), unjoined in lawful wedlock, without a stain to live my life after the fashion of a wild beast, nor to indulge such thoughts of love (as you suggested): I have failed to keep the vow I made to the ashes of Sychaeus."

551. nec: on its deferred position cf. 4, 33, n. (*Veneris nec*).

551. curas: cf. 4, 1, n. (*cura*), though *curas* here also includes the woes arising from her love. *Tangere curas* is a different phrase from that in 12, 932–933: *te si qua parentis / tangere cura potest*; cf. rather *Prop.* 3, 34, 9–10: *Lynceu, tunc meam potuisti, perfide, curam / tangere?* *Henry (Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 801) compares 4, 531: *ingeminant curae*.

552. non servata: for Dido's feeling that she has been false to a pledge cf. *Terzaghi, Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 13, and n. 2, who thinks this the only element which *Virgil* clearly derived from *Timaeus*, who (*Frag.* 23 in *Frag. Hist. Gr.* 1, 197 *Müller*) implies that Dido before leaving Phoenicia had taken some kind of oath (cf. 4, 15, above: *fixum inmoluntque, etc.*), for he says *σκηφαιμένη τελετήν πρὸς ἀνάλυσιν τῶν ὅρκων ἐπιτελεῖσθαι*. The breaking of such a vow of chastity well explains her *culpa*. Cf. *Ov. H.* 7, 97: *exige, laese pudor, poenas! violate Sychaei. . .*

553. tantos illa suo rumpebat pectore questus.
Aeneas celsa in puppi, iam certus eundi,

suos a. rumpebat (ru m. rec. in ras.) π.

553. tantos . . . questus: *Non. p. 196 M. (p. 287 L.)*. 553. rumpebat: *Gl. Ansil. 502, 135*.

554. celsa . . . puppi: *Gl. Ansil. 108, 249*. 554. certus eundi: *Gl. Ansil. 111, 520; Gl. Arma, 10, 172*.

552. cineri: singular, as in 4, 34; 4, 427; 4, 623; cf. Spitta, *Quaest. Vergilianae* (1867), 44.

552. promissa: in 4, 15-19; 4, 24-29; cf. 6, 346: *en haec promissa fides est?*

552. Sychaeo: an adjective (Serv.: *pro 'Sychaeio'*); cf. 4, 58, n. (*patrique Lyaeo*); 4, 207, n. (*Lenaeum*); though the Schol. Dan. (improbably) suggest: *vel 'promissa Sychaeo, non servata cineri,'* and Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 801), following Brunck (*ad loc.*), awkwardly explains cineri and Sychaeo as nouns in apposition, comparing Ov. *Am. 2*, 6, 42; *Octavia*, 169, in each of which, however, cinis, though in apposition with a proper noun, is modified by iam or nunc. The reading of P¹ (*Sychaeies*) shows, perhaps, a final est added by someone to complete servata (the t having disappeared by haplography before tantos in the next line). Henry's notion that faith pledged to the ashes of Sychaeus is an "absurd sense" I cannot share; such a vow by Dido after the murder of her husband would have been very natural; cf. Dante, *Inf. 5*, 61-62: *colei che s'ancise amorosa, / E ruppe fede al cener di Sicheo*. The abrupt conclusion of the speech, perhaps due to the lack of final revision, is remarked by Mackail (ed. of *Aeneid* (1930), 130); more likely it is Virgil's skilful representation of the excited and partly incoherent thought of Dido (cf. Mackail's n. on this line).

553. tantos, etc.: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*). Similar expressions collected by Preuss, *Die metaphor. Kunst Vergils in d. Aeneis* (1894), 16-17, include: 1, 228; 1, 371; 1, 465; 1, 485: *ingentem gemitum dat pectore ab imo*; 2, 288: *graviter gemitus imo de pectore ducens*; 5, 780: *lalisque effundit pectore questus*; 9, 480. Note the interlocked symmetry of the line, tantos modifying questus, suo modifying

pectore, and illa being the subject of rumpebat.

553. rumpebat: cf. 2, 129: *rupit vocem*; 3, 246: *rumpitque hanc pectore vocem*; 11, 377: *rumpitque has imo pectore voces*; Val. Fl. 1, 508 (= 4, 42): *rumpere questus*; Sil. 1, 95-96: *rumpit . . . / sibila*; 3, 558: *rumpit querelas*; 4, 456: *gemitumque ad sidera rupit*; 8, 299: *vocem hanc e pectore rumpam*; Tac. *Ann. 6*, 20, 1: *non exilio fratrum rupta voce*; Sidon. *Carm. 5*, 142-143: *vocemque furem / his rumpit*; Andrelinus, *Bucol. 9*, 5: *rupit de pectore questus*. Kvčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 172-173) compares also Greek parallels, in which, as in Latin, the verb ῥήγνυμι expresses the release of feelings long pent up; cf. Lohmann, *De Graecismorum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 27.

554. Aeneas: contrast the deep sleep of Aeneas with the restlessness of Dido (cf. Kvčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 173-174; Ritter, *Die Quellen Vergils*, etc. (1909), 21-22; Cartault, *L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 330); the position of the name in the verse and the lack of a connective emphasize the contrast. For a good defence of Aeneas against the charge of heartlessness cf. Rand, *The magical Art of Virgil* (1931), 362, who remarks: "after the anguish of his own struggle and the pain of his sympathy with Dido's grief, he gains that peace which succeeds a bitter fight, and yields to his exhaustion when all has been done that he can do," and compares Prop. 1, 3, 1; Luc. 3, 4-9. Masera (*ad loc.*) explains his serenity as due to his compliance with the divine will, but this would better befit an eventual state of mind, to which he might come after reflection and inward struggle, than one so suddenly attained. Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 320;

555. carpebat somnos rebus iam rite paratis.
huic se forma dei voltu redeuntis eodem

555-583: *FMP.* rebusque p. rete F (rite F¹).
uultu *MPp.*

555. carpebat . . . paratis: [*Prob.*] *De ull. Syll. 9* (G. L. K. 4, 249). 555. carpebat somnos: *Auson. Perioch. Od. 6*, 1, p. 394 *Peiper*; *Gl. Ansil. 92, 282* — capebat —; *Gl. Aa, 191, 95* — carpiebat —. 555. rebus . . . paratis: *Anth. Lat. no. 16, 51* (1, p. 58 *Riese*) — peractis —; no. 17, 246 (1, p. 70 *Riese*).

556. huic . . . dei: *Anth. Lat. no. 719, 15* (2, p. 185 *Riese*). 556. forma dei: *Serv. Aen. 4, 571*; *Gl. Ansil. 250, 128*.

329) observes that the departure would have occurred the next morning had it not been hastened by the second theophany of Mercury, which precipitated matters as the prayer of Iarbas had earlier done.

554. celsa in puppi: cf. 4, 397, n. (*celsas*), above; also 1, 183: *celsis in puppibus*; 2, 375: *celsis . . . a navibus*; 3, 527 (= 8, 680; 10, 261): *stans celsa in puppi*; 5, 12 (= 5, 175): *puppi . . . ab alta*; 5, 841: *puppique deus consedit in alta*; 8, 107: *celsas videre rates*; 8, 115: *Aeneas puppi sic fatur ab alta*; 8, 693 (of the ships of Cleopatra): *turritis puppibus instant*; 10, 287: *de puppibus altis*; *Cir. 389: de navibus altis*; *Hor. Epod. 1, 1-2: inter alta navium / . . . propugnacula*; *Luc. 3, 535: celsior at cunctis Bruti praeloria puppis*; 8, 564; *Val. Fl. 1, 719: celsis . . . puppibus*; 5, 9: *e celsa . . . rate*; 5, 215: *celsa . . . puppi*; *Sil. 3, 153: celsa de puppe*; 11, 486; 14, 379; *Stat. Silv. 3, 2, 19*. Whether puppi is here literally the stern or the whole ship is uncertain, nor is it clear whether Aeneas regularly slept on shipboard or beside the ships drawn up on shore. Cf., however, *Prop. 2, 26, 34: prora cubile mihi seu mihi puppis erit*; *Segebade, Vergil als Seefahrer* (1895), 8.

554. iam: to avoid the repetition of iam in the same position in the next line Bothe (*Virgilius Virgilianus* (1821), 16) proposed puppi (*nam certus eundi*). The nam-clause without a verb may be matched in 3, 374-375, but Virgil elsewhere carelessly repeats, which justifies retaining here the MS reading.

554. certus eundi: cf. *Ov. M. 11, 440: nimiumque es certus eundi*; *Tac. Ann. 4, 34: relinquendae vilae certus*; *Hist. 4, 14: desc-*

scendi certus; contrast below 4, 564: *certa mori*; *Ov. H. 7, 7: certus es ire tamen, miseramque relinquere Didon*; cf. 5, 1-2: *Aeneas iam classe tenebat / certus iter*; 12, 268. As remarked by Buscaroli (*ad loc.*), certus eundi makes a sad contrast to the certa mori of 4, 564.

555. carpebat: cf. 4, 522, n. (*carpebant*); *Juvenc. 2, 33: interea in puppi somnum carpebat Iesus*. *Servius* remarks: *hoc est quod et paulo post culpatur Mercurius* (4, 560-570), *sed excusatur his rebus; nam et certus eundi fuerat et rite cuncta praepraverat; aut certe prooeconomia est, ut possit videre Mercurium*. Aeneas himself at times lay awake in worry; cf. 1, 305; 8, 26-30.

555. somnos: cf. 4, 81, n. (*somnos*); *Ladewig-Deuticke (ad loc.)* note that with carpere Virgil always uses the plural of somnus, never the singular.

555. rite paratis: cf. 4, 638: *quae rite incepta paravi*; *Schol. Dan.: diligenter virum strenuum non ante facit requiescere quam rite omnia paravisset*.

556. forma dei: cf. 3, 591: *forma viri*; 6, 289: *forma tricorporis umbrae*. Here the word is not a mere periphrasis (as in *Soph. El. 1177: ἡ σὸν τὸ κλεινὸν εἶδος 'Ηλέκτρας τῶδε*); cf. *Serv.: bene non 'deus' sed 'forma'; raro enim numina sicut sunt possunt videri, unde et sequitur 'vultu redeuntis eodem'; nam licet 'redeuntis' dicat, id est, eius qui possit agnosci, tamen non 'faciem' dicit sed 'vultum', qui potest saepe mulari*. Had the earlier appearance of Mercury been a dream rather than a day-time apparition we might consider this a case of the repeated dream, a frequent phenomenon (cf. Pease on *Cic. De*

557. obtulit in somnis rursusque ita visa monere est,
omnia Mercurio similis, vocemque coloremque

(o)ptulit P. rursus F (rursus F¹). ita add. sup. F¹. iussa (i.e., uissa) Franc. monerest Pγ, monere est FM pabc.
(o)mnia P. coloreque p.

557. visa . . . est: Serv. Aen. 4, 577.

558-559. omnia . . . iuventa: Isid. Etym. 1, 37, 32 — crines —; 2, 21, 40 — crines; iuventae C² —; Anecd. Paris. 19, 13 Eckstein — crines —. 558-559. omnia . . . decora: Julian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris, 6, 107 — mercuria; crines —. 558-559. omnia . . . flavos: Serv. Aen. 1, 332 — crines —. 558. omnia . . . coloreque: Donat. in Ter. Ad. 263 — uocemque c. —; Mar. Victor. Art. gram. 4 (G. L. K. 6, 164); Sacerd. Art. gram. 3 (G. L. K. 6, 501). 558. omnia . . . similis: Serv. Aen. 4, 577; Charis. Inst. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 1, 108); Diomed. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 1, 463). 558. omnia Mercurio: Sacerd. Art. gram. 3 (G. L. K. 6, 508). 558. Mercurio similis: cf. Prob. Append. (G. L. K. 4, 196) — similis Mercurio —.

Div. 1, 54; 1, 55; Stearns, *Stud. of the Dream as a technical Device in Lat. Epic and Drama* (1927), 15, n. 54, the effect of which for warning purposes is much greater than that of a single dream which might be more casually interpreted; cf. 1 Kings, 19, 7; Dan. 10, 18; Zech. 4, 1 (for repeated warnings from the 'angel of the Lord'). Here, for dramatic results, the effect is much as if the dream had been repeated. Psychologically the dream appears plausible, for Aeneas had had many cares on his mind and would naturally have reconstructed in sleep the former appearance of Mercury, which he perhaps realized, while still awake, that he had not obeyed with sufficient alacrity. Jupiter is not mentioned as the sender of this dream; hence Virgil is perhaps here trying to describe and distinguish (by the expression *forma dei*) two types of phenomenon, the theophany and the dream-vision (Schueler, *Quaest. Vergil.* (1883), 30, n. 1 fails to understand the motivation of the second appearance of Mercury; but cf. Stearns, *op. cit.*, 15-16; Rapaport in *Eos*, 33 (1931), 167). The expression *quisquis es* (4, 577) shows that Aeneas is not completely sure of the identification of the dream-phantom with Mercury in the theophany, though of its divine character he has no doubt (4, 574: *deus aethere missus ab alto*). So Agamemnon uses qualifications in describing his dream of Nestor (*Il.* 2, 57-58), and Achilles's dream of

Patroclus (*Il.* 23, 65-67) is similarly described.

556. redeuntis: = iterum euntis; cf. Placek, *Re in den Compositis in Vergils Aeneis* (1882), 31.

557. obtulit: cf. 2, 589-590: *se non ante oculis tam clara videndam / obtulit*; 8, 611; 10, 552.

557. in somnis: cf. 4, 81, n. (somnos). For the importance of dreams in the legends of Aeneas cf. 3, 147-171; Cic. *De Div.* 1, 43 (and Pease *ad loc.*); Dion. Hal. 1, 56; Diod. 7, 5, 4-5; M. H. N. in *Musée belge*, 25 (1921), 197-208; Stearns, *Stud. of the Dream as a technical Device in Lat. Epic and Drama* (1927), 16, n. 55; Rapaport in *Eos*, 33 (1931), 163-170. On Mercury and dreams cf. Artemid. *Onirocr.* 2, 37: *Ἑρμῆς ἀγαθὸς τοῖς ἐπὶ λόγους ὁρμωμένοις καὶ ἀθληταῖς καὶ παιδοτρύβαις καὶ πᾶσι τοῖς ἐμπορικὸν τὸν βίον ἔχουσιν καὶ . . . τοῖς ἀποδημεῖν βουλομένοις πτηνὸν γὰρ ὑπειλήφαμεν εἶναι τὸν θεόν. τοῖς δὲ λοιποῖς ἀκαταστάσις καὶ θορύβους προαγορεύει. νοσοῦντας δὲ ἀναίρει διὰ τὸ ψυχοπομπὸς νενομισθαι*; Amm. Marc. 15, 3, 5: *Mercurius (vero) somniorum appellatus (est) comes*, etc.; Dares, 7; also Amm. Marc. 16, 5, 5: *Mercurio supplicabat, quem mundi velociorem sensum esse motum mentium suscitantem theologicæ prodidit doctrinæ*.

557. ita, etc.: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*).

558. omnia, etc.: cf. 9, 650-651: *omnia longaeva similis, vocemque coloremque / et*

559. et crinis flavos et membra decora iuventa:

(e)t P. membra π. iuventa F (iuuenta F¹), iuventae Pγa, Serv., iuuenta Mc, iuuenta . b.

[558*] 559. et . . . iuventa: Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. 1, 10, 3 — crineis; iuventae —. 559. et . . . flavos: Non. p. 202 M. (p. 298 L.) — crines —. 559. et membra . . . iuventa: Anth. Lat. no. 9, 11 (1, p. 39 Riese) — iuventae —.

crinis albos (flavos cod. R; cf. Sparrow, *Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 122). The passage suggests *Il.* 2, 57-58 (Agamemnon's dream of Nestor): *μάλιστα δὲ Νέστορι δῶ / εἰδὸς τε μέγθος τε φὴν τ' ἄγχιστα εὐκεί;* 23, 66-67 (Patroclus as seen by Achilles in a dream): *πάντ' αὐτῷ μέγθος τε καὶ ὄμματα κάλ' ἔκλυα / καὶ φωνήν, κτλ.*; cf. Od. 4, 796-798; 10, 277-279: *ἔνθα μοι Ἑρμείας . . . ἀντεβόλησεν / . . . νενήϊ ἀνδρὶ εὐκώς, / κτλ.* Eichhoff (*Études grecques sur Virgile*, 1 (1825), 284) notes parallels to this incident in Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 1, 13, 8 (with reference to *il biondo crine*); Milton, *Parad. lost*, 3, 624; 3, 636; Klopstock, *Messias*, 9, 485. On the use of *omnia* cf. Liv. 21, 34, 5: *solicitusque omnia*; Trebell. Poll. *Trig. Tyranni*, 33, 4: *felix omnia*; Amm. Marc. 31, 16, 6: *nudus omnia*; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 286-287; Baehrens in *Glotta*, 5 (1914), 85-86, who compares the adverbial use of *πάντα*; also 3, 594: *cetera Graius*.

558. Mercurio similis: cf. Prob. Append. p. 442 V. (G. L. K. 4, 196): *similis Mercurio*. Ihm (*Vergilstudien*, 1 (1902), 8) suggests that Virgil was here imitating plastic representations of Hermes in existence at his time.

558. vocem: Serv.: *quia orationis est deus*. Horatius (*Carm.* 1, 10, 1): *Mercuri facunde*.

558. coloremque: Serv.: *ideo et perustus et flavus Mercurius introducitur, quia satis vicinus est soli praeter ceteras stellas*. Conington (*ad loc.*) takes *colorem* of youthful beauty of complexion, and compares *Ecl.* 2, 17: *nimum ne crede colori*.

On hypermetric verses (perhaps occurring in hexameters as early as Ennius (cf. Gell. 12, 2, 10; note also Callim. *Ep.* 41, 1), and found in Lucilius (547 Marx), Lucretius (5, 849), Catullus (64, 298; 115, 3), Horace

(*Serm.* 1, 4, 96; 1, 6, 102), Ovid (*M.* 4, 11; 4, 780; 6, 507), Valerius Flaccus (4, 293), Dracontius (*De Laud. Dei*, 1, 273), and an anonymous writer ap. Capitol. *Macrin.* 11, 4) cf. Serv. Aen. 1, 332: *ὑπέρμετρος versus, unam enim plus habet syllabam; qui quotiens fit debet sequens versus a vocali incipere . . . nisi forte synizesis fiat in fine*, etc.; Lachmann on *Lucr.* 2, 118; Christ, *Metrik d. Gr. u. Römer*, 2 ed. (1879), 190-191; Franzen, *Über den Unterschied des Hexameters bei Vergil u. Horaz* (1881), 14; Müller, *Metrik d. Gr. u. Römer*, 2 ed. (1885), 50; Papillon and Haigh, ed. of *Virgil*, 1 (1892), lv-lvi; Quicherat in *Rev. de Philol.* 14 (1890), 51-55; Norden on *Aen.* 6, 602; Carpenter in *Philol. Quart.* 9 (1930), 351-362 (who on pp. 356-359 lists the Virgilian cases, the only other in this book being 4, 629, where cf. n. on *nepotesque*); Marouzeau in *Rev. des Études lat.* 11 (1933), 336-337. Of the Virgilian instances 18 end in *-que*, 13 (Carpenter, *op. cit.*, 358) being, as here, the second member of a correlation of *-que . . . -que* (cf. Hor. *Serm.* 1, 6, 102: *-ve . . . -ve*).

559. crinis flavos: cf. 4, 590, n. (*flaventis . . . comas*); these details, as noted by Masera (*ad loc.*), are not described at Mercury's first appearance, for that would have involved unnecessary repetition here.

559. membra, etc.: Serv.: *quia palaestrae deus est*. Horatius (*C.* 1, 10, 3-4): *catus et decorae / more palaestrae*. 'iuventae' autem 'aetatis,' a iuventa. sane figura est 'similis membra, vocem, colorem.'

559. iuventa: when both MSS and testimonia are considered the evidence for *iuventa* and *iuventae* is not very unevenly balanced. The genitive may be due to a recollection of 1, 590: *lumenque iuventae*, or to a theory of grammarians which condemned homoeoteleuta; cf. Unterharnscheidt, *De Veterum in Aen. Coniecturis* (1911), 12. With the abla-

560. 'nate dea, potes hoc sub casu ducere somnos,
nec quae te circum stent deinde pericula cernis,

(n)ate P. potes . . . somnos in ras. b. poten oc ut uid. c¹ (corr. in potes. hoc c²). hoc (o m. 2) γ. cassu (?) F (casu F¹).
(n)ec P, ne (corr. in nec) γ. te quae cm.

560. nate . . . somnos: *Non. p.* 283 M. (p. 436 L.); *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 555. 560. hoc . . . casu: *Gl. Ansil.* 282, 8. 560. ducere somnos: *Gl. Ansil.* 189, 33.

561. nec . . . cernis: *Cento Probae*, 266.

tive, on the other hand, we may compare G. 3, 437 (= *Aen.* 2, 473): *nitidus . . . iuventa*; 4, 565: *audax iuventa*; *Aen.* 5, 295: *forma insignis viridique iuventa*; *Tac. H.* 1, 53: *Caecina, decorus iuventa*; while for *decorus* with an ablative we may compare 9, 375: *cristisque decorus*. In *Il.* 24, 348 (= *Od.* 80, 279) *Hermes* appears as a youth, τοῦ περ χαριεστάτη ἡβη, and this was a common conception in ancient works of art; cf. Scherer in *Roscher, Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1890), 2390-2431; Eitrem in *P.-W.* 8 (1913), 764-773. Further, the beings seen in dreams often combine youth and beauty; cf. Deubner, *De Incubatione* (1900), 12-13.

560. nate dea: cf. 1, 582; 1, 615; 2, 289; 3, 311; 3, 374; 3, 435; 5, 383; 5, 474; 5, 709; 8, 59; *Sil.* 8, 81 (of *Aeneas*); also *Ov. M.* 12, 86; 13, 168; 14, 246; 15, 439; *Prud. Apoth.* 418: *nate Deo*; Braumüller, *Über Tropen u. Figuren in Vergils Aeneis*, 2 (1882), 2, who collects similar expressions. The corollary of the term is seen in the emphasis in the Augustan Age on *Venus Genetrix*; cf. Moseley, *Characters and Epithets* (1926), 95-96. The *Scholia Danielis* remark: *modo generis commemoratio non ad laudem pertinet sed obiurgatio cessantis est*.

560. potes, etc.: on the character of this dream cf. 4, 235, n. (*inimica*); 4, 465, n. (*agit, etc.*); and with the admonition to the sleeper cf. *Il.* 2, 23 (= 2, 60): εὔδεις, Ἀτρεΐος υἱέ, κτλ.; 18, 178: ἀλλ' ἄρα, μηδ' ἔτι κείσο; 23, 69: εὔδεις, αὐτὰρ ἐμείοι λελασμένος ἔπλε', Ἀχιλλεύ; 24, 683-684: ὦ γέρον, οὐ νύ τί σοι γε μέλει κακόν, οἶον ἔθ' εὔδεις / ἀνδράσιν ἐν δῆλοισιν; *Od.* 4, 804: εὔδεις, Πηνελόπεια, κτλ.; *Callin.* 1, 1: μέχρ' ἵς τεῦ κατάκεισθε; *Aesch. Eum.* 94: εὔδοιτ' ἄν, ὦ, καὶ καθευδον-

σῶν τί δέ; *Luc.* 10, 353-355: *tu mollibus, inquil, / nunc incumbere toris et pinguis exige somnos; / invasit Cleopatra domum*; *Sil.* 8, 168-170: *his, soror, in tectis longae indulgere quieti, / heu, nimium secura, potes? nec quae tibi fraudes / tendantur, quae circumstent discrimina cernis?* *Plut. Mul. Virtut.* p. 252 F: τί πέπονθας, ὦ πάτερ, καθεύδων; αἴριον δέ σε δέει τῆς πόλεως στρατηγεῖν; *Milton, P. L.* 5, 673-674: "Sleeps't thou, companion dear? What sleep can close / Thy eyelids?" *Aen.* 10, 228-229 may also be compared: *vigilans, deum gens, / Aeneas?* An interesting imitation is that by *Sil.* 3, 170-182, where *Mercury* stirs the sleeping *Hannibal*, beginning *turpe duci totam somno consumere noctem, / o rector Libyae*.

560. hoc sub casu: 'beneath such hazard' (Page ad loc.).

560. ducere somnos: cf. *Prop.* 1, 11, 5: *memores, ah, ducere noctes*; 1, 14, 9: *mecum trahit illa quietem*; *Sil.* 11, 403: *sub hiberno somnos educere caelo*; *Plin. Ep.* 6, 31, 13: *sermonibus nox ducebatur*. The word implies a lengthening out of sleep; cf. *Suét. Aug.* 78: *somnium . . . producebat*.

561. te circum: on the position of *circum* cf. 2, 564: *quae sit me circum copia lustris*; 4, 145, n. (*altaria circum*); *Od.* 14, 270: ἐπεὶ γὰρ κακὰ πάντοθεν ἔσθη; *Sil.* 8, 170 (quoted above).

561. deinde: Conington (ad loc.) suggests that it means *quae te circum stent pericula, deinde eruptura*; cf. 6, 756; 6, 890; 9, 781; 12, 889. But in some of these cases, as noted by *Buscaroli* (ad loc.), *deinde* merely strengthens the interrogative with which it is joined, like *iam* or *tandem*, and this may well be the meaning here, Heyne and others

562. demens, nec zephyros audis spirare secundos?
illa dolos dirumque nefas in pectore versat,
certa mori, variosque irarum concitat aestus.

zephyros (yros m. 2 in ras.) γ, *zaephiros* c. sperare Fa¹ (spirare F¹). secundos (os ex corr.) F¹.

illas M (illa M¹). uersat (at in ras.) a. *suario* M (uario M¹), *uario* ab¹π, *uarios* FPγδcm. fluctuat Mabπ, *Schol. Dan.*, concitat FPcm, concitat (fluctuat add. sup.) γ. aestu FMab, *Schol. Dan.*, estu π; cf. *Hoffmann in Zeitschr. f. d. Gymn.* 16 (1865), 141-148; *Ribbeck, Prolegom. crit.* (1866), 326-327.

562. nec . . . secundos: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 223; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 5, 2; *Donat. Aen.* 5, init. — nociferos R, nociferus L, nec zephyros r — 562. secundos: *Donat. Aen.* 3, 680.

563. illa . . . versat: *Consent. Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 352); *Cento Probae*, 238 — dolos ex dolus Lb; sub (in π²) pectore uersans (uersat π) — 563. illa . . . nefas: *Cento Probae*, 360. 563. dirum nefas: *Gl. Ansil.* 180, 617 — efas —; *Gl. Arma*, 14, 73.

564. certa mori: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 563; 6, 456.

explaining it as = εἴτα (cum haec sint; cf. *Kvčala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 182).

562. demens: *Schol. Dan.*: *inprobat eius sensum qui nec videat nec audiat*. For the 'run-over' position cf. 4, 23, n. (*impulit*); 6, 172; 6, 590; 9, 728; and νήπιος in *Il.* 2, 38; 2, 873; 5, 406; *Od.* 1, 8.

562. zephyros: the contradiction to 4, 310 (*mediis properas aquilonibus ire per altum*) and 5, 2 (*fluctusque atros aquilone secabat*) noted by *Holdsworth* (*Remarks and Dissertations on Virgil* (1768), 254), *Roiron* (*Étude sur l'Imagination auditive de Virgile* (1908), 229-230, and works there cited), and *Gercke* (*Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 24, n. 2) need not be stressed (cf. 4, 223, n. (*zephyros*), above), for the ancients were often vague in designating winds (*Segebadé, Vergil als Seefahrer* (1895), 12, n. 1), as is recognized by *Servius* (*ventos; de Africa enim zephyro navigare non poterat*), and *Virgil* perhaps here simply implies that the end of winter (cf. 4, 52, n. (*hiems*), above) had already arrived, bringing softer breezes (cf. 3, 120: *zephyris felicibus*), more favorable for navigation. With the phrase cf. *Val. Fl.* 2, 372: *zephyros-que audire vocantes*.

562. audis: perhaps cf. 3, 514: *auribus aëra caplat* (yet for that passage cf. *Mitchell in Cl. Weekly*, 7 (1914), 168).

562. spirare: cf. G. 2, 316: *borea . . .*

spirante; 3, 356: *spirantes frigora cauri*; *Aen.* 3, 529: (*di*) *spirate secundi*; 5, 844: *aequatae spirant auras*; 9, 645: *spirantis . . . auras*; 12, 365: *boreae . . . spiritus*; *Lucr.* 6, 428: *spirantibus incita flabris*; *Ov. M.* 7, 532: *spirant flatibus austri*; *Cypr. De Bono Patient.* 4: *spirare ventos*.

562. secundos: favorable or 'following' (*sequor*); cf. 5, 32-33: *secundi / intendunt zephyri*.

563. dolos: cf. *Sil.* 8, 176-177: *fraudes / molitur dirumque nefas sub corde volutat*; *Val. Fl.* 2, 568-569: *tacitusque dolos dirumque volutat / corde nefas*. *Schueler* (*Quaest. Vergilianae* (1883), 30; cf. *Vivona* (in *Riv. di Filol.* 26 (1898), 435)) cannot understand this statement of *Dido's* plans against the *Trojans*, yet the spirit already shown in 4, 384-386, and, still more, the rage soon to burst out at 4, 590-606 and 5, 6 (*furens quid femina possit*) go far to explain it; cf. *Schol. Dan.*: *et est dubitatio quos dolos vel quod nefas: an sibi nefas, quia sua manu peritura erat, an sorori dolos, quibus eam fallebat; utrumque in Aeneam . . . nam omnia, sicut dictum est, sequens versus confirmat 'certa mori,' ut sibi mortem excogitet, in Aeneam iras molitur. With dolos . . . versat* cf. 2, 62: *versare dolos*; 11, 704; *Sen. Agam.* 632: *dolos versare*.

563. dirumque nefas: cf. *Prud. Peristeph.* 5, 394: *al dirum nefas*.

563. pectore versat: = 1, 657; cf. G. 4,

565. non fugis hinc praeceps, dum praecipitare potestas?
iam mare turbare trabibus saevasque videbis

fugis (u in ras.) Fa. hic M (hinc M¹), in F (hinc F¹). potes p.
turbare F (turbare F¹). fratribus M (trabibus M¹).

565. non . . . potestas: Non. p. 307 M. (p. 479 L.); Anth. Lat. no. 11, 52 (1, p. 43 Riese) — poetas A —; no. 17, 198 (1, p. 69 Riese). 565. non . . . praeceps: Serv. Aen. 4, 573 — hic F —.

566. turbare trabibus: cf. Gl. Ansil. 575, 159: turbare ratibus.

83: in pectore versant; Aen. 10, 286: secum versat; Paul. et Petr. Carm. 27, 43 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 1, 63): in pectore versans; Candidus, De Vita Aegili, 2, 7, 13 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 100): sub pectore versat.

564. certa mori: cf. 4, 475: decrevitque mori; Ov. M. 10, 428: certa mori tamen est; Val. Fl. 8, 316: non aliud quam certa mori; Prud. Psychom. 585–586: haesit / certa mori; also, for certus with the infinitive, Krause De Vergilii Usurpatione Infinitivi (1878), 80; Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 684. Dido's desperate resolve adds to the danger to Aeneas.

564. variosque, etc.: the variants in M and other MSS are due to the influence of 4, 532: magnoque irarum fluctuat aestu (where see my n. on magnoque, etc.); cf. Sparrow, Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil (1931), 120; Vivona (in Riv. di Filol. 26 (1898), 435) thinks the repetition of phraseology so soon after line 532 is objectionable.

564. concitat: cf. Sidon. Carm. 7, 348: famulas in proelia concitat iras.

565. non fugis: for such vivid uses of the present in excited questions (interrogant ut non tam deliberent quam ut necessarium iudicium significant, says Madvig, Opusc. 2 (1842), 40), Ley (Vergilianae Quaest. 1 (1877), 6) compares 2, 678: cui . . . relinquo; 3, 88: quem sequimur; 3, 367: quae prima pericula vito; 3, 480–481: quid ultra / procehor; 12, 37–39: quo referor totiens, etc.; Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 120.

565. praeceps: cf. 4, 573, where the command is executed by Aeneas.

565. dum: with ellipsis of the verb; cf. 4, 53, n. (dum, etc.).

565. praecipitare: cf. 2, 8–9: nox umida

caelo / praecipitat; 11, 617; 12, 699: praecipitalque moras omnis, opera omnia rumpit; on the infinitive dependent upon potestas (est) cf. 3, 670; 7, 591; 9, 739; 9, 813; Krause, De Vergilii Usurpatione Infinitivi (1878), 70; Kühner-Stegmann, op. cit., 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 744. The verb is here, as often, intransitive. The excitement in these lines appears in the alliterations: praeceps . . . praecipitare potestas . . . turbare trabibus saevasque videbis . . . faces . . . fervere . . . flammis . . . attigerit terris Aurora morantem.

566. iam, etc.: cf. Lucr. 2, 1: turbulentibus aequora ventis; G. 3, 259–260: turbata procellis / . . . freta; Hor. Epod. 15, 7–8: Orion / turbaret hibernum mare; Sil. 3, 174: iam maria effusas cernes turbare carinas (on various parallels between Silius and the present passage cf. Kvěčala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis (1881), 184–185); Sen. N. Q. 6, 32, 4: securus videbit maria turbare; similarly Od. 5, 291: ἐτάραξε δὲ πόντον; Eur. Troad. 88: παράξω πῆλαγος; and, better, Pind. Ol. 2, 63–64: οὐ χθόνα ταρασσόντες . . . / οἷδὲ πόντον ὕδωρ.

566. trabibus: Schol. Dan.: vel navibus vel remis, ut (3, 191) 'vastumque cava trabe currimus aequor.' The former view is surely correct. These seem the only two Virgilian cases of this word in the sense of 'ships,' but cf. Enn. Ann. 616: trabes remis rostratae per altum; Sc. 246–249: ulinam ne in nemore Pelio securibus / caesa accedisset abiegnata ad terram trabes, / neve inde navis inchoandi exordium / coepisset; Catull. 4, 3–4: neque ullius natantis impetum trabis / nequissime praeterire; Hor. C. 1, 1, 13–14: ut trabe Cypria / Myrtoum pavidus nauta secet mare; Ov. Ex Pont. 1, 3, 76: trabs Colcha sacra cucurrit aqua; Pers. 1, 89; 5, 141; 6, 27;

567. conlucere faces, iam fervere litora flammis,
si te his attigerit terris Aurora morantem.
heia age, rumpe moras. varium et mutabile semper

littora b¹. flammis c¹.
sith. is (corr. in si te his) a. attigerit a¹.
eia π. rompe (corr. in rumpe) c.

567. iam . . . flammis: Non. p. 503 M. (p. 808 L.) — litora feruere —.

568. si . . . morantem: Anth. Lat. no. 17, 102 (1, p. 65 Riese) — attigerit —. 568. attigerit: Gl. Ansil. 32, 803; q.v.

569–570. heia . . . femina: Prisc. Inst. 18, 73 (G. L. K. 3, 238) — eia; femina om. P —; 18, 172 (G. L. K. 3, 286) — eia OD —; [Serg.] Explic. in Donat. 2 (G. L. K. 4, 559). 569–570. varium . . . femina: Donat. in Ter. Hec. 214 — mobile V —; Hier. Comm. in Eccl. p. 448 Vall.; Comm. in Mich. 2, p. 518 Vall.; Serv. Aen. 1, 661; 4, 563; [Acro] in Hor. C. 1, 5, 6–7; Eugraph. in Ter. Hec. 214 — se (esse F) uarium Fa, servavit G —; Anth. Lat. no. 11, 159–160 (1, p. 47 Riese); Cassiod. De Art. et Disc. lib. Litt. 3 (Patr. Lat. 70, 1191); Isid. Etym. 18, 15, 9; Hrab. Maur. De Univ. 20, 15; Ioan. de Alta Silva, Hist. sept. Sap. p. 39 Hika; Helinandus, Serm. 20 (Patr. Lat. 212, 648); id., Ep. ad Galterum (Patr. Lat. 212, 755); cf. Mart. Cap. 5, 485: uarium et mutabile quiddam est femina. 569. heia . . . moras: Charis. Inst. gram. 2 (G. L. K. 1, 191); [Prob.] De ult. Syll. 13 (G. L. K. 4, 256); Cledon. Ars (G. L. K. 5, 66); Sacerd. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 6, 442; 6, 447); Anth. Lat. no. 17, 89 (1, p. 65 Riese) — eia —. 569. heia age: [Prob.] De ult. Syll. 9 (G. L. K. 4, 247); Anth. Lat. no. 244, 22 (1, p. 200 Riese). 569. rumpe moras: Gl. Ansil. 502, 136. 569. varium . . . semper: Anth. Lat. no. 8, 8 (1, p. 34 Riese); no. 17, 59 (1, p. 63 Riese). 569. varium . . . mutabile: Isid. Etym. 2, 30, 6. 569. mutabile: Gl. Ansil. 382, 367; q.v.

Sen. Agam. 120: Phasiaca fugiens regna Thessalica trabe; Juv. 14, 276: plenum magnis trabibus mare; 14, 296; also ὄρνυ (Aesch. Pers. 411; Agam. 1618; Eur. Hel. 1611; Androm. 793); Steiner, Das Bedeutungslehnwort in Vergils Aeneis (1921), 22. Gossrau's view (ad loc.) that trabibus means fragmina navium Teucrorum, followed by Mackail (ad loc.): "a welter of timbers," "the Carthaginians having attacked the ships at their moorings and broken up or fired them," seems less likely than to explain the word in the sense of navibus, i.e., the Carthaginian ships issuing out in pursuit before the Trojans have had a sufficient start in escaping; cf. 4, 593: diripientque rates alii navalibus, where the reference must be to the Punic ships, since those of the Trojans have left the harbor (4, 587–588). The imitation by Silius cited above points to the same interpretation; cf. Kvěčala, l. c.

566. saevas . . . faces: cf. 4, 594: ferte cili flammis; also 1, 525; prohibe infandos a navibus ignis.

567. conlucere faces: cf. Lucr. 6, 881–882: laeda . . . accensa per undas / conlucet; Curt. 3, 8, 22: conlucens facibus; Tac. Ann. 3, 4. Servius correctly relates this clause to 4, 594; the Schol. Dan. give an unlikely alternative (vel propter funus) doubtless suggested by 5, 3–4: moenia respiciens quae iam infelicis Elissae / conlucens flammis. For the verb see 9, 166; 11, 209: conlucens ignibus agri; Cul. 216–217. The faces are those likely to be hurled by the Carthaginians upon the Trojan ships.

567. fervere litora: cf. 4, 409–410: cum litora fervere late / prospiceres, and the note on fervere.

568. si, etc.: cf. Il. 1, 26–27: μή σε, γέρον, κοίλῃσιν ἐγὼ παρὰ νηυσὶ κινήω / ἢ νῦν δὴ θύοντ' ἢ ὑπὸ τερὸν αὐτὶς ἰόντα; 18, 268–269: εἰ δ' ἄμμε κινήσεται ἐνθάδ' ἔοντας / αὐριοὶν ὀρμηθεὶς σὺν τεύχεσιν, κτλ.; Eur. Med. 352–353: εἰ σ' ἢ 'πιούσα λαμπὰς ὀφεται θεοῦ / καὶ παῖδας ἐντὸς τῆσδε τερμόνων χθονός; Enn. Sc. 264–265: si te secunda lumine hic offendero / moriere; Sen. Med. 297–299: capite suppli-

570. femina.' sic fatus nocti se immiscuit atrae.

fatis γ. iammiscuit *F* (immiscuit *F*), inmiscuit *Pp*, immiscuit *M*.

[569*] 570. nocti immiscuit: *Gl. Ansil.* 393, 47 — nocte conmiscuit —.

cium lues, / clarum priusquam Phoebus attollat diem / nisi cedis Isthmo; Quint. Smyrn. 13, 360-361: οὐδὲ σε δῖα κηχέσεται Ἥριγέ-
νεια / ζῶν ἔτ' ἐν Τρώεσσι.

569. *heia* age: Schol. Dan.: *hoc loco per aἰχῆσιν figuram adhortationem implevit; nam eandem rem secundo dixit 'heia age,' cum 'heia' saepe 'age' significet.* Cf. εἰ δ' ἄγε (*Il.* 1, 302; 22, 381; etc.), also εἶα (not in Homer but found in tragedy, sometimes followed by an imperative; e.g., Eur. *Med.* 820: ἀλλ' εἶα χῶρε). *Heia* occurs in Virgil in 9, 38; for *heia* age cf. *Copa*, 31; Val. Fl. 8, 110-111; Sil. 8, 214-215: *eia* age, *segnis / rumpe moras*; Stat. *Silo.* 1, 2, 266; Nemes. *Cyng.* 87. *Age* is also used by Virgil with an imperative (cf. 4, 223, n. (*vade* age), above) or introduced by *quin* (*Ecl.* 3, 52; 4, 329), *immo* (1, 753), *ergo* (*G.* 1, 63; *Aen.* 2, 707), *quare* (7, 429), *nunc* (*G.* 4, 149; *Aen.* 6, 756; 7, 37; *Cir.* 98), *iam* (6, 629), *verum* (11, 587; 12, 832), or *en* (*G.* 3, 42-43: *en* age, *segnis / rumpe moras*); cf. Mart. 2, 64, 6: *heia* age, *rumpe moras*; Cyp. *Hept. Iudic.* 271: *heia* age, *rumpe moras*; Claud. *Carm. min.* 40, 19: *quin* age, *rumpe moras*; Paul. Nol. *Ep.* 8, 3, 1: *quare* age, *rumpe moras*; Alcuin, *Carm.* 4, 64 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 222): *heia* age; Smaragdus, *Carm.* 1, 9, 27 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 613): *eia* age, *naula*; Ermoldus, *In Hon. Hludowici*, 3, 159 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 45): *eia* age, *rumpe moras*; Walahfridus Strabo, *De Vita . . . Mammae*, 16, 20 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 287): *heia* age; Salom. et Waldram. *Carm.* 1, 255 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 4, 304): *eia* age, *rumpe moras*; Andreas Capellanus, *De Amore*, p. 346 ed. Trojel: *age* enim, *rumpe moram, quia varium et mutabile semper femina*.

569. *rumpe moras*: the opposite of *innecte moras*; cf. 4, 51, n. (*innecte*). The phrase first occurs in *G.* 3, 43 (quoted above); also in *Aen.* 9, 13: *rumpe moras omnis* (cf. *Anth. Lat.* no. 198, 10 (1, p. 162 Riese)); and is imitated in Ov. *M.* 15, 583; Calp. 1, 31; Sen. *Tr.* 681; 939; *Med.* 54; Luc. 1, 264; 2,

525; Val. Fl. 1, 306: *age, rumpe moras*; 7, 33; 4, 627; 6, 127; Plin. *Ep.* 5, 10, 2; Stat. *Achill.* 1, 872: *heia, abrumpe moras*; Theb. 11, 201; Mart. 2, 64, 9 (see above); Novat. *Tract.* 8; Amm. Marc. 15, 1, 1; 17, 13, 8; Hier. *Ep.* 130, 5, 3; Paul. Nol. *Ep.* 8, 3, eleg. 1: *quare* age, *rumpe moras*; id., *Carm.* 14, 51-52; Claud. *De Bell. Golt.* 546; Venant. Fort. *Vit. S. Mart.* 1, 314: *nunc* age, *rumpe moras*; Alcuin, *Carm.* 4, 70 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 223): *sed fuge, rumpe moras*; *Modus Olinic*, 24 (Harrington, *Mediaeval Latin* (1925), 265); Sannazaro, *Ecl.* 4, 11; Vida, *Christias*, 2, 109; 3, 104; 3, 808: *surge, age, rumpe moras*; 4, 143; *Poet.* 3, 521; Fracastoro, *Syphilis*, 2, 88; Milton, *Eleg.* 4, 3; Kroll, *Studien z. Verständnis d. röm. Lit.* (1924), 154, n. 34. For the plural see Spitta, *Quaestiones Vergil.* (1867), 37 (who compares *otia* and *desidia*); Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 408.

569. *varium*, etc.: the neuter (cf. *Ecl.* 3, 80: *triste lupus stabulis*; *Aen.* 4, 174: *Fama malum* (but cf. my n.); Ov. *Am.* 1, 9, 4: *turpe senex miles*) is here clearly contemptuous: woman is viewed less as a person than as a physical phenomenon. Cf. also Lohmann, *De Graecismorum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 96-97. Dryden, *Dedication of the Aeneis* (14, 178 of 1889 ed.), calls this "the sharpest satire, in the fewest words, ever made on womankind," remarking that both adjectives are neuter and that *animal* must be understood. If a god had not spoken these words Virgil would not have dared to write them nor he to translate them. Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 268-269; cf. Prescott, *Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 468-469) traces the extent to which this generalization is illustrated by Virgil's other feminine characters, while Rand (*Ovid and his Influence* (1925), 25-26) finds Ovid ascribing the same characteristics to the male sex in the person of Jason — *mobilis Aesonide vernaque incertior aura* (Ov.

571. Tum vero Aeneas subitis exterritus umbris

tum de uero c¹.

H. 6, 109). For the thought cf. *Od.* 11, 456: ἐπεὶ οὐκέτι πιστὰ γυναιξίν; Aesch. *Agam.* 485-486: πῦθάνος ἄγαν ὁ θῆλος ὄρος ἐπινέ-
μεται / ταχύπορος· ἀλλὰ ταχύπορον / γυναικο-
γῆρυτον ἄλλυται κλέος; Eur. *I. T.* 1298: ὀρᾶτ' ἄπιστον ὡς γυναικεῖον γένος; Hor. *C.* 1, 5, 5-12; Fest. p. 165 M. (p. 160 Lindsay): *nec mulieri nec gremio credi oportere; proverbium est, quod et illa incerti et levis animi est, etc.*; Calp. 3, 10: *mobilior ventis, o femina*; Sen. *De Remed. Fortuit.* 16, 3: *nihil est tam mobile quam feminarum voluntas, nihil tam vagum*; Anselmus, *Gest. Episc. Leod.* 59 (*Mon. Germ. hist.*, Scriptorum, 7, 224): *varium enim est et mutabile animal femina*; Hermann of Reichenau, *De VIII Vitiis principalibus*, 105 (cited by Manitius, *Gesch. d. lat. Lit. d. Mittelalters*, 2 (1923), 768, n. 4): *mentem femineam mobile quoddam* (other cases in Manitius, *op. cit.*, 3 (1931), 286; 656, n. 2); Scott, *Marmion*, 6, 30, 1-4: "O woman! in our hours of ease, / Uncertain, coy, and hard to please, / And variable as the shade / By the light quivering aspen made"; Tennyson, *Queen Mary*, Act 3, Sc. 6: "You know what Virgil sings, / Woman is various and most mutable"; Lowell, *Fable for Critics*, 276: "All women he damns with *mutabile semper*"; and other instances cited by Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 803, who defends Dido against the charge of inconstancy in her relations to Aeneas. With the present line may be compared the quatrain in *Anth. Lat.* no. 268 (1, p. 215 Riese), beginning *crede ratem ventis, animum ne crede puellis*.

For the collocation of *varius* and *mutabilis* cf. 11, 425: *varique labor mutabilis aevi*; Sen. *N. Q.* 2, 11, 1; Firm. *Math.* 1, 7, 42; Aug. *Conf.* 3, 13; [Aug.] *Quaest. vel. et novi Test. CXXVII*, 46, 3 (*C. S. E. L.* 50, 85); Tract. Orig. (Novatian) *De Libris sacr. Script.* 1 (p. 9, 8 Batiffol). On such pairs of adjectives cf. Haffter, *Untersuch. z. allat. Dichtersprache* (= *Problemata*, 10 (1934)), 78-79. The gnomic character of the present phrase resembles the style of tragedy (especially Euripides); cf. Kroll in *Neue Jahrb.*

21 (1908), 525. The omission of the copula is somewhat characteristic of such expressions; cf. Winter, *De Ellipsi Verbi Esse apud Catullum, Vergilium, etc.* (1907), 29.

570. *femina*: the 'run-over' word (cf. 1, 23, n. (*impulsi*), above; Murley in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 49 (1928), 355, n. 6; 358, n. 39) emphasizes the contemptuous notion which Virgil gives to *femina* (as in the modern use of 'female?'); cf. 4, 95, n. (*femina*).

570. *sic fatus*: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*).

570. *nocti*: cf. 10, 664: *nubi se immiscuit atrae*; Schol. Dan.: *hoc ad visum somniantis referendum est, id est, in noctem se immiscuit. et 'noctem' pro tenebris posuit, per quod apparet eum in claro lumine fuisse cum loqueretur.* At 4, 278 the theophany of Mercury had vanished without awaiting a reply; cf. the disappearance of other figures in dreams as noted by Deubner, *De Incubatione* (1900), 13.

570. *se immiscuit*: cf. *G.* 4, 245; *Aen.* 10, 796; 11, 815; *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 398, 2 Bücheler: *tenebris se miscuit atris*; Vida, *Christias*, 2, 112: *nocti ablatus se immiscuit atrae*.

570. *atrae*: a frequent attribute of night, as in 1, 89; 2, 360; 6, 272; etc.

571. *tum vero Aeneas*: cf. 10, 647: *tum vero Aeneas*; for similar introductions (*interea Aeneas, nec minus Aeneas, atque hic Aeneas, dixerat Aeneas, advolat Aeneas, substitit Aeneas, haud minus Aeneas, restitit Aeneas, constitit Aeneas, etc.*) see Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 78. Aeneas had begun to prepare to leave at 4, 281, after Mercury's warning, but now becomes really in earnest.

571. *exterritus*: cf. 9, 424: *tum vero exterritus*; Val. Fl. 1, 778: *visaque exterritus umbra*; Justin, 1, 9, 5: *quo somnio exterritus*.

571. *umbris*: the plural use of a single apparition, rather than of darkness supervening after the vision had gone, as Heyne, Mackail, et al. suppose; cf. *G.* 4, 501: *prae-sentem nequiquam umbras* (of Eurydice); *Aen.* 5, 81: *animaeque umbraeque paternae* (of Anchises); 6, 510 (of Deiphobus); Sil. 2,

572. corripit e somno corpus sociosque fatigat:
'praecipites vigilate, viri, et considite transtris;
solvite vela citi. deus aethere missus ab alto

uiri . . . transtris in ras. b. consedite FM (considite FM²). trastris F (transtris F¹).
city π.

572-573. socios . . . viri: Non. p. 304 M. (p. 472 L.) — praecipitis —. 572. corripit . . . fatigat: Cypr. Hept. Iesu Nave, 204 (C. S. E. L. 23, 164) — et somno L —. 572. corripit . . . corpus: Gl. Aa, 206, 966 — corrip(it) e somnia —.

[572*] 573-574. praecipites . . . citi: Donat. Aen. 9, 35. 573. praecipites . . . viri: Serv. Aen. 5, 144; 5, 456; Cento Probae, 665 — corr. ex praecipitis P; uigilate P —. 573. vigilate viri: Anth. Lat. no. 719, 67 (2, p. 187 Riese).

[573] 574. solvite . . . citi: Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C. 3, 2, 29; Epod. 10, 1. 574. solvite vela: Gl. Ansil. 530, 194. 574. deus . . . alto: Serv. Aen. 4, 577; Anth. Lat. no. 16, 16 (1, p. 56 Riese); no. 719, 9 (2, p. 185 Riese). 574. aethere ab alto: Gl. Ansil. 38, 366.

704: Saguntinis somnos exterritus umbris; Spitta, Quaestiones Vergil. (1867), 13; Löfstedt, Syntactica, 1 (1928), 41, and n. 1. To be sure, in these cases *umbra* is used of the appearance of the dead, yet it would not be inappropriate, as Servius (*ad loc.*) remarks, for the *forma dei* of 4, 556. Further, Aeneas's terror, as Kvičala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 187) well remarks, must have been caused by the apparition rather than by the darkness which followed its departure.

572. corripit: cf. 3, 176: *corripio e stratis corpus*; Lucr. 3, 163: *corripere ex somno corpus*; 3, 925: *cum correptus homo ex somno se colligit ipse*; 4, 998: *corpus de terra corripere*; Cypr. Gall. Ios. 204: *corripit e somno corpus*; and, for similar phrases for awaking from a dream, Spitta, *Quaestiones Vergil.* (1867), 39; Stearns, *Studies of the Dream as a technical Device in Lat. Epic and Drama* (1927), 22, n. 65.

572. fatigat: Schol. Dan.: *cum clamore increpat*; cf. 1, 280; 6, 533; 7, 582 (and Hahn in *Cl. Weekly*, 22 (1929), 132, n. 8); Hor. C. 1, 2, 26-28: *prece qua fatigent / . . . Vestam*; Sil. 12, 192: *socios nunc voce fatigat*; 16, 330; the Scholia Danielis further remark: *sane nonnulli ita distinguunt 'sociosque fatigat praecipites', ut adlocutio hinc videatur incipere 'vigilate viri et considite transtris.' et est usitata figura 'fatigat et praecipites facit'; and this interpretation is followed by some editors (e.g. Hirtzel), but it is more usual to*

begin a speech with a new line (statistics for and against this method in Kvičala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 266-268, listing 255 speeches beginning a line (as always in Homer, Apollonius, et al.) and 81 starting in the middle of a line), and *vigilate* without *praecipites* closely connected with it, seems, as Mackail (*ad loc.*) observes, to furnish hardly the meaning here needed. It is scarcely necessary to explain *fatigat* of a definite physical action such as a kick, as Henry suggests (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 804-805), citing as parallels *Il.* 10, 158; *Od.* 15, 45; Sil. 7, 303-304; the notion being a general one of rousing or stirring up. Cf. also 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*).

573. praecipites: this word, emphatically placed, carries out the spirit of Mercury's command in 4, 565. It applies more accurately to *considite* than to *vigilate* (cf. Wagner, *Quaest. Vergil.* no. 33, 10 (in his 4 ed., 4 (1892), 550), though it may be construed with the combined idea of both.

573. viri: Schol. Dan.: *habet haec commemoratio multum adhortationis, ut alibi* (2, 373) '*festinate viri*'.

573. considite transtris: Schol. Dan.: *pro 'in transtris'*; cf. 3, 289: *linquere tum portus iubeo et considere transtris* (cf. Val. Fl. 3, 459); 5, 136 (= Val. Fl. 2, 442): *considunt transtris*; Luc. 3, 542-543: *tunc caerulea verunt / atque in transtra cadunt et remis pectora pulsant*; *Gesta Apollonii*, 349 (*Poet. Aevi*

575. festinare fugam tortosque incidere funis
ecce iterum instimulat. sequimur te, sancte deorum,

funes F³bc^p.

instimulat F, instimulat F¹Pp^γc, stimulat Mab, Serv. sanctae γp, sanctae (corr. in sancte) a.

575. festinare . . . funis: Schol. Dan. Aen. 3, 640 — funes —. 575. festinare fugam: Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 474); Anon. Sodom. 77 (C. S. E. L. 23, 216); Gl. Ansil. 242, 498.

576-577. sequimur . . . es: Charis. Inst. gram. 4 (G. L. K. 1, 267); Schol. Dan. Aen. 2, 351; Schol. Veron. Aen. 2, 632 — quisqu(is es) —. 576. ecce . . . instimulat: Anth. Lat. no. 15, 76 (1, p. 53 Riese) — stimulat —; Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 10, 203 — stimulat —; 10, 216 — stimulat —. 576. iterum instimulat: Gl. Ansil. 320, 40 — stimulat —. 576. instimulat: Gl. Ansil. 311, 1620; q.v. 576. sequimur . . . deorum: Charis. Inst. gram. 4 (G. L. K. 1, 268). 576. sequimur te: Gl. Ansil. 519, 489.

Carol. 2, 494): *considunt ordine transtris*; Torr, *Anc. Ships* (1895), 46-47, and nn. 110-112.

574. solvite vela: cf. 5, 831: *dextros solvere sinus*; also 3, 268: *tendunt vela*; 3, 683: *intendere vela* (cf. 5, 32-33); the opposite of *vela legere* (e.g., G. 1, 373; Aen. 3, 532).

574. citi: instead of *cito*; cf. 1, 301; 4, 594; 9, 37; 12, 425; Plaut. *Amphit.* 244; Hor. *Serm.* 10, 92; Löfstedt, *Syntactica*, 2 (1933), 369-370.

574. aethere, etc.: cf. Anth. Lat. no. 719, 15 (2, p. 185 Riese): *caelo demissus ab alto*. La Cerda (*ad loc.*) notes the metrical swiftness of the line, which, like the abruptness of the sentence beginning with *deus*, befits the need of haste. The responsibility is put upon divine command, as in 4, 377: *interpres divom Iove missus ab ipso*.

575. festinare fugam: Schol. Dan.: *antique, ut* (6, 176-177) '*tum iussa Sibyllae / haud mora festinant*'; cf. Sall. *Iug.* 77, 1: *ni id festinant*; 81, 4: *id modo festinabat*; *Hist.* 1, 81 Maurenbrecher: *profectionem festinantes*; Stat. *Theb.* 2, 478: *festinalque vias*; Sil. 1, 244: *festinal opus*; 8, 52: *festinal furibunda pyram*; also Aen. 1, 137: *maturate fugam*; 9, 378: *celerare fugam*. With the infinitive dependent upon *instimulat* cf. Lucr. 4, 190: *stimulatur fulgere fulgur*.

575. tortos: a stock epithet of ropes: Acc. 575 Ribb.: *tortas copulas*; Catull. 64, 235: *intorti . . . rudentes*; Hor. *Ep.* 1, 10, 48: *tortem . . . funem*; Ov. *M.* 3, 679: *intortos*

. . . funes; 15, 696: *torta relinacula*; Pers. 5, 146: *torta cannabe*; Sil. 6, 353: *intortas . . . rudentes*.

575. incidere funis: cf. 3, 639-640: *ab litore funem / rumpile*; 3, 667: *tacilique incidere funem*; 4, 580: *strictoque ferit relinacula ferro*; 10, 659: *rumpit Saturnia funem*. The action is more abrupt than in the usual departure and suggests the danger of going ashore to loosen the cables; cf. Schol. Dan.: *hoc ad significandam rem festinantis pertinet, id est, non 'solvere' sed 'incidere'*; also the more normal expressions in G. 1, 457: *ab terra . . . convellere funem*; Aen. 3, 266-267: *litore funem / diripere . . . iubet*; 5, 773: *solvique ex ordine funem*. On phrases used by Virgil when ships leave the shore cf. Ribbeck, *Prolegom. crit.* (1866), 365; for the infinitive cf. Lohmann, *De Graecismorum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 71.

576. instimulat: the first case of the word in Latin. Serv.: *phantasia est ad sociorum terrorem; sic in sexto* (46) '*deus, ecce deus*'.

576. sequimur, etc.: present for the future; cf. 9, 21-22 (in a situation suggestive of the present): *sequor omina tanta, / quisquis in arma vocas*; Stat. *Theb.* 10, 680: *sequimur, divum quaecumque vocasti*; Val. Fl. 4, 674: *sequor o, quicumque deorum*; Claud. *In Rufin.* 1, 170-171: *sequimur, quocumque vocabis, / seu tu vir, seu numen*; Bell, *Latin Dual* (1923), 209. Aeneas sets sail hurriedly, apparently without the usual preliminary sacrifices (cf. 5, 772-776; Onasand. 10, 25), but the command of the god is his justification.

477. quisquis es, imperioque iterum paremus ovantes.

tuo 'plerique' Pieriani (pro iterum). ouantis F.

[576*]

tion. This prayer and Dido's imprecations (4, 607-629) and pyre (4, 661-662; 5, 3-7) furnish the omens for his voyage.

576. *sancte deorum*: Serv.: *aut distingue 'sancte' (i.e., sancte, deorum quisquis es) aut secundum Ennium dixit* (Ann. 64): *'respondit Iuno Saturnia sancta deorum'* (cf. Vahlen *ad loc.* for the comments of the Latin grammarians); cf. Ann. 18: *pulchra deorum*; 22 (by emendation): *dia deorum*; 491: *magna deorum*. Ennius imitates such Greek usage as *δία θεῶν* (Il. 6, 305; 18, 388; 19, 6; Od. 1, 14; Hes. Scut. 338; etc.), *δία γυναικῶν* (Il. 2, 714; Od. 4, 305; *Epigrammata Gr.* no. 343, 1 Kaibel; Lohmann, *De Graecismorum Usu Vergiliano* (1915), 40), *φίλα γυναικῶν* (Eur. Alc. 460), and *τάλαινα παρθένων* (Eur. *Heraclid.* 567), and the example of Ennius and Virgil of a partitive genitive dependent upon a positive adjective in the vocative singular is imitated in *Anth. Lat.* no. 15, 19 (1, p. 51 Riese): *sancte deum*, and C. I. L. IX, 3375, 1 (Dessau 3530): *magne deum*. Conington (on our line) remarks: "An ordinary partitive genitive individualizes some members of a class in order to distinguish them from others; here there is individualization where apparently no division is intended." More frequent is the dependence of a partitive genitive upon the neuter singular or plural of an adjective, as in 1, 422: *strata viarum*; 2, 725: *opaca locorum*; 5, 695: *ardua terrarum*; 6, 633: *opaca viarum*; 8, 221: *ardua montis* (= 11, 513); and many other examples cited by Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 432-433; cf. Headlam on Herondas, 1, 67; Bell, *op. cit.*, 258. At other times the genitive depends on personal expressions, as in Stat. *Theb.* 2, 152: *egregii iuvenum*; Apul. *Apol.* 38: *antiquos philosophum*; etc.

577. *quisquis es*: thus at the beginning of a verse in 1, 387; 2, 148; 6, 388; Tib. 1, 4, 60; Prop. 1, 9, 30; Ov. *M.* 3, 613; 8, 864; 11, 721; 12, 80; Val. Fl. 4, 240; Stat. *Theb.*

1, 462; 2, 697; 5, 664; Sil. 5, 562; Claud. *De Rapt. Pros.* 3, 304; *Anth. Lat.* no. 410, 1 (1, p. 317 Riese); no. 564, 1 (2, p. 74 Riese). In 4, 558 the vision was *omnia Mercurio similis*; in 4, 574 Aeneas recognized it as a *deus*. There was, then, as in 1, 327-330 and Ov. *M.* 14, 841-842, no uncertainty as to its sex (such as we find in the phrases *sive deus sive dea* or *sive mas sive femina*), but there remained doubts (a) as to the correctness of identification with Mercury (Serv.: *licet viderit non tamen revera novit esse Mercurium*); (b) which of the three Mercuries listed by Servius or of the four noted by the Scholia Danielis is meant; (c) whether Mercury on this second occasion spoke for himself alone or as the messenger of Jupiter (cf. Serv.: *aut certe ad Iovem spectat, id est, 'quisquis es' qui praecipis; ut in nono (22) 'quisquis in arma vocas,' cum Irin vidisset, id est, quicumque Irin misisti. plane illud occurrit quod ait (4, 574) 'deus aethere missus ab alto,' ubi et Iovem complectitur et supernum Mercurium*); and (d) the correct designation by which to address this deity (Schol. Dan.: *secundum pontificum morem qui sic precantur: Iuppiter omnipotens, vel quo alio te nomine appellari volueris*; cf. 9, 22 (quoted above); 9, 209: *Iuppiter aut quicumque oculis haec adspicit aequis*; also Aesch. *Agam.* 160-161: *Zeús, ὅστις ποτ' ἐστίν, εἰ τόδ' αὖ/τῷ φίλον κεκλημένω*; Eur. *Tro.* 885-886: *ὅστις ποτ' εἰ σύ, δυστόπαστος εἰδέναι, / Ζεὺς, εἴτ' ἀνάγκη φύσεος εἶτε νοῦς βροτῶν, κτλ.*; Plat. *Crat.* 400 E: *ὥσπερ ἐν ταῖς εὐχαῖς νόμος ἐστίν ἡμῖν εὐχέσθαι, οἰτῶνές τε καὶ ὁπότεν χαίρουσιν ὀνομαζόμενοι, κτλ.*; and many other cases collected by Appel, *De Romanorum Precationibus* (1909), 78-79; Norden, *Agnostos Theos* (1913), 143-147; to which add Jul. Val. 1, 30.

577. *iterum*: as the warning had been repeated (*iterum instimulat*, above) so the preparations for obeying it fall into two parts (4, 288-295; 4, 573-583). Kvěčala's attempt (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 188-

578. adsis o placidusque iuves et sidera caelo
dextra feras.' dixit vaginaque eripit ensem

iuves *ex corr.* F¹ (an iues F?).
eripit (*corr. in eripit*) γ.

578-579. et . . . feras: *Porphyr. in Hor. Serm.* 2, 3, 38 — celo M —. 578. adsis placidus: *Gl. Ansil.* 31, 727; *Gl. Abstr.* 5, 81; *Gl. Affatim* (C. G. L. 4, 481, 8) — placitus (placidus c) —. [578]

189) to construe *iterum* with *imperio* (τῷ αἰθερὶ κεκλησμενῶν), citing other instances of adverbs closely associated with nouns, appears unsuccessful; cf. Zingerle, *Kl. philol. Abhand.* 3 (1882), 22-23.

577. *paremus ovantes*: cf. 3, 189: *dicto paremus ovantes*; 4, 543: *navitas comitabor ovantis*.

578. *adsis o*: this dislocation of *o* is frequent in Virgil (cf. *Ecl.* 3, 3; 4, 48: *adgredere o magnos*, etc.; 5, 65 (= Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 13, 31): *sis bonus o felixque*; G. 1, 12; 2, 4; 2, 7; 2, 35; *Aen.* 2, 281; 2, 638; 6, 194; 6, 509; 8, 78: *adsis o tantum et propius tua numina firmes*; 8, 122: *egredere o quicumque es*; 8, 579; 9, 234; 10, 631; 11, 415; 12, 646; cf. *Lydia*, 77), and is common in other poets, e.g., *Hor. C.* 4, 5, 37; *Prop.* 2, 1, 48; *Ov. M.* 2, 279; 7, 797; 14, 372; *Calp.* 1, 36; *Sen. H. F.* 1068; 1072; 1226; *Tr.* 768; *H. O.* 1176; *Luc.* 1, 199; 3, 79; 4, 212; 8, 843; *Val. Fl.* 2, 274; 4, 327; 4, 630; 4, 674: *sequor o, quicumque deorum*; 8, 264; *Stat. Silv.* 1, 2, 169; 2, 7, 41; *Theb.* 1, 716-717: *adsis o memor hospitii, Iunoniaque arva / dexter ames*; 3, 269; 3, 360; 3, 648; 8, 677; 9, 17; 9, 49; 9, 211; 9, 548: *ades o mihi*; 10, 662; *Mart.* 1, 103, 3; 2, 47, 2; 5, 10, 11; 9, 20, 3; 9, 36, 7; *Sil.* 1, 653; 2, 372; 3, 69; 4, 127: *adsis o firmesque tuae, pater, alitis omen*; 4, 673; 7, 737; 8, 211; 9, 159; 13, 8; 16, 87; *Flor.* 1, 18, 2, 31; *Nemes.* 1, 64; *Arnob.* 5, 14; *Juvenc.* 1, 86; *Auson. Parent.* 11, 15; *Epitaph.* 2, 1; *Ep.* 5, 9; *De III Cons. Hon.* 33; *De Cons. Stil.* 2, 398; *De Bell. Goth.* 430; *De Rapt. Pros.* 2, 73; 2, 234: *sis memor o longumque vale*; *Venant. Fort. Misc.* 6, 7, 166: *sis precor o felix*; *Prud. Peristeph.* 10, 401; *Sidon. Carm.* 2, 438; *Anth. Lat.* no. 718, 2 (2, p. 183 Riese); Bell, *Latin Dual* (1923), 270 (who observes that such inver-

sions are especially frequent in commands and appeals); Housman in *Cl. Quart.* 27 (1933), 3. With the thought cf. G. 1, 18: *adsis o Tegeae favens*; *Aen.* 1, 734: *adsit laetitiae Bacchus dator*; 3, 395: *aderitque vocatus Apollo*; 8, 78 (quoted above); 10, 255: *adsis pede diva secundo*; 10, 461: *te precor, Alcide, coeptis ingentibus adsis*; 10, 773-774: *dextra mihi deus et telum . . . / nunc adsint*; *Paul. Pell. Eucharist.* 4 (C. S. E. L. 16, 291): *te, deus omnipotens, placidus mihi, deprecor, adsis*.

578. *placidus*: cf. 3, 266: (*di*) *placidi servate pios*; *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 693: *ἀλλ' ἄλῃ, ἀναξ, ἰληθὶ φαανθεῖς*; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 6, 159: *sed mitis placidusque suis cultoribus adsit*; and, for the mild aspect of favoring divinities, *Deubner, De Incubatione* (1900), 11-12.

578. *iuves*: a liturgical term; cf. Appel, *De Romanorum Precationibus* (1909), 127.

578. *sidera*: Serv.: *hoc est, ventos, qui ex ortu siderum aut prosperi aut adversi sunt*; etc.

579. *dextra*: Schol. Dan.: *prospera*. The Greek rather than the native Roman orientation is here followed; cf. *Cic. De Div.* 2, 82 (and the passages cited in my n.): *ita nobis sinistra videntur, Graiis et barbaris dextra meliora. quamquam haud ignoro quae bona sint sinistra nos dicere etiamsi dextra sint, sed certe nostri sinistrum nominaverunt externique dextrum, quia plerumque id melius videbatur*. For *dexter* in the sense of 'propitious' or 'favorable' cf. 2, 388: *quaque ostendit se dextra* (sc. futura), *sequamur*; 4, 294: *quis rebus dexter modus* (and n. on *dexter*); 8, 302: *tua dexter adi pede sacra secundo*; *Quintil.* 4, proem. 5: *numen . . . invocem ut . . . dexterque ac volens adsit*; also many cases cited in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 5 (1910), 924, 19-925, 34. For the application of this adjective to *sidera*

580. fulmineum strictoque ferit retinacula ferro.
idem omnis simul ardor habet, rapiuntque ruuntque;

omnes b.

580. stricto ferro: *Gl. Ansil.* 539, 339.

581. rapiuntque ruuntque: *Anth. Lat. no. 8, 11* (1, p. 34 Riese).

cf. Stat. *Theb.* 4, 767-768: *sic hoc tibi sidere dextro / crescat onus*; *Silv.* 3, 4, 64-65: *o sidere dextro / edile*; Claud. *Carm. min. Append.* 2, 124-125: *dextro iam Siria cessent / sidere*.

579. dixit: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*).

579. vaginaque, etc.: cf. 6, 260: *vaginaque eripe ferrum*; 10, 475: *vaginaque cava fulgentem diripit ensem*; 10, 896: *vaginaque eripit ensem*; Stat. *Theb.* 10, 271-272: *sic fatus et exiit ensem / fulmineum*; also *Il.* 1, 194: *ἔλκετο δ' ἐκ κολεοῖο μέγα ξίφος*; *Od.* 10, 126-127: *τόφρα δ' ἐγὼν ἄορ δὲν ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ / τῷ ἀπὸ πείσματ' ἔκοψα νεὸς*; *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 206-208: *ὡς φάτο . . . / . . . ὁ δὲ ξίφος ἐκ κολεοῖο / σπασσάμενος πρυμναῖα νεὸς ἀπὸ πείσματ' ἔκοψεν*.

579. eripit: for the change in tense from *dixit* cf. Ley, *Vergil. Quaest.* 1 (1877), 23. The historical present and the verb used both emphasize the suddenness of the drawing of the sword; for the latter see Tac. *Ann.* 1, 35, 5: *ferrum a latere diripuit*.

580. fulmineum: Schol. Dan.: *quidam fulgentem accipiunt*; the notion combines brightness and speed, like our 'flashing,' and perhaps also irresistibility (cf. Biletschi in *Primitiae Czernovicienses* (1909), 19); cf. 9, 441-442: *rotat ensem / fulmineum*; Hunziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in d. Ged. Vergils* (1896), 72, and nn. 108-110, who cites 9, 705-706: *contorta falarica venit, / fulminis acta modo*; Val. Fl. 6, 230: *fulmineum . . . ensem*; Sil. 6, 249-250: *venit in adversam non vano turbine frontem / cuspis*; cf. Stat. *Theb.* 10, 271-272: *exiit ensem / fulmineum*; Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 5, 29, 6: *la fulminea spada*; 7, 38, 7-8: *fulminando / spesso alla vista gli dirizza il brando*; Ossian, *Fingal*, 1, 521: "their circling swords like lightning flash"; Kleist, *Penthesilea*, 183-184: "Und senkt, wie aus dem Firmament geholt, / Das Schwert ihm wetterstrahlend

in den Hals"; id., *Hermannsschlacht*, 82-83: "Ihr Pfeil . . . / Warf mit der Macht des Donnerkeils ihn nieder." Cf. Ekkehard, *Waltherius*, 192: *fulmineos . . . enses*; and the *coruscum . . . ensem* of *Aen.* 2, 552-553.

580. stricto . . . ferro: cf. 6, 291; 10, 577: *strictum . . . ensem*; 10, 651-652; 10, 715: *stricto concurrere ferro*; Juven. 4, 531; etc.; Schol. Dan.: *videtur abundare 'stricto,' cum dixerit 'vaginaque eripit ensem.'*

580. ferit, etc.: cf. 4, 575, n. (*incidere funis*); *Od.* 10, 126-127: *τόφρα δ' ἐγὼν ἄορ δὲν ἐρυσσάμενος παρὰ μηροῦ / τῷ ἀπὸ πείσματ' ἔκοψα νεὸς κναοπρῶοιο*; *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 207-208 (quoted above); Liv. 28, 36, 11: *ancoras, ne in moliendo mora esset, praecidunt*; Val. Fl. 1, 488-489: *ardenti Aesonides retinacula ferro / absceidit*. The *retinacula* stretched from the ship to the shore (cf. 3, 266; 3, 639; 10, 659), the ships being drawn up with the sterns toward the land; cf. 3, 277 (= 6, 901): *ancora de prora iacitur; stant litore puppes*; 6, 3-5: *obvertunt pelago proras, tum dente tenaci / ancora fundebat navis, et litora curvae / praetexunt puppes*; Kunz, *Realien in Vergils Aeneis*, 1 (1894), 16; Torr, *Anc. Ships* (1895), 74. Aeneas seldom executes things himself, acting rather through subordinates (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 1, 180), save in crises like the present. Usually the cables are loosed, but Irvine (*ad loc.*) remarks that they were similarly cut in the hasty escape from the Cyclops (3, 667), and that sailing at night was in itself sufficiently abnormal.

580. retinacula: cf. Ov. *M.* 8, 102-103: *classis retinacula solvi / iussit*; 11, 712: *hic retinacula solvit*; 14, 547: *stuppea praerupit Phrygiae retinacula classis*; 15, 696; Stat. *Silv.* 3, 2, 32.

581. idem, etc.: cf. 7, 393: *idem omnis simul ardor agit nova quaerere tecla*; 12, 282: *sic omnis amor unus habet decernere ferro*. On their zeal for departure cf. 4, 193, n.

582. litorea deseruere, latet sub classibus aequor.
adnixa torquent spumas et caerulea verrunt.

spumans M (spumas M¹).

582. litorea deseruere: *Gl. Ansil.* 343, 559. 582. latet . . . aequor: Schol. Lucan. 3, 47 — *latet om. C* —; 3, 566; 5, 708 — *casibus U* —; 9, 35; *Gl. Ansil.* 331, 434 — *clasisibus* —.

583. adnixa . . . verrunt: Non. p. 420 M. (p. 677 L.) — *annixa* —; p. 446 M. (p. 716 L.) — *obnixa* (*obnixae L*), *adnixa cod.* 420 —.

(hiemem); also *Il.* 2, 149-150: *τοὶ δ' ἀλαλητῶ / νῆας ἔπ' ἐσσεύοντο, κτλ.*; *Apoll. Rh.* 1, 911-914: *λάζοντο δὲ χερσὶν ἐρετμὰ / ἐνσχερῶ ἐξόμενοι* — *πρυμνήσια δὲ σφίσιν* "Ἄργος / λύσεν ὑπὲρ πέτρης ἀλιμυρέος. ἔνθ' ἄρα τοίγῃ / κόπτον ὕδωρ δολιχῆσιν ἐπικρατέως ἐλάττων"; Pacuv. 409 Ribbeck (ap. Cic. *De Div.* 1, 24): *profec-tione laeti*.

581. habet: 'possesses'; cf. 3, 147; 6, 521; 11, 357; Ov. *H.* 12, 170; F. 3, 288; Stat. *Theb.* 3, 549; etc.

581. rapiuntque ruuntque: one of those jingling pairs so common in many languages, like 'hither and thither,' 'hurry-scurry,' 'hustle and bustle,' 'helter-skelter,' etc., the doubling of -que adding to the effect of speed; cf. 4, 83, n. (*audilque videtque*); 9, 516: *voluntque ruuntque*. Irvine (*ad loc.*) remarks "how the rushing dactyls of 581-582 pass into steady swinging spondees as the rowers settle to their work." The object of *rapiunt* (if any; cf., however, G. 3, 68) may be the belongings still left on shore.

582. litorea, etc.: the Scholia Danielis well call these lines *mira descriptio festinationis*.

582. deseruere: the tense shows the speed with which the act has already been accomplished; cf. 4, 164; 4, 167; etc.

582. latet: cf. 4, 566: *mare turbati trabibus . . . videbis*; Sen. *Agam.* 434: *splendetque classe pelagus et pariter laet*; Luc. 3, 46-47: *ut . . . / absconditque fretum classes*; 9, 35: *quis (sc. crederet) pelagus victas artasse carinas* (cf. Sil. 14, 370); Manil. 3, 20: *magna pontum sub classe latentem* (cf. 1, 776); Oros. 2, 10, 9 (of Xerxes): *exiguo contentum latere navigio, sub quo ipsum pelagus ante latuisset*; Sidon. *Carm.* 5, 456-457: *nec sic Leucadio classis Mareotica portu / Actiacas abseondit aquas*; Paul. Petric. *De Vita Mart.*

6, 366: *fluctus sub classe latent*; Gualterus, *Alexandreis*, 9, 520: *lateat sub classibus aequor*.

582. classibus: on the plural cf. Spitta, *Quaest. Vergil.* (1867), 34.

583. adnixa, etc.: this line = 3, 208. The heavy metre of its first part well expresses the labor of getting the ships started, after which both they and it move rapidly in the last two feet; cf. Maxa in *Wiener Stud.* 19 (1897), 105; also 4, 397, n. (*tum vero, etc.*).

583. torquent spumas: cf. 1, 35: *spumas salis aere ruebant*; 8, 672: *fluctu spumebant caerulea cano*; *Od.* 12, 171-172: *οἱ δ' ἐπ' ἐρετμὰ / ἐξόμενοι λείκαινον ὕδωρ ξεστῆς* 'ἐλάττων'.

583. caerulea verrunt: cf. G. 3, 201: *aequora verrens*; *Aen.* 3, 290 (= 5, 778): *certatim socii feriunt mare et aequora verrunt*; 6, 320: *remis vada livida verrunt*; 8, 674: *aequora verrebant caudis* (sc. *delphines*); Enn. *Ann.* 384: *verrunt extemplo placide mare*; Lucr. 5, 1226-1227: *vis violenti per mare venti / induperatorem classis super aequora verrit*; Catull. 64, 7: *caerulea verrentes abiegnis aequora palmis*; Ov. *Am.* 1, 9, 14: *aplaque verrendis sidera quaerel aquis*; Manil. 4, 285: *everrere retibus aequor* (cf. Sil. 14, 264-265: *retibus aequor / verrere*); Luc. 3, 542: *tunc caerulea verrunt*; Ennod. *Carm.* 1, 7, 38: *aequora verrere*; Bénaky, *Du Sens chromatique dans l'Antiquité* (1897), 272; Bailey in *Proc. of cl. Assoc.* 28 (1931), 30-31.

On *caerulea* for 'the deep' cf. 7, 198; 8, 672; *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 3 (1906), 107, 27-44. Virgil's use of *caeruleus*, and of colors in general, is discussed by Roiron, *Étude sur l'Imagination auditive de Virgile* (1908), 540-541.

584. Et iam prima novo spargebat lumine terras
Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile.

584-650: MP.

584-585. et . . . cubile: *Macrob. Sat.* 5, 6, 15; *Charis. Inst. gram.* 4 (G. L. K. 1, 274) — liquens *N* —; *Diomed. Art. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 1, 460) — spargebas *M*; liquens *ABM*; cuuile *AB*, cui uile *M* —; *Isid. Etym.* 1, 37, 15; *Beda, De Schem. et Trop. S. Script.* (1533 ed.), pp. 85-86; *Iulian. Tolet. De Viliis et Figuris*, 6, 48. 584. et . . . terras: *Donat. Ars gram.* 3 (G. L. K. 4, 401) — prima aurora nouo *LP* —; *Macrob. Sat.* 6, 1, 25; *Cento Probae*, 82 — primi *corr. in prima T* —; *Iulian. Tolet. De Viliis et Figuris*, 6, 47. 584. novo lumine: *Gl. Ansil.* 397, 339.

[584*] 585. Tithoni . . . cubile: *Macrob. Sat.* 6, 1, 31 — tothoni *P¹* —; *Pomp. Comm.* (G. L. K. 5, 308); *Serv. Aen.* 11, 183; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 2, 134.

584. etiam, etc.: lines 584-585 = 9, 459-460; Sparrow (*Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 105) considers the latter passage, with an awkward case of three occurrences of *iam* in three lines, as a mere *tibicen*. Further cf. *Il.* 8, 1 (= 24, 695): 'Hῶς δὲ κροκόπεπλος ἐκιδνατο πᾶσαν ἐπ' αἶαν'; 11, 1-2 (= *Od.* 5, 1-2): 'Hῶς δ' ἐκ λεχέων παρ' ἄγανου Τίθωνοιο / ὤρνυθ', ἵνα θανάτοισιν φάος φέροι ἥδ' ἐβοτοῖσι (translated by [Auson.] *Perioch. Il.* 11: *Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile / spargebat terras referens opera atque labores*); *Lucr.* 2, 144: *primum Aurora novo cum spargit lumine terras* (Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 9, 457: *Lucretianum est*; cf. Bailey in *Proc. of cl. Assoc.* 28 (1931), 31-32 for Virgil's addition to Lucretius of personal and mythological features); *Val. Fl.* 3, 257-258: *ecce levi primos iam spargere lumine portus / orta dies; notaeque (nefas) albescere turres*; 5, 248-249: *tua lumina toto / sparge mari*; *Ambros. Hymn.* 28, 1: *aurora iam spargit polum*; *Aug. Conf.* 7, 23: *quo lumine aspergetur*; *Paul. Petric. De Vita Mart.* 1, 168-169: *et iam prima novo spargebat lampade terras / orta dies*; *Boeth. Cons.* 2, 3, 1: *cum polo Phoebus roseis quadrigis / lucem spargere coeperit*; also, above, 4, 6, n. (postera, etc.); 4, 129, n. (*Oceanum*, etc.); *Norden on Aen.* 6, 535-536.

Marmontel (quoted by Loewe, *Symbolae ad enarr. Serm. Poet. Lat.* (1873), 26, n. 1) remarks upon the art with which Virgil in five lines includes the appearance of dawn, the fleet of Aeneas in full sail, the deserted harbor, and the grief of Dido in her watch tower.

For the contrast of the calmness of dawn with the human events in progress cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 368; Anderson, *A Study of Virgil's Descriptions of Nature* (1916), 15; Pease in *Class. Journ.* 22 (1927), 652, n. 46. Nettleship (*Lectures and Essays*, 1 (1885), 121, n. 1) thinks that Virgil followed Arctinus more closely than any other of the cyclic poets, and observes that Arctinus represents Ajax as slaying himself *περὶ τὸν ὄρθρον* (Schol. *Pind. Isth.* 4, 58, ap. Welcker, *Episch. Cycl.* 2 (1849), 525).

584. novo: *Serv.*: *secundum Epicureos, qui stulte solem de atomis dicunt constare et cum die nasci, cum die perire* — a difficult and unlikely interpretation. The word means no more than 'fresh,' 'newly appearing.'

584. spargebat: in addition to the passages cited above cf. 12, 113-114: *postera vix summos spargebat lumina montis / orta dies*; *Sil.* 9, 33-34: *cum spargere primis / incipiet radiis Gargana cacumina Phoebus*; *Juvenc.* 4, 726: *dies . . . complebat lumine terras*.

585. Tithoni, etc.: this line = G. 1, 447; *Aen.* 9, 460; *Albertus Stadensis, Troilus*, 2, 775. Cf. *Ov. F.* 1, 461: *proxima prospiciet Tithono Aurora relicto*. On Tithonus cf. Schmidt in *Roscher, Ausf. Lex.* 5 (1924), 1021-1029.

585. croceum: cf. 4, 700: *Iris croceis per caelum roscida pennis*; 7, 26: *Aurora in roseis fulgebat lutea bigis*; and other passages in Kunz, *Realien in Vergils Aeneis*, 2 (1895), 15; *Ov. M.* 3, 149-150: *altera lucem / cum croceis invecta rotis Aurora reducet*; *Anon.*

586. regina e speculis ut primum albescere lucem

et (*i.e.*, *ec*) *Rottend. sec.*, *e m.* 2 *add. c.* cum primum *b.* primam *Pa*, primam (*corr. in primum*) *γ*, primum *Mbc.*

586-587. regina . . . velis: *Serv. Aen.* 5, 1 — primum *om. FC* —. 586. regina . . . speculis: *Anth. Lat. no. 11, 126* (1, p. 45 *Riese*) — *regin A* —; *Consent. Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 401).

Cons. ad Liv. 282: (*Aurora*) *quam primum croceis roscida portet equis*; *Dracont. De Laud. Dei*, 1, 671: *roscida puniceum spargens aurora ruborem*; *Anth. Lat. no. 579, 1-2* (2, p. 79 *Riese*): *Aurora oceanum croceo velamine fulgens / liquerat et biugis vecta rubebat equis* (also nos. 580-590: *tetrasticha de aurora et sole*). The Greek phrase is 'Hῶς . . . κροκόπεπλος (e.g., *Il.* 8, 1; 23, 227; 24, 695; *Anth. Pal.* 9, 651, 3; etc.). *Dana, Ritual Significance of Yellow among the Romans* (1919), 14, holds the color to be symbolic, and notes that in the 'Aldobrandini Nuptials' in the Vatican the headdress of the bridegroom, the shoes of the bride, the mattress and the counterpane, footstool, and towel, are all yellow.

585. linquens: cf. *Fur. Bibac. ap. Macrob.* 6, 1, 31: *interea oceani linquens Aurora cubile*; *Serv. Aen.* 11, 183 (on *extuleral lucem*): *Asinius Pollio dicit ubique Vergilium in diei descriptione sermonem aliquem ponere aptum praesentibus rebus, ut hoc loco, qui funerum et sepulturarum res agitur, dicit 'extuleral'; item in quarto, quia est navigaturus Aeneas et relicurus Didonem, dicit 'Tithoni croceum linquens Aurora cubile.'* quod licet superfluum sil, in multis tamen locis invenitur. Pollio's view, though perhaps correct in places, is rightly rejected in its application to *linquens* in the present line by Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 366, and n. 1; and it may be further noted that Aurora left the couch of Tithonus, the brother of Laomedon, while here Laomedon's descendant, Aeneas, deserts Dido, the reverse of Pollio's symbolic explanation. The passage is, then, merely a poetic indication, in the common Homeric style, of the beginning of a new day — this one to be Dido's last. In *Mem. r. Accad. Virg. di Mantova*, 22 (1931), 23-24, *Sabadini* analyzes the present situation into

two parts: (1) 585-606, the reddening of dawn; (2) 607-629, an appeal to the sun at the moment of its rising (cf. 12, 172; *Apul. M.* 2, 28), and observes that Virgil has skillfully combined the traditional moment for such an appeal with the regular time for the sailing of ships (cf. 3, 508-521).

586. regina, etc.: cf. *Apoll. Rh.* 3, 828-829: ἡ δ' ἐπεὶ οὖν τὰ πρῶτα φαεινομένην ἴδεν ἡῶ / παρθενική, κτλ.; *Val. Fl.* 2, 261-262: *regina ut roseis Auroram surgere bigis / vidit, et, etc.*; also the situation of Amata in 12, 595-597 and of the abandoned Ariadne in *Catull.* 64, 60-67; 64, 124-131; 64, 164-168. *Cowley, The Heart fled again*, 2, 1-6, writes: "Even so the gentle Tyrian Dame, / When neither Grief nor Love prevail, / Saw the dear object of her flame, / Th' ungrateful Trojan hoist his sail: / Aloud she call'd to him to stay; / The wind bore him and her lost words away."

586. e speculis: *Schol. Dan.*: *quas utique in sua regia habuit*; cf. 3, 239: *specula . . . ab alta*; 7, 511: *at saeva e speculis*; 10, 454: *leo, specula cum vidit ab alta*; 11, 877: *e speculis percussae pectora matres*, etc. *Henry, (Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 807-808) thinks the *speculis* not a part of the palace but outside it, like the *arx summa* of 4, 410. Yet the palace may be thought of as standing high, on or near the *arx*, and at this early hour it is more natural, with the *Scholia Danielis*, to suppose Dido in some part of it than already upon some separate citadel. All that the word really implies is that the place commanded a view. *Ov. Remed. Am.* 57-58: *nec moriens Dido summa vidisset ab arce / Dardaniis vento vela dedisse rates* can hardly prove any theory, in view of Ovid's free handling of the story. If we seek a parallel it would be safer to find it in a passage (12, 594-610) which, as *Mackail* (on p. 518 of his edition of the *Aeneid*) points out, contains

587. vidit et aequatis classem procedere velis
litoraue et vacuos sensit sine remige portus,

uelis (lis m. 2) γ.

remige (mig m. 2 in ras., g ex n, ut uid.) γ. pontus M (portus M¹).

[586] 587. aequatis . . . velis: Serv. Aen. 5, 844 — componere C —.

many likenesses to ours, for in 12, 595 we read *regina ut tectis venientem prospicit hostem*. Silius, on the other hand (8, 83–88; 8, 126–127), makes Dido haunt the shore and gaze out to sea, but this seems to be after Aeneas's departure from sight. Numerous Pompeian pictures of the abandonment of Ariadne represent her upon the shore watching the departure of the ship of Theseus; cf. Reinach, *Répertoire de Peintures gr. et rom.* (1922), III–II2.

586. ut primum: cf. 4, 259 and eight other cases in Virgil; the form *primum* is here better attested than *primam*, which is also awkward after *prima* in 4, 584. The pardonable pleonasm in using an inchoative verb with *ut primum* may be paralleled in 12, 76–77: *cum primum . . . / . . . Aurora rubebat*.

586. albescere lucem: Serv.: *hypallage est; luce enim albescunt omnia, non lux albescit*. For this verb as applied to sky or daylight cf. Amm. Marc. 19, 7, 3: *albesciente iam die*; Prud. Cathem. 2, 3: *lux intrat, albescit solus*; Thes. Ling. Lat. 1 (1900), 1490, 46–54. Cf. also Caes. B. C. 1, 68, 1: *albente caelo*, and the French *aube* (Ital. *alba*), as in Racine, *Athalie*, 1, 1, 160: *Et du temple déjà l'aube blanchit le faite*. Eur. I. A. 156–157 says: *λευκαίνει / τόδε φῶς ἥδη λάμπουσ' ἡώς*. La Cerda (*ad loc.*) has collected many allusions to the whiteness of the dawn and the sun, and similar lists may be found in Wakefield, *Silva Critica*, 5 (1795), 78–82. The notion is that of early dawn as distinguished from later yellow and pink hues, and is perhaps suggested by Enn. Ann. 212: *ut primum tenebris abiectis indalbabat*. Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 2, 333 says: *primo enim aurora cum Luciferi candore pallescit, deinde fulgore rosei solis afflatur*.

587. aequatis . . . velis: Serv.: *feliciter plenis, sine moti aliquo*; and the Scholia

Danielis add: *ut* (5, 844) *'aequatae spirant aurae.'* et hoc ad dolorem pertinet reginae. Possibly the notion is that of ships in an even line or formation; cf. 2, 724 (of Ascanius): *sequiturque patrem non passibus aequis* (i.e., hardly able to keep abreast); 5, 157–158 (of the boat-race): *iunctisque feruntur / frontibus*; 5, 232: *fors aequalis cepissent praemia rostris*; Sil. 16, 355 (of race horses): *aequata . . . fronte* (cf. 16, 380; 16, 424–425). Segebad, however, following other editors, explains (*Vergil als Seefahrer* (1895), 10) that the wind is so directly from the stern that the sails are squared, i.e., set at right angles to the keels of the ships (at 5, 16 we have the related expression *obliquat . . . sinus*); cf. Cic. *Ad Att.* 16, 6, 1: *duo sinus fuerunt quos transmitti oporteret, Paestanus et Vibonensis; utrumque pedibus aequis transmisimus*; Catull. 4, 20–21: *sive utrumque Iuppiter / simul secundus incidisset in pedem*; Ov. *Ex Pont.* 2, 6, 9: *recto transire Ceraunia velo*; F. 3, 565: *nancta ralem comitesque fugae pede labitur aequo*. The same explanation is given by Damsté in *Mnemosyne*, 26 (1898), 179–180, who points out that in a hasty flight like this it would not be natural to have all the ships advancing in an even formation.

588. litora, etc.: Schol. Dan.: *potest hysteropteron esse, ut prius sentire debuerit*; but Dido's eyes were probably first attracted by the sails at sea, after which she verified her suspicions by observing that the harbor was deserted.

588. vacuos . . . sine remige: pleonastic; cf. *Il.* 21, 50: *γυμνόν, ἄτερ κόρυθός τε καὶ ἀσπίδος, οὐδ' ἔχεν ἔγχος*; Soph. *O. T.* 57: *ἔρημος ἀνδρῶν μὴ ξυνοκοῦντων ἔσω*; *Ant.* 445: *ἔξω βαρβέας αἰτίας ἐλπίθερον*; *Aias*, 464: *γυμνόν φανέντα τῶν ἀριστέων ἄτερ*; Ov. *M.* 10, 245: *sine coniuge caelebs*; Sil. 10, 582: *vacuum sine corpore nomen*; 16, 623: *vacuum . . . sine pube, sine armis*. The adjective

589. terque quaterque manu pectus percussa decorum
flaventisque abscissa comas, 'pro Iuppiter! ibit

fluentes c. abscissa P, abscisa (corr. in abscissa) γ, abscisa abc. comas abscissa p (abscissa comas p¹). iuppiter γc.

589. terque quaterque: *Anth. Lat. no. 8, 74* (1, p. 37 Riese); *Gl. Affatim* (C. G. L. 4, 574, 10).

590–591. pro . . . inluserit: *Mar. Victor. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 31) — illuserit —. 590–591. pro . . . nostris: *Charis. Inst. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 15). 590–591. pro . . . ait: *Macro. Sat.* 4, 2, 2; 6, 6, 16; [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* 3 (G. L. K. 4, 222); 16 (G. L. K. 4, 258); *Serv. Comm. in Donat.* (G. L. K. 4, 443); [*Serg.*] *Expl. in Donat.* 2 (G. L. K. 4, 535). 590. Iuppiter ibit: *Asper, Gram. Verg.* p. 533 Hagen.

logically applies to *litora* as well as to *portus*. Sil. 2, 420 recalls this phrase: *Aeneadum vacuo iam litore classis*.

588. remige: cf. 5, 116: *velocem Mnestheus agit acri remige Pristim*; *Cir.* 110–111: *hanc urbem . . . / fecerat infestam populator remige Minos*; *Hor. Epod.* 16, 57: *Argo contendit remige pinus*; *Prop.* 3, 12, 34; *Ov. H.* 3, 153: *remige portus . . . intrat*; *M.* 8, 103; etc.

588. portus: for the plural cf. Spitta, *Quaest. Vergil.* (1867), 27.

589. terque quaterque: cf. 12, 155: *terque quaterque manu pectus percussit honestum*; *terque quaterque* begins a verse in G. 2, 399; *Aetna*, 320; *Stat. Silv.* 4, 1, 37; *Dracont. Orest.* 262: *terque quaterque ferit*; *Politian, Rusticus*, 178: *terque quaterque manu, etc.* Latin usage allows *ter aut quater* (G. 1, 410–411), *ter et quater* (*Hor. C.* 1, 31, 13), *ter quaterque* (*Hor. Serm.* 2, 7, 76), or, most frequently, *terque quaterque* (as also in 1, 94; *Tib.* 3, 3, 26; *Vida, Christias*, 3, 664; 3, 932; cf. *Od.* 5, 306: *τρίς μάκαρες Δαναοὶ καὶ τετράκις*; *Timon Phlias.* 101 (*Frag. Philos. Gr.* 1, 93 Mullach); *Dante, Purg.* 7, 2: *tre et quattro volle*). Browne, *Pseudodoxia epidemica* (1646), 4, 12, states that "men will have it" that the phrase means "seven times happy"; but for this explanation I find no evidence. Here the onomatopoeitic alliteration imitates the beating of the breast (cf. 4, 673: *pectora pugnīs*); cf. also *Ov. M.* 1, 179–180: *terrificam capitis concussit terque quaterque / caesariem*; 2, 49–50: *qui terque quaterque / concutiens illustre caput*. In the present line the significant repetitions are of *terque*, *pe*,

and *c*; cf. Gerathewohl, *Alliteration tontrager Silben in die beiden letzten Arsen des Hexameters in Vergils Aeneis* (in *Abhandl. . . W. von Christ . . . dargebracht* (1891)), 155–175.

589. pectus percussa: cf. 4, 673, n. (*pectora pugnīs*); 7, 503: *palms percussa lacertos*.

590. flaventis . . . comas: cf. Gell. 2, 26, 12: *sic flaventes comae et . . . frondes olearum* (*Aen.* 5, 309) a *Virgilio flavae dicuntur*. A note on the blond type in antiquity is here in place. In Egypt, in the age of the pyramids, Hetepheres, daughter of Cheops, furnishes a rare example (cf. *Illustr. London News*, 9 July, 1927, 69). Homer (cf. *Valentine in Cl. Weekly*, 25 (1931), 52) ascribes light hair to Achilles (*Il.* 1, 197; 23, 141; cf. *Pind. Nem.* 3, 43; *Hyg. Fab.* 96; *Epictet.* 2, 24, 24), Menelaus (*Il.* 3, 284; *Od.* 1, 285; 3, 326; 4, 30; etc.; cf. *Hes. Frag.* 93, 7; 94, 24 *Rzach*; *Pind. Nem.* 7, 28; *Eur. I. A.* 175; *Orest.* 1532; *Theocr.* 18, 1; *Tat. Ad Graecos*, 10), Meleager (*Il.* 2, 642), Odysseus (*Od.* 13, 399; 13, 431), and Rhadamanthus (*Od.* 7, 23), while among blondes we find Agamede (*Il.* 11, 740) and Demeter (*Od.* 5, 500; cf. *Frag. Philos. Gr.* 1, 188, no. 56, 2 Mullach; *Virg. G.* 1, 96: *flava Ceres*; *Tib.* 1, 1, 15 (where see Smith's n.); *Ov. Am.* 3, 10, 3; 3, 10, 43; *Claud. De Rapt. Pros.* 1, 138). Zeus (*Il.* 1, 528) and Poseidon (*Od.* 3, 6; 9, 528; 9, 536), on the other hand, are dark-haired; cf. *Seymour, Life in the Homeric Age* (1908), 177. *Hesiod* (*Frag.* 110, 5 *Rzach*) describes Ioleia as fair-haired (cf. *Callim. Epigr.* 7, 3), and also Ariadne (*Theog.* 947),

591. hic, ait, 'et nostris inluserit advena regnis'

hinc dett.

[590*] 591. hic . . . regnis: *Charis. Inst. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 1, 13). 591. hic . . . nostris: *Mar. Victor. Art. gram.* 1 (G. L. K. 6, 36). 591. et . . . regnis: *Macrob. Sat.* 4, 3, 7 — illuserit —; *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 479) — illuserit —.

while in drama we find this characteristic of Apollo (Eur. *Troad.* 254; *Suppl.* 975; cf. *Pind. Ol.* 6, 41; 7, 32; etc.; Bacchyl. 4, 2; *Apoll. Rh.* 2, 676-677; *Ov. Am.* 1, 15, 35; *Plut. De Is. et Os.* 71; *Cornut. N. D.* 32; *Athen.* 13, 81; 15, 50; *Himer. Or.* 13, 7; *Claud. Carm. min.* 27, 55; *Coluth.* 25; *Anth. Pal.* 6, 264, 2; *Pap. Gr. mag.* 1 (1928), 40, 207; 96, 696; 132, 1957 *Preisendanz*; cf. *Schredelseker, De Superstitionibus Graecorum quae ad Crines pertinent* (1913), 16-22), *Dionysus* (Eur. *Bacch.* 235; *Cycl.* 75; cf. *Anth. Pal.* 9, 524), *Eros* (Eur. *I. A.* 548; cf. *Anacr.* 15, 27), *Hippolytus* (Eur. *Hipp.* 1343), *Parthenopaeus* (Eur. *Phoen.* 1159), *Medea's sons* (Eur. *Med.* 1141), *Artemis* (Eur. *Hipp.* 82; cf. *Anacr.* 1, 2), *Phaedra* (Eur. *Hipp.* 133-134; 220), *Helen* (Eur. *Hel.* 1224; cf. *Sapph. Frag.* 44, 5 *Edmonds*; *Ibyc.* 67, 5; *Dracont. Rom.* 8, 520), *Iphigenia* (Eur. *I. A.* 681; 1366; *I. T.* 51-52; 174), *Cassandra* (Eur. *I. A.* 758), *Harmonia* (Eur. *Med.* 832; cf. *Callim. Frag.* 2, 2), and *Creusa*, wife of *Jason* (Eur. *Med.* 980). Others so described are *Hymenaeus* (*App. Planud.* 177, 3), *Jason* (*Apoll. Rh.* 1, 1084; 3, 1018; *Ov. H.* 12, 11), *Hylas* (*Theocr.* 13, 36; *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 2, 436, 34), *Polynices* (*Anon. Theb.* 2, 1, in *Homer*, ed. *Allen*, 5 (1912), 113), *Athena* (*Pind. Nem.* 10, 7; *Bacchyl.* 5, 92; *Ov. Am.* 1, 1, 7; *M.* 2, 749; 8, 275), *Thetis* (*Heliod. Aeth.* 3, 2; *Anth. Pal.* 9, 485, 1; 9, 485, 14), *Aphrodite* (*Ibyc.* 67, 9; *Anth. Pal.* 9, 605, 1), *Persephone* (*Anth. Pal.* 7, 507 B, 2; *Claud. De Rapt. Pros.* 3, 86-87), *Semele* (*Anth. Pal.* 3, 1, 2), *Doris* (*Anth. Pal.* 5, 230, 1), *Medea* (*Apoll. Rh.* 3, 829), *Galatea* (*Athen.* 13, 17), *Eury-pyle* (*Athen.* 12, 46), *Briseis* (*Bacchyl.* 12, 136-137), *Atalanta* (*Ael. V. H.* 13, 1), *Megalostrate* (*Alcm.* 130, 5), *Perimeda* (*Theocr.* 2, 16), the *Graces* (*Pind. Nem.* 5, 54), and various characters in the novelists

(*Xen. Eph.* 1, 2; 3, 3; *Apul. M.* 2, 9; 3, 17; 5, 22; 10, 30; *Longus*, 1, 17; 2, 4; *Achill. Tat.* 5, 13, 2) and erotic writers (*Pichon, De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 150). Cf. also *Bächtold-Stäubli in Hoffmann-Krayer, Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 3 (1931), 1252 (on blonde heroines); *Gauger in Tübing. Beitr. z. Altertumswiss.* 16 (1932), 19.

Among historic characters may be mentioned *Aspasia* (*Ael. V. H.* 2, 1), *Alexander the Great* (*Ael. V. H.* 12, 14; *Jul. Val. Orlus Alex.* 1, 7), *Ptolemy Philadelphus* (*Theocr.* 17, 103), *Sulla* (*Plut. Sulla*, 6, 7), *Augustus* (*Suet. Aug.* 79: *capillum . . . sub flavum*), *Nero* (*Suet. Nero*, 51), *Verus* (*Jul. Capit. Ver.* 10, 7), *Constantius Gallus* (*Amm. Marc.* 14, 11, 28), and *Valentinian* (*Amm. Marc.* 30, 9, 6), while to the blond races of the north we have many references (e.g., *Strab.* 4, 5, 2; *Vitruv.* 6, 1, 3-4; *Manil.* 4, 715; *Sen. Dial.* 5, 26; *Luc.* 1, 402; *Plin. N. H.* 2, 189; *Tac. Ann.* 2, 9; *Agr.* 11; *Mart.* 6, 60, 3; *Calp. Fl.* 2; *Amm. Marc.* 31, 2, 21; *Hier. Ep.* 107, 2, 3; *Auson. Bissula*, 26; *Claud. De IV Cons. Hon.* 54; 446-447; *Fescennina*, 4, 15; *De Rapt. Pros.* 2, 65; *De Cons. Stil.* 3, 18-19; *De Bell. Goth.* 419; *Carm. min.* 25, 127; *Sidon. Carm.* 5, 220; 7, 42; *Procop.* 7, 14, 27; *Isid. Etym.* 9, 2, 65; *Fehrle in Schweiz. Arch. f. Volkskunde*, 26 (1926), 234).

Virgil himself several times notes fair hair; e.g., *G.* 1, 96 (*Ceres*); 4, 339 (*Lycorias*); 4, 352 (*Arethusa*); *Aen.* 4, 559 (*Mercury*); 4, 698 (*Dido*); 11, 642-643 (*Herminius*); elsewhere he refers to the blond type of beauty (*Ecl.* 2, 16; 5, 56-57; 7, 38). Such references are frequent in other Latin authors; e.g., *Catull.* 35, 8; 64, 63; 64, 98; 68, 130; *Hor. C.* 1, 5, 4; 3, 9, 19; 4, 4, 4; *Tib.* 1, 5, 44; *Ov. Am.* 1, 1, 29; 1, 14, 9-12; 2, 4, 39-44; *H.* 5, 122; 18, 135; 19, 57; 20, 57;

M. 6, 118; 6, 130; 9, 307; *Tr.* 1, 10, 1; *F.* 2, 763; 5, 609; 6, 652; *Calpurn.* 6, 15; *Petron.* 110, 5; 133, 3; *Sen. Oed.* 420; *Dial.* 4, 19, 5; *Plin. N. H.* 37, 50; *Stat. Theb.* 4, 314-315; 5, 220; 5, 269; 6, 607; 8, 491; *Mart.* 5, 68, 2; *Sil.* 1, 438; 9, 414-415; *Juv.* 6, 354; *Auson. Ep.* 14, 44-45; *Dares*, 12-13 (several references to Homeric heroes, including the statement (12): *Aeneas rufum, quadratum, facundum, affabilem, fortem, cum consilio, pium, venustum, oculis hilaribus et nigris*); *Claud. De Nupt. Hon.* 242; *De Cons. Stil.* 3, 249; *Dracont. Rom.* 8, 576; *Maximianus*, 1, 93; *Marianus, Luperc.* 1 (*Frag. Poet. Rom.* 384 *Baehrens*); *Anon. in Frag. Poet. Rom.* 395, no. 79; *Anth. Lat.* no. 866, 1 (2, p. 316 *Riese*). Allusions to dark hair, which are not infrequent from *Homer* onward, I shall not here consider.

The idealization of light hair led to the use of artificial means of attaining it (contrary to *Matt.* 5, 36); e.g., *Menand. ap. Clem. Paedag.* 3, 2; *Cato ap. Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 698; *Dion. Hal.* 7, 9; *Val. Max.* 2, 1, 5; *Plut. De Am.* 25; *Dioscur.* 1, 95; 1, 100, 3; 1, 117; *De Simplic.* 1, 92; *Ael. V. H.* 9, 9; *Poll.* 2, 3, 35; *Clem. Strom.* 1, 16 (who says *Medea* invented the custom); *Paedag.* 2, 8; 3, 3; 3, 11; *Tert. De Cult. Fem.* 2, 6; *Athen.* 12, 60; *Seren. Samm.* 52-53; *Cypr. De Hab. Virg.* 16; *Lamprid. Comm.* 17, 3; *Basil. Ep.* 2; *Hier. Ep.* 107, 5, 1; *Mart. Cap.* 6, 696; *Paul. Nol. Carm.* 25, 64; and *Philostr. Vit. Apoll.* 8, 7, 6, speaks of dandies with yellow locks. Certain waters, especially the river *Crathis*, were thought to cause light hair in those who drank them (*Arist. De mirab. Ausc.* 169; *Strab.* 6, 1, 13; *Ov. M.* 15, 315-316; *Vib. Seq. (Geogr. Lat. min.* 147)).

Such names as *Flavius* and *Rufus* also testify to the existence of light-haired persons in Italy, but in ascribing light hair to the Phoenician *Dido* Virgil is doubtless not attempting ethnological exactness, any more than *Callimachus* in speaking (*Hymn.* 2, 86) of *ξανθοῖσι Λιβύσσαις*. *Günther (Rassenkunde des deutschen Volkes* (1923), 303, n. 1) observes that *Tasso* in the *Gerusalemme liberata* makes the *Aethiopian Chlorinda* a blonde. Despite the objection of a German commentator (see *Myers, Cl. Essays* (1883), 111)

that a widow's hair should be dark, not auburn, *Dido's* fair hair became a requirement of feminine beauty in the Cinquecento (cf. *Zabughin, Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital.* 2 (1923), 337, n. 143). The phrase *candida Dido* (5, 571), I am inclined, despite *Ogle* (in *Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 269, n. 1), to refer to the complexion (cf. *Ecl.* 2, 16; 5, 56; 7, 38).

Among recent discussions of this subject cf. *Eitrem, Opferritus u. Voropfer. d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 194-195; *Gordon in Journ. of Rom. Stud.* 14 (1924), 96; *Gomme, in Cl. Rev.* 39 (1925), 22, who thinks the notion of tall, fair-haired northerners, who became aristocrats in Greece among the short, dark Aegeans, is a superstition; *Scott, in Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 366-367, who finds in *Homer* no dark-haired Greek or light-haired Trojan, while the three great gods, *Zeus*, *Hera*, and *Poseidon*, had dark hair (which would be remarkable if the Achaeans had prided themselves on light hair); *id.*, in *Cl. Journ.* 24 (1929), 374-375, with instances of Greek blondes; *Ogle, in Cl. Weekly*, 23 (1929), 28-30, who discusses the blond complexion of *Aeneas* (1, 589-593), and contends that dark races naturally prefer dark beauty, blond races blond complexions, and that the blond type in European literature is a survival from the blond ancestors of the Greeks, whom *Homer* calls *ξανθοί*; *Brouzas, in Proc. Am. philol. Assoc.* 61 (1930), xxvi-xxvii, who reviews the opinions of scholars from *Scaliger* on, finding two groups: "because the Greeks admired blond hair (a) they were themselves blond, (b) they were themselves dark. But the principle that like attracts like must be accepted, at least for the Greeks of the earlier time"; *Kober in Cl. Weekly*, 27 (1934), 189. On the general problem cf. also *Ripley, Races of Europe* (1899), 58-77; 393-394; *Ridgeway, Early Age of Greece* (1901-1931), *passim*; *Dana, Ritual Significance of Yellow among the Romans* (1919), 22.

590. *abscissa*: cf. 5, 685: *umeris abscindere vestem*; 9, 478: *scissa comam*; *Il.* 22, 77-78: *πολιάς δ' ἄρ' ἀνὰ τρίχας ἔλκετο χερσὶ / τίλλων ἐκ κεφαλῆς*; 22, 406: *τίλλε κόμην*; *Soph. Aias*, 633: *πολιάς ἀμύγμα χαίτας*; *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 27-28: *χερσὶ τε μακρὸν ῥηξαμένην*

592. non arma expedient totaque ex urbe sequentur,
diripientque rates alii navalibus? ite,

diripient π.

592. non . . . sequentur: *Quintil. Inst.* 9, 2, 11 — expediunt B —; *Aug. C. D.* 16, 6.
593–594. alii . . . remos: *Charis. Inst. gram.* 4 (G. L. K. 1, 283) — citi f. d. t. i. r. —;
Diomed. Art. gram. 2 (G. L. K. 1, 448) — citi ferrum BM, cum eptex A; inpellite —; *Prisc.*
Inst. 17, 9 (G. L. K. 3, 113) — citi corr. ex cite R; ferrum (ferrum flammis Mm) —; *Sacerd.*
Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 6, 456) — nauali ite B —. 593–594. ite . . . remos: *Donat. Ars*
gram. 3 (G. L. K. 4, 399) — ferte ceti S; date uela P —; *Pomp. Comm.* (G. L. K. 5, 264) —
inpellite (inpellete A); remus (corr. in remos) A —; *id.*, G. L. K. 5, 304 — inpellite —; *Iulian.*
Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris, 5, 41; *Beda, De Schem. et Trop. S. Script.* (1533 ed.), p. 79. 593–
594. ite ferte tela: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 592 — ite om. FM —. 593. diripientque . . . ite: *Schol.*
Lucan. 3, 182 — om. U —. 593. navalibus: *Gl. Ansil.* 385, 152; q.v.

πλόκαμον; Acc. 672 Ribbeck: *scindens dolore identidem intonsam comam* (and Cicero's comment in *Tusc.* 3, 62); *Sen. Phaedr.* 1182: *laceraeque frontis accipe abscisam comam*; *Apul. M.* 2, 27: *canitiem revellens senex*; *Chariton*, 2, 7; 2, 8; 3, 10; *Auson. Epitaph.* 3, 3; 1 *Esdras*, 8, 71; etc. The participle is almost present in force, and Conington (*ad loc.*) compares G. 1, 293: *solata laborem*.

590. pro Iuppiter: cf. *Enn. Sc.* 187; *Ter. Andr.* 732; *Eun.* 550; *Adelph.* 111; 196; 366.

590. ibit, etc.: on the development of Dido's anger cf. Heinze, *Virgil's epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 136–137; also the complaints of the deserted Ariadne (*Catull.* 64, 132–201) and Scylla (*Ov. M.* 8, 108–142).

591. ait: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*).

591. nostris: for the plural cf. 4, 612; 4, 625; 4, 659–662; Conway, *New Studies of a great Inheritance* (1921), 14, n. 2.

591. inluserit: cf. 4, 534, and n. (*inrisa*); *Eur. Med.* 1049–1050: *βοίλομαι γέλωτ' ὀφλεῖν / ἐχθροῖς μεθείσα τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀζημίους*; 1362: *λύει δ' ἄλγος, ἦν σὺ μὴ ᾔγγελος*; *Hērpp.* 729–730: *ἴν' εἰδῆ μὴ π' τοῖς ἐμοῖς κακοῖς / ἰψήλως εἶναι*; *I. T.* 502: *ἀνώνυμοι θανόντες οὐ γελῶμεθ' ἄν*. On the tense Servius says: *'ibit et inludet'*; *tempus pro tempore*. This is, as Ley (*Vergil. Quaest.* 1 (1877), 21) recognizes, logically nearly equivalent to *ibit cum inluserit*; for such uses of the future perfect cf. 2, 581–582: *occiderit ferro Priamus, Troia arserit igni*, / *Dardanium totiens sudarit sanguine litus*; 9, 783–785; Heinze, *op. cit.*, 49, n. o.

591. advena: in 12, 261 Tolumnius calls Aeneas an *improbis advena*; and in *Ov. M.* 3, 561 Pentheus applies the same reproach — an unfavorable synonym, as Conington (*ad loc.*) observes, for *hospes* — to Bacchus, as in *Claud. De Rapt. Pros.* 2, 222 Pallas uses it of Dis. The word commonly has a bad connotation; cf. *Ecl.* 9, 2; also the many instances in *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 1 (1900), 828, 15–829, 30; this is part of the almost universal prejudice in favor of the indigenous residents of a country and against newcomers. Yet it should be noted that Dido has herself but newly arrived; in fact *Sil.* 4, 765 calls her *advena Dido*. While, however, Dido is thus inconsistent in her indignant use of the term Virgil is psychologically true to life in representing her as so employing it, and the juxtaposition of *advena* and *regnis* suggests the impotent unimportance attached to the one contrasted with the power and dignity of the other.

592. non, etc.: cf. *Dem. De Cherson.* 80: *“εἰπέ μοι, βουλευέσθε,”* ἔφη, *“Θηβαίους ἔχοντες ἐν νήσῳ, τί χρήσεσθε καὶ τί δεῖ ποιεῖν; οὐκ ἐμπλήσετε τὴν θάλατταν, ὡς ἄνδρες Ἀθηναῖοι, τρήρων; οὐκ ἀναστάντες ἤδη πορεύσεσθε εἰς τὸν Πειραιᾶ; οὐ καθέλετε τὰς ναῦς;* Why did not Dido carry out these threats of revenge? Probably, thinks Terzaghi (*Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 27–34), because Virgil was confronted with two fixed traditions, hard to reconcile, of Dido's suicide and the safe arrival of Aeneas in Italy. It may also be noted that her present mood is one of fury rather than of calm consideration; cf. *Serv.*:

594. ferte citi flammis, date tela, impellite remos!
quid loquor, aut ubi sum? quae mentem insania mutat?

fert te P (ferte P¹). cyti (ti *add. sup.*) π. flammis aliter ferrum γ (cf. 9, 37). date uela *Menag. prior.* inpellite M, impellite Pabc, incendite (*i.e.*, intendite) p.

[593*] 594. ferte . . . remos: *Prisc. Inst.* 17, 171 (G. L. K. 3, 196) — fertae (corr. in ferte) Rr; citi (corr. ex . . . ti) R; date (corr. ex dete) D; uelo RO; inpellite O —; *Hrab. Maur. Exc. de Art. Prisc.* (*Patr. Lat.* 111, 649). 594. ferte . . . flammis: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 384 — citi (corr. ex cite) N —; 4, 567 — f. c. f. T —. 594. date tela: *Sacerd. Art. gram.* 3 (G. L. K. 6, 530; q.v.); *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 595; *Gl. Ansil.* 161, 156. 594. impellite remos: *Gl. Ansil.* 291, 82.

595. quid . . . sum: *Quintil. Inst.* 9, 3, 25 — loquar AGMS —; *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 158 (1, p. 67 *Riese*). 595. quid loquor: *Gl. Ansil.* 479, 49. 595. quae . . . mutat: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 592; *Cento Probae*, 575 — quae tanta (corr. in quae mentem) π —.

furantis haec verba sunt, ut ipsa paulo post (4, 595) *'quae mentem insania mutat'*? *nam haec a sana non procedunt, ut imperet absentibus, ut* (4, 593–594) *'ite ferte tela,' cum sola sit.*

592. arma expedient: cf. 1, 177–178: *Cerealiaque arma / expediunt*; 4, 594: *date tela*. The subjects of *expedient* and *sequentur* in the haste of her anger she fails to specify, but the general meaning is clear and the impression produced very accurate psychologically.

592. totaque ex urbe: = 4, 401.

593. diripient: cf. 1, 211: *tergora diripiunt costis*; 3, 266–267: *litore funem / diripere*; 4, 566, n. (*trabibus*). The arguments of Klouček (*Vergiliana* (1883), 15–16) against the genuineness of this line have little weight, nor can I accept the reasons adduced for emending *diripient* of the MSS to *deripient* (cf. Wagner, *Lect. Vergil. Libellus* (1859), 37–39).

593. alii: for a single *alii* in place of the usual correlation *alii . . . alii* cf. 5, 102; *Caes. B. G.* 1, 8, 4 (cf. *B. C.* 3, 110, 5 in cod. D); *Liv.* 3, 37, 8; *Tac. Ann.* 1, 63, 7. Another punctuation (in M, Diomedes, Charisius, Priscian) is: *rates. alii navalibus ite*, etc. But *navalibus* seems better connected with *diripient*, in the notion of separation.

593. navalibus: probably = *νεωσοίκους*, or sheds used for the permanent accommodation of ships, or during a long stay; cf. *Segebade, Vergil als Seefahrer* (1895), 8.

593. ite: cf. *Anecd. Helvet.* p. 81 Hagen: *ite citi et reliqua*. As noted by Rondoni (*ad*

loc.), the end of a sentence after the fifth foot of a hexameter is rare in Latin but here seems appropriate to the excited language of Dido.

594. ferte, etc.: cf. 9, 37: *ferite citi ferrum, date tela, et scandite muros*; 12, 425: *arma citi properate viro*; *Il.* 15, 718: *οἴσεται πῦρ, ἅμα δ' αὐτοὶ ἀολλέες ὄρνυτ' αὐτήν*; *Sil.* 1, 568: *ite citi, remis velisque impellite puppim*; *Vida, Poet.* 3, 392: *ferite citi flammis, date tela, repellite pestem*. With the thought cf. 4, 567, and (as Servius suggests), 4, 384. With the rapid effect produced by asyndeton La Cerda (*ad loc.*) compares *Ar. Plud.* 255: *ἵτ' ἐγκοιῖτε σπεύδεθ', ὡς ὁ καιρὸς οὐχὶ μέλλειν*; *Prop.* 3, 4, 7: *ite agite, expertae bello date lintea prorae*; note also *Eur. Phoen.* 521–522: *πρὸς ταῦτ' ἵτω μὲν πῦρ, ἵτω δὲ φάσγανον, / ζεύγνυσθε δ' ἵππους, πρὸς πῖμπλαθ' ἀρμάτων, κτλ.*

594. date tela: cf. 4, 47, n. (*surgere regna*). Repetition of *t* often gives the effect of sputtering rage; e.g., *Soph. O. T.* 371: *τυφλὸς τὰ τ' ὤτα τὸν τε νοῦν τὰ τ' ὄμματ' εἰ* (and parallels in Jebb's n.); *Enn. Ann.* 109: *o Tite tute Tati tibi tanta tyrannus tulisti*.

594. impellite remos: the first command given to rowers after they were seated on the rowing benches; cf. *Segebade, op. cit.*, 8. Elsewhere rowers are spoken of as impelling the ship by means of oars (e.g., 5, 119–120; *Sil. l. c.*) or striking the sea itself (*G.* 1, 254: *remis impellere marmor*).

595. quid loquor: cf. *Ecl.* 6, 74: *quid loquor, aut, etc.*; and for such addresses to one's self cf. *Aen.* 4, 534: *en quid ago*; 4, 541,

596. infelix Dido, nunc te facta impia tangunt?

nun P (nunc P¹). facta (c erasa) a, fata dell.

596-597. infelix . . . dabas: *Prisc. Inst.* 8, 101 (G. L. K. 2, 449) — facta (corr. in fata) H, fata R; tunc —; cf. Alberic, *Flor. rhet.* (Willard in *Anniv. Essays* . . . by Students of C. H. Haskins (1929), 363). 596. infelix . . . tangunt: *Comm. Einsidlense in Donat. (Anecd. Helvet. 202)*. 596. nunc . . . tangunt: *Prob. Inst. Art.* (G. L. K. 4, 154) — facta RB, fata r; num te —; *Cledon. Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 67) — num te —; *Anth. Lat. no. 13, 20* (1, p. 48 Riese) — fata —; cf. *Dracont. Romul.* 8, 57: impia fata. 596. facta impia: *Gl. Ansil.* 232, 181.

n. (perdita). La Cerda (*ad loc.*) well compares Eur. *Hipp.* 239-241: δύστηνος ἐγώ, τί ποτ' εἰργασάμην; / ποῖ παρεπλάγχθην γυνῆς ἀγαθῆς; / ἐμάνην, ἔπεσον δαίμονος ἄτη; *Alc.* 863-864: ποῖ βῶ; ποῖ στῶ; τί λέγω; τί δὲ μή; / πῶς ἂν δόλομαι; Note also Hor. C. 3, 27, 57-58: vilis Europe, pater urget absens. / quid mori cessas, etc.

595. ubi sum: Serv.: numquid in coetu sum? Cf. Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 16, 64, 8: ma dove son? che parlo?

595. quae mentem, etc.: cf. *Ecl.* 2, 69 (= 6, 47): quae te dementia cepit; *Aen.* 12, 37: quo referor totiens, quae mentem insaniam mutat; *Stat. Theb.* 5, 624: quae mentem insaniam traxit; Maphaeus Vegius, *Aen.* 13, 166-167: quae tanta insaniam mentem / implicuit. On insaniam cf. Pichon, *De Sermone amatorio* (1902), 172-173.

596. infelix Dido: cf. 1, 749; 4, 68, n. (infelix); 6, 456; etc. On the sad effect of the spondaic rhythm cf. Maxa in *Wiener Stud.* 19 (1897), 99.

596. nunc, etc.: cf. *Ter. Andr.* 882-885: hem, modone id demum sensi, Pamphile? / olim istuc, olim, quom ita animum induxti tuom, / quod cuperes aliquo pacto efficiendum tibi, / eodem die istuc verbum vere in te accidit; Vida, *Christias*, 5, 50-51: nunc te tangunt scelera impia, Iuda / infelix; tunc debueras, tunc ista decebant. Cf. *Eur. Med.* 800-802: ἡμάρτανον τόθ' ἦνικ' ἐξελεμπανον / δόμους πατρῶους, ἀνδρὸς Ἑλλήνος λόγους / πεισθεῖς; *Hipp.* 1072-1073: τότε στενάξεν καὶ προγινώσκειν σ' ἐχρῆν / ὅτ' ἐς πατρώων ἀλοχον ὑβρίζεν ἔτλης; Metastasio, *Temist.* 3, 7: quando ordisti il reo disegno / era il tempo di tremar.

596. facta impia: Dido has already (4, 496) called Aeneas impius; in 4, 597-599

she is about to sneer at that piety towards gods and parent which she feels to be quite out of keeping with his treatment of her (cf. Terzaghi, *Virgilio ed Enea* (1928), 122, n. 46; *Ov. H.* 7, 129-130: pone deos et quae tangendo sacra profanas! / non bene caelestis impia dextra colit; also Catull. 30, 4: nec facta impia fallacum hominum caelicolis placent; cf. the impia facta of *Lucr.* 1, 83; also *Tib.* 3, 6, 42: ingrati referens impia facta viri (i.e., of Theseus, the abandoner of Ariadne)), and many editors accordingly ascribe these facta impia to Aeneas. Yet, as Henry (*op. cit.*, 2, 812-813) and others observe, Aeneas's sole act of impietas was his present desertion of Dido, by which she could not have been in any way affected at the time she gave him a share in her sceptre (understanding with tum decuit the words facilis impiis tangi). Hence, Henry concludes, the facta impia are Dido's acts of disloyalty to her vow to Sychaeus; cf. 4, 24-29; 4, 322; 4, 547; 4, 552 (at 4, 315 she had already recognized her own guilt; cf. Ogle in *Cl. Journ.* 20 (1925), 262); and Henry further compares *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 412-413: ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον ἀάσθην / ἀμπλακτῇ, θεῶθεν δὲ κακὰς ἥρυσσα μενοινὰς; *Ov. H.* 9, 145-146: ei mihi! quid feci? quo me furor egit amantem? / impia quid dubitas Deianira mori (cf. 9, 152; 9, 158; 9, 164); *Luc.* 8, 96: cur impia nupsi, etc. Kvíčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 193, n.) and Rébelliau (*De Verg. in inform. mulieb. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 94, n. 2; cf. Stephenson *ad loc.*) combine the two views and find impietas on both sides, in Aeneas's disloyalty to Dido and her disloyalty to Sychaeus. But, while the poet or the reader might have been free to make such a combination, Dido, as the

597. tum decuit, cum sceptrā dabas. en dextra fidesque quem secum patrios aiunt portare penates,

tunc P¹γ. con c. septra p.
aiunt M (aiiunt M⁷). portasse M, portarese p. penatis P (penates P²).

[596*] 597. tum . . . fidesque: *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 545 — dabas e. d. f. q. (uid. Wessneri *adn. crit.*) —. 597. tum . . . dabas: *Prob. Inst. Art.* (G. L. K. 4, 154) — docuit B —; *Cledon. Ars* (G. L. K. 5, 67). 597. cum . . . dabas: *Gl. Ansil.* 156, 133. 597. dextra fidesque: *Gl. Ansil.* 170, 1356.

context shows, is making no attempt to divide the guilt between two offenders; her feeling is either bitter blame of Aeneas or remorseful self-reproach (probably the latter), but not both at once. Rébelliau finds in her a keener sense of the disgrace which she, a queen, has brought upon herself, than of any sinful act which she as a widow has committed.

596. tangunt: cf. *Eur. Hipp.* 310: θιγγάνει σθέν τῶδε; *Ov. H.* 7, 11-12: nec te crescentia tangunt / moenia nec sceptro tradita summa tuo; *Aetna*, 643: nec sanctos iuvenes attingunt sordida fata. In these cases the verb of touching means 'come home to' one; slightly different is the notion in 1, 462: mentem mortalia tangunt; 12, 57: tangit honos animum; *Ov. H.* 8, 15: at tu, cura mei si te pia tangit, Oresle.

597. tum decuit: cf. 10, 94: tum decuit metuuisse tuis; *Liv.* 30, 44, 7: tunc flesse decuit cum adempta sunt nobis arma; *Claud. In Eutrop.* 2, 10: tunc decuit sentire nefas. Note the alliteration of d and t and the repetition of -ira (sceptrā, dextra).

597. sceptrā dabas: cf. 1, 572-573: voltis et his mecum pariter considerare regnis; / urbem quam statuo vestra est; 4, 214: dominum Aenean in regna recepit; 4, 374: regni demens in parte locavi; *Ov. H.* 7, 12: sceptro tradita summa tuo. For the plural sceptrā = 'dominion,' cf. 1, 57; 1, 78; 1, 253; 3, 296; 7, 173; 7, 369; 7, 422; 9, 9; 9, 267; 10, 852; 11, 238; *Sil.* 1, 44; *Braumüller, Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 7; 12; also the phraseology of *Claud. De Bell. Gild.* 1, 97: qui irabeas et sceptrā dabat.

597. en, etc.: the copula is often omitted in exclamatory clauses; e.g., 1, 461: en Priamus; 2, 402; 3, 477; *Winter, De Ellipsi*

Verbi Esse apud Catullum, Vergiliū, etc. (1907), 9.

597. dextra: cf. 4, 307: data dextera quondam; 4, 314: per ego has lacrimas dextramque tuam (and n. on dextram); *Il.* 2, 339-341: πῇ δὴ συνθεσῶμαι τε καὶ ὄρκια βήσεται ἡμῖν; / . . . σπονδαί τ' ἀκρητοὶ καὶ δεξιά, ᾗσ' ἐπέπιθμεν; *Eur. Med.* 21-23; βοᾷ μὲν ὄρκους, ἀνακαλεῖ δὲ δεξιὰς, / πίστιν μεγίστην, καὶ θεοὺς μαρτύρεται / οἷας ἀμοιβῆς ἐξ Ἰάσονος κυρεῖ.

597. fides: cf. 4, 305, n. (per fide).

598. quem: with ellipsis of eius; cf. *Ecl.* 2, 71: aliquid . . . quorum indiget usus; *G.* 1, 104: quid dicam . . . qui, etc.; 1, 111; *Aen.* 1, 601-602; 5, 291-292: hic qui forte velint rapido contendere cursu / invitat pretiis animos; 11, 81: vinxerat et post terga manus, quos mitteret umbris; 11, 172: magna tropaea ferunt, quos dat tua dextera leto; *Freudenberg, Vindic. Virgilian. Specimen* (1845), 18; also *Schol. Dan.* (cf. Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 193): quidam in utroque versu pro 'quem' legunt ('qui'), ut sit velus figura per ellipsin: ubi sunt qui aiunt patrios penates portasse et parentem umeris subiisse? The disjointed syntax is appropriate to Dido's excited state of mind.

598. secum, etc.: cf. 1, 378-379: rapto qui ex hoste penates / classe veho mecum; 2, 717-723; 2, 747-748; *Xen. Cyneg.* 1, 15: Αἰνείας δὲ σώσας μὲν τοὺς πατρῶους καὶ μητρῶους θεοὺς, σώσας δὲ καὶ αὐτὸν τὸν πατέρα, κτλ.; *Varr. ap. Schol. Veron. Aen.* 2, 717; *Diod.* 7, 2, 1: Αἰνείας δὲ τὸν πατέρα, γενηρακότα τελεῖως, ἀράμενος ἐπὶ τοὺς ὤμους ἐξήνεγκεν. ἐφ' ᾧ, θαυμάσθεις ὑπὸ τῶν Ἑλλήνων, ἔλαβεν ἐξουσίαν πάλιν ὁ βούλοιο τῶν οἰκοθεν ἐκλέεσθαι. ἀνελομένου δὲ αὐτοῦ τὰ ἱερὰ τὰ πατρώα, κτλ.; *Tib.* 2, 5, 40: Troica qui profugis sacra

599. quem subiisse umeris confectum aetate parentem!

subisse (*corr. in subiisse*) *b*, subisse *p*. umeras *M*, umeros (*corr. in umeris*) *p*, umero *P*, umeris *M¹P²p¹*, humeris *γa*.

599. quem . . . parentem: *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 425 — subisse *ATC*; subiisse u. c. a. p. (u. c. e. p. *V*), ucar *TC*; humeris confectum aetate parentem *B* — 599. quem . . . aetate: *Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 507)* — humeris — 599. subiisse umeris: *Gl. Ansil.* 542, 154 — humeris — 599. confectum aetate: *Gl. Ansil.* 134, 849.

vehis ratibus; *Ov. M.* 15, 450: *penatigero Aeneae*; *H.* 7, 78–80: *ignibus ereptos obruet unda deos (sc. Penates)*. / *sed neque fers tecum nec, quae mihi, perfide, iactas, / presserunt umeros sacra paterque tuos*; *F.* 1, 527–528: *iam prius Aeneas sacra et, sacra altera, patrem / adferet*; 3, 423–424: *di veteris Troiae, dignissima praeda ferenti, / qua gravis Aeneas tulus ab hoste fuit*; 4, 37–38: *hinc satus Aeneas, pietas spectata per ignes, / sacra patremque umeris, altera sacra, tulit*; 4, 78: *attulit Aeneas in loca nostra deos*; 5, 563: *hinc videt Aeneas oneratum pondere caro*; 6, 434: *seu pius Aeneas eripuisse ferunt*; *Ael. V. H.* 3, 22: *ὁ οὖν Αἰνείας τοὺς πατρώους θεοὺς βαστάσας ἔφερεν, ὑπεριδὼν τῶν ἄλλων*; *Cypr. De Idol. Vanit.* 4: *penates quos Aeneas profugus advexit*; *Aug. C. D.* 10, 16: *effigies deorum penatium, quas de Troia Aeneas fugiens advexit, de loco in locum migrasse referuntur*.

598. *aiunt*: half-incredulous of what she has heard and making no allusion to Aeneas's having told her this (2, 717–723; 2, 747–748); cf. Gercke, *Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 48, who thinks this inconsistency due to the different stages in the construction of the story by the poet. Yet Aeneas claimed (1, 378–379) to be *super aethera notus* for just this thing, and that Dido was familiar before his arrival with many details is clear from 1, 456–493.

598. *portare*: Unterharnscheidt (*De Veturum in Aeneide Coniecturis* (1911), 35) to the contrary, it is easier to explain a corruption of *portare* to *portasse*, through the influence of *subiisse* in the next line, than the reverse change. Further, Aeneas, though no longer carrying Anchises on his back, is still carrying the *penates* with him (cf. 1, 68; 1, 378–379; 6, 68; *Ov. F.* 3, 615), and the

sarcasm is more biting if that is the case. *Serv. Aen.* 4, 597 supports the present (*hic est quem dicunt portare deos*); the Scholia Danielis on 4, 598 (quoted above) the perfect. Note the alliteration: *patrios . . . portare penates*.

598. *penates*: cf. 4, 21, n. (*penates*); *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 1, 378: *sane de diis penatibus licet varias opiniones secutus sit Vergilius, omnes tamen diversis locis complexus est. nam alii, ut Nigidius et Labeo, deos penates Aeneae Neptunum et Apollinem tradunt . . . Varro deos penates quaedam sigilla lignea vel marmorea ab Aenea in Italiam dicit advecta . . . idem Varro hos deos Dardanum ex Samothrace in Phrygiam, de Phrygia Aeneam in Italiam memorat portavisse. alii autem, ut Cassius Hemina, dicunt deos penates ex Samothrace appellatos theos μεγάλους, θεοὺς δυνατοὺς, θεοὺς χρηστούς, etc.* (*Schol. Dan. Aen.* 3, 12); *Serv. Aen.* 2, 514: *penates sunt omnes dii qui domi coluntur*. For these deities, whose name is derived, as Cicero (*N. D.* 2, 68) suggests, from *penus*, cf. Klausen, *Aeneas u. d. Penaten*, 2 (1840), 647–663; De Marchi, *Il Culto privato*, 1 (1896), 55–64; Wissowa, *Relig. u. Kult. d. Römer*, 2 ed. (1912), 161–166.

599. *quem*, etc.: note the anaphora. With the thought cf. 2, 707–708: *ergo age, care pater, cervici imponere nostrae; / ipse subibo umeris, nec me labor iste gravabit*; 6, 110–111: *illum ego per flammam et mille sequentia tela / eripui his umeris medioque ex hoste recepi*; *Soph. Frag.* 373, 1–2 Pearson: *νῦν δ' ἐν πύλαισιν Αἰνείας ὁ τῆς θεοῦ / πάρεσ' ἔπ' ὤμων πατέρ' ἔχων*; *Apollod. Epil.* 5, 21: *Αἰνείας δὲ Ἀγχιόνην τὸν πατέρα βαστάσας ἔφυνεν*; *Cass. Hemina, Fr.* 5 Peter: *Aenean patrem suum collo (tulisse mirantibus) que Achivis hanc pietatem redeundi Ilium copiam datam, ac deos penates ligneis sigillis vel*

600. non potui abreptum divellere corpus et undis

apreptum c. *deuellere P^{γ1a}*.

600–601. non . . . spargere: *Donat. in Ter. Andr.* 718 — potuit *ATC*; arreptum *BV*; potui a. d. c. e. u. s. (d. c. i. u. s. *V*, d. o. e. u. s. *TC*, corpus diuellere et undis spargere num socios *B*) —; [*Acro*] in *Hor. C.* 3, 27, 46 — potis *ab*; undis s. —. 600–601. undis spargere: *Gl. Ansil.* 594, 33. 600. non . . . corpus: *Serv. Aen.* 1, 663; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 436; 4, 563 — non tui *F*; *deuellere F* —; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Achill.* 1, 39. 600. non potui: *Gl. Ansil.* 395, 186.

lapideis terrenis quoque Aenean (umeris extulisse); *Ov. H.* 7, 107: *pia sarcina nati*; *Hygin. Fab.* 254 (in a catalogue of the pious): *in Sicilia cum Aetna mons primum ardere coepit Damon matrem suam ex igne rapuit* (cf. *Aetna*, 623–644 and the parallels in Ellis's n. on line 623). *item Pythia patrem, Aeneas item in Ilio Anchisem patrem humeris et Ascanium filium ex incendio eripuit*; *App. B. C.* 4, 172: *τὸν Αἰνείαν γράφουσιν αἰδέσιμον τοῖς πολεμίοις γενέσθαι φέροντα τὸν πατέρα*; *Suet. Ner.* 39: *quis negat Aeneae magna de stirpe Neronem? / sustulit hic matrem, sustulit ille patrem*; *Quint. Smyrn.* 13, 315–327; *Ambros. Hexaem.* 5, 55: *quis nostrum levare aegrum non fastidiat patrem? quis fessum senem suis humeris imponat, quod in ipsa historia vix credibile habetur? quis, ut pius sit, non hoc servulis mandet obsequium? at vero avibus non est grave quod pietatis est plenum, etc.*; *Orac. Sibyll.* 11, 148–150: *βαστάζων ὤμοισιν ἐὼν πρέσβυν γενετῆρα, / νῦν δ' ἐν παλάμῃ κατέχων μόνον, εὐσεβὲς ἔργον / ῥέξει*; *Shakesp. Jul. Caes. Act* 1, Sc. 2: “as Aeneas our great ancestor / Did from the flames of Troy upon his shoulder / The old Anchises bear.” For representations in art of Aeneas carrying his father, who bears the images of the gods or an aedicula containing them, cf. Wörner in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1884), 184–186; Rossbach in *P.-W.* 1 (1894), 1017–1018; Valmaggia in *Riv. di Filol.* 25 (1897), 22–23; Bellessort, *Virgile* (1924), 150 (who connects Virgil's account with a statue in the Forum of Augustus; cf. *id.*, in Goelzer and Bellessort's ed. of *Aen.* I–VI, introd., xii); Gastinel in *Rev. arch.* 23 (1926), 40–102 (who argues, somewhat unconvincingly, that an altar found on the Byrsa at Carthage in 1916, representing this

scene (cf. also Taylor, *Divinity of the Roman Emperor* (1931), 170, fig. 32), is older than Virgil's account); cf. *Intr.*, p. 29. For persons rescued on the backs of others cf. Grey on Butler, *Hudibras*, Part 1, Canto 1, p. 33, n.

599. *subiisse umeris*: cf. 2, 708: *ipse subibo umeris*; 12, 899: *vix illud lecti bis sex cervice subirent*.

599. *confectum*: cf. 11, 85: *aevo confectus Acoetes*; *Catull.* 68, 119–120: *nam nec tam carum confecto aetate parenti / una caput seri nata nepotis alit*; *Sall. Iug.* 9, 4: *morbo atque aetate confectus*; *Ov. M.* 6, 37: *longa . . . confecta senecta*; *Andrelinus, Bucol.* 4, 109: *confectum aetate parentem*.

600. *non potui*, etc.: Dido reproaches herself for not having taken vengeance upon Aeneas (not before his offence, but immediately after its discovery; cf. Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 195, n.), in the manner of Greek tragedy, as Medea in the slaying of Apsyrtus, Agave upon Pentheus, Procne upon Tereus, or Atreus upon Thyestes (cf. Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exilu* (1910), 58). But the thought, rather than the inhuman execution, is all that Virgil (or the tradition which he follows) permits to Dido; cf. Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 125, n. 2. We find an imitation of this passage in *Anth. Lat.* no. 83, 91–96 (1, p. 117 Riese): *poteram dispergere ponto / membra manusque tuas . . . / . . . poteram crescentis Iuli / rumpere fata manu parvumque resolvere corpus / morte gravi mersumque in viscera figere ferrum / vel dare membra feris*; etc. Cf. *Schol. Dan.*: *hoc est, non mihi subvenit; nam cur non poterat in regno? Conington's second explanation (“that I should not have had the heart”; cf. *potui* in 7, 309) seems less probable. A*

601. spargere? non socios, non ipsum absumere ferro
Ascanium patriisque epulandum ponere mensis?

(as)canium P. patris. (s. m. 2 corr. ex i, ut uid.; postea corr. in patriis) γ.

[600*] 601. absumere ferro: *Gl. Ansil.* 19, 452.

602. patriisque . . . mensis: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 5, 120 — patriisque L —.

question introduced by *non* is easily paralleled in Virgil (e.g., *Ecl.* 3, 17; *Aen.* 2, 596; 4, 565).

600. *divellere*: cf. *G.* 4, 522: *discerptum lalos iuvenem sparsere per agros*; *Aen.* 1, 70: *aut age diversos et dissice corpora ponto*; 3, 605: *spargite me in fluctus vastoque immergite ponto*; 4, 427: *nec patris Anchisae cinerem manesve revelli*; *Ov. M.* 4, 112: *nostrum divellite corpus*; 13, 865: *viscera viva traham, divulsaque membra per agros*; *Tr.* 3, 9, 27–28: *ita divellit divulsaque membra per agros / dissipat*. For the story of Apsyrtus, which perhaps suggested this passage, cf. *Cic. Pro Leg. Manil.* 22; Roscher and Seeliger in *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1884), 3–4; Wernicke in *P.-W.* 1 (1896), 285. Or we may compare the rending of Pentheus by Agave (Roscher in *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1884), 100; Knaack in *P.-W.* 1 (1896), 765–766). Cf. the motif appearing in the punishment of Mettius Fufetius (*Liv.* 1, 28, 9–10), also in that of Tupac Amaru in Peru (Ybarra, *Bolívar* (1929), 30). Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 814) compares Shakesp. *Othello*, Act 3, Sc. 3: "I'll tear her all to pieces."

601. *spargere*: in addition to the passages already cited cf. *Luc.* 5, 684: *invitis spargenda dabas tua membra procellis*.

601. *absumere ferro*: cf. 9, 494: *me primam absumite ferro*; *Liv.* 5, 7, 3: *ferro ignique absumpti sunt*; 22, 39, 14; 23, 19, 17; 30, 6, 6; 30, 6, 9; *Suet. Claud.* 21: *an omnis igni ferroque absumeret*; *Oros.* 5, 3, 6: *ferro flammisque consumpta*. The combination of fire and sword (*ferro . . . faces*) is too general to need further illustration; yet cf. 4, 626: *face Dardanio ferroque sequere colonos*; 7, 692; Wölflin in *Sitzb. d. k. bayr. Akad.* 2 (1881), 55 (= *Ausgewählte Schriften* (1933), 259); Kunz, *Realien in Vergils Aeneis*, 1 (1894), 2, n. 3; Buscaroli on *Aen.* 4, 626.

602. *Ascanium*: Dido might have as-

sailed Aeneas at the most vulnerable point, his affection for Ascanius (cf. 1, 646: *omnis in Ascanio cari stat cura parentis*; 4, 354–355; 4, 616: *complexu avolsus Iuli* (and n. on *complexu*)), on whom depended the continuance of his family, much as Medea took revenge upon Jason by killing his children.

602. *patriis . . . mensis*: the objections of Klouček (*Vergiliana* (1883), 16–19) that this phrase should properly apply to a table at which Aeneas is host, not guest, that the whole conception is aesthetically out of keeping in Virgil, and that some interpolator has here completed an unfinished line, are unconvincing. Incidentally the proverbial *cena Thyestae* (Otto, *Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 348, n.) was one at which Thyestes was not the host but the eater of the unnatural flesh (see below); cf. also Licent. ap. *Aug. Ep.* 26: *ante Thyesteis iterum male territa mensis* — a close parallel to *patriis . . . mensis* here.

The motif of a parent eating or serving up to others the flesh of his own children recurs several times in Greek literature, starting with instances among the gods themselves (cf. Origen, *Cont. Cels.* 4, 48), and including the swallowing of his own children by Cronus (Mayer in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 2 (1897), 1538–1542; Pohlenz in *P.-W.* 11 (1922), 1991), often rationalistically explained (e.g., *Cic. N. D.* 2, 64, and Mayor's n.), Zeus swallowing Metis (Weizsäcker in Roscher, *op. cit.*, 2 (1897), 2941; [Clem.] *Homil.* 4, 16; 5, 23–24; 6, 2; Theophil. *Ad Autol.* 3, 3), the serving up to Zeus of Nyctimus by his father Lycaon (Wagner in Roscher, *op. cit.*, 3 (1897), 498–499; Schmidt in *P.-W.* 13 (1927), 2249–2250; Mythogr. Vat. I, 17), Pelops served by his father Tantalus to the gods (Bloch in Roscher, *op. cit.*, 3 (1897), 1870–1871; to which add: [Clem.] *Homil.* 5, 24; Tatian, *Ad Graec.* 25; Mythogr. Vat.

603. verum anceps pugnae fuerat fortuna. fuisset:
quem metui moritura? faces in castra tulissem

Versum 603 add. m. rec. in π. (u)erum P. pugna b¹.

603. verum . . . fuisset: *Donat. in Ter. Phorm.* 159; [Iul. Rufin.] *De Schem. Dianoeas*, 4, p. 61 *Halm.*

604–606. *faces . . . dedissem*: *Prisc. Inst.* 18, 98 (*G. L. K.* 3, 252) — impleissemq. *floros* (*corr. in impleissemque foros*) *D*; *flamis MD*; *generem RP*; *extin. xem N*, *extrinxissem P*, *extinxissem ML*; *meme P*; *supra VRPMDL* — 604. *quem metui*: *Gl. Ansil.* 477, 42.

II, 102; III, 6, 21), the flesh of the children of Thyestes served to their father by his brother Atreus (Furtwängler in Roscher, *op. cit.*, 1 (1884), 714; Escher in *P.-W.* 1 (1896), 2142; Ilberg in Roscher, *op. cit.*, 5 (1924), 913; Owen on *Ov. Tr.* 2, 391, who cites several tragedies on this theme; Frazer on *Apolod. Epil.* 2, 13, to whose citations add: *Aesch. Agam.* 1096–1097; 1219–1220; 1512; *Soph. Aias*, 1291–1294; *Eur. Orest.* 15; 1008; *Acc. ap. Cic. N. D.* 3, 68 and *Tusc.* 4, 77; *Sen. Agam.* 26–27; *Luc. De Merc. Cond.* 41; *De Sacrific.* 5; *Opp. Cynege.* 3, 250; *Athenag. De Resurrect. Mort.* 4; *Theophil. Ad Autol.* 3, 15; *Licent. ap. Aug. Ep.* 26; *Sidon. Carm.* 9, 110–113; 23, 277–280; *Paroemiogr. Gr.* 1, 41, no. 34; 1, 201–202, no. 42; 2, 314, no. 15), the serving up by Procne of the flesh of Itys (or Itylus) to his father Tereus (*Ecl.* 6, 78–79; *Serv.* on our line: *quod fecit Procne occiso Ity filio propter stuprum sororis*; Roscher, *op. cit.*, 2 (1890), 572; Pearson on *Soph. Tereus* (to whose citations add: *Plaut. Rud.* 508–509; *Paus.* 10, 4, 8; *Theophil. Ad Autol.* 3, 15; *Schol. Dan.* and *Prob. Ecl.* 6, 78; *Prob. G.* 4, 15)). *Tosi, Vergiliana* (1929), 4, would derive Virgil's allusion from the *Tereus* of Accius; cf. also Shakesp. *Titus Andron.* Act 5, Sc. 3; Goethe, *Faust*, 4057–4058.

Historic instances were that of Astyages cooking the child of Harpagus and serving it to him (*Hdt.* 1, 119; *Theophil. Ad Autol.* 3, 5, wrongly ascribes this act to Cambyses), and the case of the cruel Thracian king Zibelmis (*Diod.* 34, 12: γονέων ἐν ὀμῶσι καὶ κόλποις ἐγκατέσφαζε τέκνα, καὶ κρεατομῶν τὰ σώματα παρειδίει τοῖς συγγενεστάτοις, ἀνανεούμενος τὰς παλαιὰς ἐκείνας Τηρέως ἢ Θυέστου θανάς), while in sieges the

defenders were sometimes driven to devour their own children (e.g., *Val. Max.* 7, 6, Ext. 2–3; *Petron.* 141, 11). On the subject in general cf. *Empedocles* in *Diels, Frag. d. Vorsokratiker*, 1, 2 ed. (1906), 213–214, no. 137; *Isocr. Panathen.* 122; *Firm. Mat. De Errone*, 6, 3; *Hier. Adv. Iovin.* 1, 48. Dreams of this cannibalistic act were ill-omened (*Artemid. Onirocr.* 1, 70). For the anthropological aspects of the subject cf. *Frazer* on *Ov. F.* 2, 627, and works there cited. Our line is imitated by *Molsa, Eleg. ad Henricum Reg.* 139: *et patriis artus sparsos apponere mensis*.

603. *anceps . . . fortuna*: cf. *Vell. Pat.* 2, 79, 4: *dubia et interdum ancipiti fortuna*; *Luc.* 4, 390: *fortuna . . . successibus anceps*; *Stat. Theb.* 6, 474: *hic anceps fortuna diu*; *Suet. Caes.* 36: *prosperrime semper ac ne ancipiti quidem umquam fortuna . . . dimicavit*; also various cases in which *anceps* modifies *proelium* or *pugna*. The numbers of Trojans and Carthaginians may not have been pictured by Virgil as very unequal, though the number of ships with which Dido had emigrated (1, 362–363) is not stated.

603. *fuerat*: for the vivid indicative instead of the subjunctive cf. *G.* 2, 132–133; *Aen.* 2, 54–55: *si mens non laeva fuisset, / impulerat*; 6, 358–359: *tuta tenebam / ni, etc.*; *Hor. C.* 2, 17, 28–29: *sustulerat, nisi Faunus ictum / dextra levasset*; 3, 16, 3–6. As Nettleship (in Conington's ed., *ad loc.*) suggests, the change of mood makes possible a sharper contrast with the following *fuisset*.

603. *fortuna. fuisset*: cf. the verse-ending of 9, 41, and note the triple alliteration with *f*. On the syntax of *fuisset* in hypothetical cases cf. *Thomas in Cl. Rev.* 12 (1898), 459.

604. *quem, etc.*: cf. *Stat. Theb.* 5, 623:

605. *implessemque foros flammis natumque patremque
cum genere exstinxem, memet super ipsa dedissem.*

(i)nplessem P, implesem γ. foras (corr. in foros) p.
extinxem P, extinsem π.

[604*] 605-606. *natumque . . . dedissem: Serv. Aen. 4, 508 — extinxm H, extinxsem M —*
605-606. *natumque . . . exstinxem: Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 5, 128 — extingnam L —*
605. *implessemque . . . flammis: Cledon. Ars (G. L. K. 5, 39). 605. natumque patremque:*
Cento Probae, 493 — patrique corr. in patremque π —; Gl. Ansil. 384, 130.

[604*, 605*] 606. *cum . . . dedissem: Prisc. Inst. 10, 11 (G. L. K. 2, 504) — generem B;*
extinxem; ipsam B —. 606. cum . . . exstinxem: Comm. Cruq. in Hor. S. 1, 9, 72 —
extinxem —. 606. cum genere: Gl. Ansil. 156, 131; Gl. Aa, 208, 1046. 606. memet . . .
dedissem: Sacerd. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 6, 446). 606. dedissem: Gl. Ansil. 164, 270; q.v.

quid enim timeam moritura fateri? Also 4,
308, n. (nec, etc.); 4, 415; 12, 602.

604. *faces:* cf. Apoll. Rh. 4, 391-393:
ἴετο δ' ἦγε / νῆα καταφλέξει, διὰ τ' ἔμπεδα
πάντα κεάσσαι, / ἐν δὲ πεσείν αὐτὴ μαλερῶ πυρὶ
(*memet super ipsa dedissem*). Guillemin
(*L'Originalité de Virgile* (1931), 113) finds
here a veiled allusion to some Carthaginian
custom of burning the ships of foreigners who
came to their shores; cf. 1, 525: *prohibe
infandos a navibus ignes*. She compares
Caes. B. C. 3, 112, 3, for such customs in the
island of Pharos; doubtless more modern in-
stances might easily be found of professional
wreckers. With the phraseology cf. Sil. 117,
266: *cum ferrem in Capitolia flammis*.

604. *castra:* Serv.: *classes, ut* (3, 519)
'*nos castra movemus*' (where the Scholia
Danielis remark: *modo tamen classem signi-
ficat, quia et castra nautica dicuntur*). Virgil
perhaps here thinks of a stockade around the
ships drawn up on the shore; cf. 5, 669; Acc.
126 Ribbeck: *aut navis uram aut castra
mactabo in mare*; Prop. 2, 8, 31-32: *viderat
ille fugas, tractos in litore Achivos, / fervere
et Heclorea Dorica castra face*; Ov. H. 6, 52:
hospita feminea pelleret castra manu; Thes.
Ling. Lat. 3 (1906), 548, 77-82; also the oc-
casional use of *στρατοπέδον* (e.g., Hdt. 8, 94;
Thuc. 1, 117).

605. *implessem:* cf. Sil. 7, 488-489: *tum
litus Elissae / implebit flammis*; 14, 423-424:
*intrat diffusos pestis Vulcania passim / atque
implet dispersa foros*. Nettleship (in Coning-
ton's ed., ad loc.) thinks the short forms *im-
plessem* and *extinxem* are appropriate to
Dido's excited mood.

605. *foros:* cf. 6, 412; Serv.: *tabulata
navium, ab eo quod incessus ferant; et est
generis masculini, numeri tantum pluralis;*
also Cic. De Sen. 17: *alii per foros cursant*;
Paul. ex Fest. p. 84 M. (p. 74 Lindsay): *locus
in navi, sed cum masculini generis est et
plurale*; Tac. H. 2, 35; Gell. 16, 19, 14:
stansque in summae puppis foro; Cledon.
p. 1895 P. (G. L. K. 5, 39): *foros generis
masculini dicimus, locum tabulatum navis . . .
fora autem, ubi deambulamus, neutro appella-
mus*; Isid. Etym. 19, 2, 2: *fori navium latera
concava, a ferendo onere dicta; sive tabulata
navium quae sternuntur, dicta ab eo quod in-
cessus ferant vel foris emineant*; Torr, Anc.
Ships (1895), 58, n. o. Note the alliterations:
f., f.; -at-mque, -at-mque. The phrase suggests,
though with different meaning, G. 4, 250:
complebuntque foros.

605. *natumque patremque:* cf. 6, 116:
gnatique patrisque; 10, 525 (= 11, 178):
gnatoque patrique; Marouzeau in Rev. de
Philol. 47 (1923), 70; also 4, 83, n. (*audilque
videtque*).

606. *cum genere:* Schol. Dan.: *utrum
omne genus, an morte Aeneae et Ascanii,
quoniam illis extinctis interitura gens omnis
esset*. Probably the former explanation is
correct both here and in 4, 622, where the
genus omne futurum (i.e., the Roman people)
is added to the *stirps* of Aeneas himself. The
whole line (reading *generem*) is repeated by
Ermenricus Elwangensis, Ep. ad Grimal-
dum (Mon. Germ. hist., Epist., 5, 553).

606. *exstinxem:* in 4, 682 Virgil uses the
sigmatic form *exstincti*; for many other such
(chiefly poetical) cases cf. Wotke in Wiener

607. *Sol, qui terrarum flammis opera omnia lustras,*

607. *Sol . . . lustras: Anth. Lat. no. 18, 1 (1, p. 79 Riese) — lustrat —. 607. Sol . . .
terrarum: Diomed. Art. gram. 2 (G. L. K. 1, 427).*

*Stud. 8 (1886), 146; Kühner-Holzweissig,
Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr. 1, 2 ed. (1912), 786-
788. This figurative use of exstinguere is
frequent (e.g., Ecl. 5, 20); cf. σβέννυμι, as in
Anth. Pal. 7, 20, 1: ἐσβέσθης, γηραιὸς Σοφό-
κλεος. On the sibilants in this line cf. Knight
in Cl. Weekly, 26 (1933), 203, n. 28, who com-
pares 2, 585-587.*

606. *memet:* cf. 3, 623; 5, 650; 6, 505;
7, 309; Kühner-Holzweissig, op. cit., 1, 2 ed.,
584-585.

606. *super ipsa:* cf. 10, 893 (= 12, 301):
super ipse secutus; Sen. H. O. 349: *Iolen
dum supra exanimem ruam*.

606. *dedissem:* cf. 2, 566: (*corpora*)
ignibus aegra dedere; also, for *se dare* = *prae-
cipitem ferri*, G. 4, 528; Aen. 9, 815-816; Ter.
Andr. 606; etc.

607. *Sol:* the sun is apparently just
rising; cf. 4, 585, n. (*linquens*). Since Dido
has not in person taken vengeance upon the
Trojans and their leader she appeals to the
divine powers to be her champions; cf.
Kvčala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis (1881),
196. For references to the witness of the all-
seeing sun (as during the night to the stars
(cf. 4, 519, n. (*conscia fati*); 9, 403; also 4,
451, n. (*taedet, etc.*), above)) see II. 3, 277:
Ἡελίος θ', ὅς πάντ' ἐφορᾷς καὶ πάντ' ἐπακούεις
(cf. Od. 11, 109; 12, 323); II. 19, 258-259:
*ἴστω νῦν Ζεὺς πρῶτα . . . / Γῆ τε καὶ Ἡέλιος
καὶ Ἑρινύες, κτλ.; Hymn. Cer. 69-70: ἀλλὰ
σὺ γὰρ δὴ πᾶσαν ἐπὶ χθόνα καὶ κατὰ πόντον /
αἰθέρος ἐκ δίης καταδέρκεαι ἀκτινεῖσι*; Aesch.
Suppl. 213: *καλοῦμεν αὐγάς ἡλίου σωτηρίους*;
Prom. V. 91: *καὶ τὸν πανόπτην κύκλον ἡλίου
καλῶ* (and Adams in Cl. Philol. 28 (1933),
97-103); Agam. 632-633: *οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδεὶς
ὥστ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι τορῶς, / πλὴν τοῦ τρέφοντος
Ἡλίου χθονὸς φύσιν*; 1323-1324: *ἡλίου δ'
ἐπένοχομαι / πρὸς ὕστατον φῶς†*; Choeph. 993-
994: *ὁ πάντ' ἐποπτεύων τάδε / Ἥλιος*; Frag.
192, 5 Sidgwick: *ὁ παντόπτας Ἥλιος*; Soph.
O. T. 660-661: *οὐ τὸν πάντων θεῶν θεὸν πρό-
μον / Ἄλιον*; O. C. 860-870: *ὁ πάντα λείσσω
Ἥλιος δόϊν βίον / τοιοῦτον οἶον κάμει γηράναι*

*πότε; Aias, 845-846: σὺ δ', ὦ τὸν αἰπὸν οὐ-
ρανὸν διφρηλατῶν / Ἥλιε, κτλ.; El. 86: ὦ
φάος ἀγνόν, κτλ.; 825-826: ποῦ φαίεω /
Ἄλιος, εἰ ταῦτ' ἐφορῶντες κρύπτουσιν ἔκηλοι*;
Trach. 94-96: *ὃν αἰόλα νύξ ἐναριζόμενα /
τίκτει κατευνάξει τε φλογιζόμενον / Ἄλιον*;
Ἄλιον αἰτῶ; 101: εἴπ' ὦ κρατιστεύων κατ'
ἄμμα; Frag. 535 Pearson; 582: *Ἥλιε, φίλιπ-
ποις Ὀρῆϊ πρέσβιστον σέλας*; 752; Eur. Alc.
244: *Ἄλιε καὶ φάος ἡμέρας, κτλ.; Med. 746:*
δμνυ πέδον Γῆς, πατέρα θ' ἥλιον, κτλ.; 752:
δμνυ Γαῖαν (Ἥλιον θ' ἀγνόν σέβας); 764:
ὦ Ζεῦ Δίκη τε Ζηρὸς Ἥλιον τε φῶς; 1251-1252:
ἰὼ Γᾶ τε καὶ παμφαῆς / ἀκτὶς Ἀελίου, κατῖδεν
ἴδετε, κτλ.; Hipp. 601: ὦ γαῖα μήτηρ ἡλίου
τ' ἀναπτυχαί; Suppl. 260-262: θεοὺς τε καὶ
γῆν τήν τε πυρφόρον θεῶν / Δήμητρα θέμεναι
μάρτυρ' ἡλίου τε φῶς, / ὥς οὐδὲν ἡμῖν ἥρκεσαν
λιταὶ θεῶν; Herc. 858: Ἥλιον μαρτυρόμεσθα;
Phoen. 1-3 (cf. Acc. 581-582 Ribbeck);
Frag. ap. Athen. 2, 61 b: ὦ τὸν ἀγῆρατον
πόλον αἰθέρος, Ἥλιε, τέμνων, / ἄρ' εἶδες τοιόνδ'
δμματα πρόσθε πάθος; Theodectes ap. Stob.
Ecl. 3, 10, 8, 1-4: *ὦ καλλιφύγγη λαμπάδ'*
εἰλίσσων φλογὸς / Ἥλιε, . . . / εἶδες τιν'
ἄλλον πῶποτ' εἰς οὗτω μέγαν / ἐλθόντ' ἀγῶνα,
κτλ.; Aeschin. Cont. Ctes. 260: ὦ γῆ καὶ ἥλιε
καὶ ἀρετὴ καὶ σύνεσις καὶ παιδεία; Apoll. Rh.
4, 228-230: *αὐτὰρ ἀναξ ἄτρη πολυμήμονι χεῖρας*
ἄειρας / Ἥλιον καὶ Ζῆνα κακῶν ἐπιμάρτυρας
ἔργων / κέκλετο; 4, 1019: *ἴστω δ' ἱερὸν φάος*
Ἥελιοι; [Orph.] Hymn. 8, 1 (to Helios):
κλύθι, μάκαρ, πανδερκέες ἔχων αἰώνιον δμνα;
Lilthica, 707: τρεῖς μὲν ἐπικλήξεν πανδερκέος
ἡελίοιο; Enn. Sc. 280 Vahlen: *Sol, qui can-
dentem in caelo sublimat facem*; 284-286:
Iuppiter, tuque adeo, summe Sol, quis res
omnis (s)picis, / quique tuo (cum) lumine
mare terram caelum confines, / inspicie hoc
facinus, prius quam f(at) prohibess(is)
scelus; Cic. Rep. 6, 9: *grates . . . tibi ago,*
summe Sol, etc.; Virg. Aen. 12, 176: *esto*
nunc Sol testis et haec mihi Terra precanti; G.
1, 463-468; Ov. M. 1, 768-769; 4, 238; Sen.
Med. 28-29: *spectat hoc nostri sator / Sol*
generis, et spectatur; H. O. 1022: *testor*

608. tuque harum interpres curarum et conscia Iuno,

arum (*corr. in harum*) γ, arum c. conscia (*corr. in conscia*) γ.

608. tuque . . . Iuno: *Non. p.* 328 *M.* (p. 516 *L.*) — tuque harum *L ex corr., ut uid., tuquearum L, tuque earum A^o (non B), tuque mearum B^a —.*

nitentis flammeam Phoebi rotam; Tac. *Ann.* 13, 55; Chariton, 6, 1: Ἥλιος, προπάτωρ σός, ἐξείλε σοι τοῦτο τὸ ζῶον, κάλλιστον ὦν αὐτὸς ἐφορᾷ; Kaibel, *Epigrammata Gr.* no. 160, 1-2; ἥλιος καὶ γαῖα καὶ οὐρανὸς (εἰρὴς ἔσονται) / μάρτυρες, κτλ.; no. 1039, 7: ἥλιος ὁρᾷ σε λαμπρός, δὲ τὰ πάντα ὁρᾷ; Artemid. *Oniocr.* 2, 70, calls Apollo θεὸν ἐπόπτην καὶ φύλακα πάντων; Tac. *Ann.* 15, 74; Apul. *M.* 2, 28; 3, 7: *Solis et Iustitiae testatus oculum;* Julian, *Ep.* 38: ἴστω μέγας Ἥλιος; Porphyr. *De Abstinent.* 2, 26: ἀνήλισκον τὴν θυσίαν θάπτον, ἵνα τοῦ δεινοῦ μηδ' ὁ πανόπτης γένοιτο θεατής; Heliod. *Aethiop.* 4, 8: ἐπικεκλήσθω μάρτυς ὁ γενεάρχης ἡμῶν Ἥλιος; 8, 9; 10, 11; Quint. Smyrn. 13, 229: ἡελίου φάος πανδερκέος; Nonn. *Dionys.* 17, 285-287: μάρτυρας ἔλκω / ἡέλιον, καὶ γαῖαν ἀτέρμωνα, καὶ θεὸν Ἰνδῶν, / ἀγνὸν ὕδωρ; Claud. *Panegy. Prob. et Olybr.* 1: *Sol, qui flammigeris mundum complexus habetis,* etc.; *Anth. Pal.* 7, 237, 1-2: οὐρεά μεν καὶ πόντον ὑπὲρ τύμβοιο χάρασσε, / καὶ μέσον ἀμφοτέρων μάρτυρα Λητοῖδην; *Arpend. Planud.* 303, 3-4: πανδερκέος . . . αἰγλῆς / Ἥελιον; Preisigke, *Sammelbuch Gr. Urkunden aus Ägypten*, 1 (1915), no. 4127, 18: ἡλιον τὸν παντεπόπτην δεσπότην; Zonar. 7, 6: θεοὺς τε ὁμογυῖους ἀνεκαλοῦντο καὶ συνεχῶς ἀνέβλεπον πρὸς τὸν ἥλιον; *Evang. Nicodemī*, 3; 9; 12; other cases in Bruchmann, *Epitheta Deorum* (1893), 147; also, above, 4, 25, n. (vel pater omnipotens); Tylor, *Prim. Culture*, 1, 4 ed. (1903), 290; Rapp in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1887), 2020; Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exiliu* (1910), 54, n. 5; Jessen in *P.-W.* 8 (1913), 59; Cumont in *Mem. della pontif. Acc. Rom. di Arch.* 1, 1 (1923), 65-80 ("Il Sole Vindice dei Delitti ed il Simbolo della Mani alzati," with very full collections, pp. 73-80, drawn from Aramaic, Latin, and Greek inscriptions, and some additional literary ones); Cook, *Zeus*, 2 (1925), 729-730; Nock in *Journ. of Egypt. Arch.* 11 (1925), 134, n. 1; Frazer, *The Wor-*

ship of Nature, 1 (1926), 463; 465; Pease in *Cl. Journ.* 22 (1927), 648, n. 18; Wagener (in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 62 (1931), 78-100, especially 82, and 89-91, where he notes the tendency when feeling becomes intense to apostrophize natural powers); Nock in *Harv. Theol. Rev.* 27 (1934), 62, line 18; 67, line 18. Elsewhere the sun is called *omniuiens* (e.g., Val. Fl. 5, 248; Apul. *De Mundo*, 29); its description as the eye of the heaven (or of Zeus) also occurs; cf. Macrobi. *Sat.* 1, 21, 13: *solem Iovis oculum appellat antiquitas*; Cumont, *op. cit.*, 65, n. 4 and works there cited. Appeals to objects representing the four elements are not infrequent (cf. 4, 166, n. (Tellus); Serv. *Aen.* 1, 58; Philo, *In Faust.* 123; *Papyr. Gr. magicae*, 1 (1928), 96, 715 Preisendanz; Lünzner, *Ueber Personificationen in Vergils Gedichten* (1876), 22), man himself being formed of, and therefore akin to, these elements (e.g., Plat. *Phaedo*, p. 86 b; *Papyr. Gr. magicae*, 1, 112, 1181-1182). Servius remarks: *et bene invocato Solem, cui supra* (4, 58) *per numen Liberi sacrificavit*; cf. also Frazer, *op. cit.*, 325-327.

The increasingly serious attitude of Dido toward divine powers since 4, 379 may be noticed, as well as the use by Virgil of the motif of the lover's curse, which is a characteristic of erotic poetry (cf. Eur. *Med.* 20-23; Catull. 64, 188-201; Hendrickson in *Am. Journ. of Philol.* 46 (1925), 101-113; Mozley, translation of Ov. *Ars amat.* (1929), 359-372); cf. DeWitt, *The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 43. Pichon's view (*Rev. de Philol.* 33 (1909), 253) that Virgil here follows the tradition of Naevius cannot be proved, any more than Sabbadini's (*Il primitivo Disegno dell' Eneide* (1900), 45, n. 1) that the imprecations (590-629), as inconsistent with the resignation of lines 651-662, are not part of the original plan of the book. Indeed the fluctuations of Dido's moods are one of the most striking and psychologically

609. nocturnisque Hecate triviis ululata per urbes,

haecate *MP* (hecate *M²*), haechate γ, haecaten (n *erasa*) α. triviis α.

609. nocturnisque . . . urbes: *Serv. Ecl.* 3, 26. 609. triviis . . . urbes: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 33 (1, p. 62 *Riese*) — *triviis (corr. ex tribus) A* —; *no.* 17, 298 (1, p. 73 *Riese*) — *furit ululata A; urbem* —. 609. ululata: *Gl. Ansil.* 593, 94; q.v.

true features of the story. Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 439) compares this curse — the high point of the story — with the prophecies of Creusa near the end of Book II (776-795) and of Anchises at the end of Book VI (855-886). Like the prophecy of Celaeno (3, 245-257), this curse is more terrible in anticipation than in its fulfillment, especially as relates to 4, 615-620; cf. Duckworth, *Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil* (1933), 113-114.

609. opera omnia: Heyne (*ad loc.*), followed by Knorr (*Beitr. z. Erkl. einiger Stellen aus Horaz u. Vergil* (1900), 22-24), contends that *opera* = ἔργα, in the sense of 'planted fields,' figuratively standing for 'all fields of the earth.' It is more likely, however, that Dido here refers to the deeds of human beings, seen by the all-searching sight of the sun.

609. lustras: cf. 4, 6, n. (*lustrabat*); Cic. *N. D.* 2, 92: *sol omnia clarissima luce colustrans*; Lucr. 5, 693; 5, 1437; 6, 737: *sol omnia lustrans*; *Aen.* 6, 887: *atque omnia lustrant*; *Anth. Lat. no.* 389, 57 (1, p. 302 *Riese*): *sol cui cuncta licet rapido lustrare calore*; Claud. *De VI Cons. Hon.* 412: (*Phoebus*) *radiis tamen omnia lustrat*.

608. harum: Serv. explains *interpres curarum* as *aut quas patior aut generaliter curarum coniugalium interpres, hoc est, media et conciliatrix*; if the second view be correct, *harum* must mean 'this kind of.' The Scholia Danielis say *alii 'interpres' testis, iudex, arbitra accipiunt. sane 'interpres' quid sit secundum veteres ipse exposuit dicendo 'conscia'; veteres enim interpretem conscium et auctorem dicebant* (citing Plaut. *Curc.* 434; *M. G.* 952).

608. interpres: Page (*ad loc.*) finds in *interpres* two meanings: (1) a person acting as agent between two others and (2) an ex-

plainer of the mysterious, and thinks *Iuno pronuba* brings man and woman together in wedlock and explains its mysteries and troubles (*curae*).

608. curarum: cf. 4, 1, n. (*cura*); 4, 519-521; Roiron, *Étude sur l'Imagination auditive de Virgile* (1908), 52.

608. conscia Iuno: Schol. Dan.: *siluit rem turpem; sic supra* (4, 166) *'et pronuba Iuno.'* *aut invocato Iunonem, cum nuptiae sint quae violatae sunt.* The second seems the correct view; cf. 4, 167, n. (*conscius aether*); 9, 429: *caelum hoc et conscia sidera testor.* For Dido's belief that she was the *coniunx* of Aeneas cf. 4, 172; 4, 431; 4, 496; and nn.

609. nocturnis: cf. 4, 303, n. (*nocturnus*); Schol. Dan.: *sacra enim Hecatae in triviis frequentantur per noctem. ideo autem Hecaten invocato, quasi quae tanti matrimonium fecerit ut sperneret matrem;* [Orph.] *Hymn.* 1, 5, which calls Hecate *νυκτερινή*; Rufin. *De Luminibus*, 5 (*Corp. Script. eccl. Lat.* 46, 114).

609. Hecate: cf. 4, 511, n. (*tergeminam*).

609. triviis: on the worship of Hecate at cross-roads (Theocr. 2, 36: ἡ θεὸς ἐν τριῶδοις; Hesych. s. v. Ἐκάτα) . . . τὰ ἐν τριῶδοις or forks of roads cf. 4, 511, n. (*tergeminam*); also Steuding in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1886), 1890-1891; Farnell in *Cl. Rev.* 2 (1888), 167; De la Ville de Mirmont, *Apollonios de Rhodes et Virgile* (1894), 147, n. 1; Gruppe, *Gr. Myth. u. Rel.* 2 (1906), 1291, and n. 1; Eitrem, *Hermes u. d. Toten* (1909), 11; 40; Heckenbach in *P.-W.* 7 (1912), 2775; MacCulloch in Hastings, *Encycl. of Relig. and Ethics*, 4 (1912), 332-334; Wünsch, in the same volume, 335-336. Hence the epithets *τριοδῖτις* (e.g., [Orph.] *Hymn.* 1, 1; Plut. *De Fac. in Orb. Lun.* 24; Athen. 7, 126; Cornut. *N. D.* 34; Hippol. *Refut.* 4, 35, 2; Steph. Byz. s. v. Τριοδος; *Papyr. Gr. magicae*, 1, 150, 2525; 1, 158, 2728 Preisendanz), *τετραοδῖτις* (*Papyr. Gr. magicae*, 1, 152, 2562; 1, 162, 2819 Frei-

610. et Dirae ultrices et di morientis Elissae,
accipite haec meritumque malis advertite numen

dire γ. de (?) M (di M²), dii Ppγα. elisae γ, elise π.
que (e m. 2 in ras.) γ. auertite (m. 2 corr. in aduertite) π. nomen p.

610. Dirae ultrices: [Acro] in Hor. C. 1, 2, 1-2; Gl. Arma, 14, 77 — dira cultrici —.
610. et di . . . Elissae: Schol. Dan. Aen. 12, 538 — nec di —.

611. accipite . . . numen: Anth. Lat. no. 17, 7 (1, p. 61 Riese). 611. accipite haec: Anth. Lat. no. 16, 13 (1, p. 56 Riese).

sendanz), and Trivia (e.g., Enn. Sc. 121 Vahlen; Catull. 34, 15; 66, 5; Lucr. 1, 84; Virg. Aen. 6, 13; 6, 35; 6, 69; 7, 516; 7, 774; 7, 778; 10, 537; 11, 566; 11, 836; Tib. 1, 5, 16; Prop. 2, 32, 10; Ov. M. 2, 416; Ex Pont. 3, 2, 71; F. 1, 389; Sen. Med. 787; Agam. 382; Oct. 978; Stat. Silv. 3, 1, 56; 3, 1, 68; Val. Fl. 3, 68; 3, 321; 5, 104; Apul. Apol. 31; Carter, Epitheta Deorum (1902), 31), and it was to cross-roads that 'Hecate's suppers' were sent (Halliday in Folk-Lore, 41 (1930), 149-150). Servius describes the lamentations at cross-roads for the lost Proserpina, and the use of such spots for executions and burials (cf. the σχιστή δδός in the Oedipus story; Soph. O. T. 733; Robert, Oidipus, 1 (1915), 80-93) suggests a connection with the underworld and its deities (cf. Eitrem, Hermes u. d. Toten (1909), 11; 40). Hecate is doubtless invoked, not as a goddess of magic who could any longer have an effect over the feelings of Aeneas (cf. 4, 511), but as one able to carry the souls of human beings to the underworld (cf. 4, 654; Penquitt, De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu (1910), 59).

609. ululata: cf. 4, 168, n. (ulularunt); Val. Fl. 3, 453: nec triviis ululare velim; Stat. Theb. 3, 158-159: nulloque ululata dolore / . . . Lucina; Mart. 5, 41, 3: quem sectus ululat matris entheae Gallus; Claud. De Bell. Goth. 233-234: atraque Phoebe / noctibus aerisonas crebris ululata per urbes; Roiron, op. cit., 50-52, who analyzes this line as a combination in Virgil's mind of G. 1, 486 (per noctem resonare lupis ululantibus urbes) and Aen. 4, 168 (ulularunt vertice nymphae). The passive use is noteworthy; cf. Schol. Dan.: 'ululata' autem per 'ululatu quaesita.' et est participium sine verbo, ut

'regnata'; that in Stat. Theb. 1, 238; Silv. 1, 3, 85-86, is hardly parallel, since there, as in Aen. 3, 125 (bacchalam . . . Naxon), the subject of the verb is a place rather than a deity. The word may here refer to human lamentations (cf. Apul. M. 11, 2: nocturnis ululatibus horrenda Proserpina triformi facie, etc.) or to the barking of dogs; cf. 6, 257-258: visaeque canes ululare per umbram / adventante dea (Theocr. 2, 35).

610. Dirae: cf. 4, 473, n. (Dirae), above; Serv.: dirae in caelo, furiae in terris, eumenides apud inferos; unde et tres esse dicuntur. sed haec nomina confundunt poetae. 'ultrix' vero, hoc est, Tisiphone; nam Graece τρις ultio dicitur. Cf. Catull. 64, 192-195: Eumenides . . . / . . . / huc, huc adventate, meas audite querelas, etc.; also Soph. Aias, 835-838.

610. di morientis Elissae: Serv.: aut manes dicit [cf. the common sepulchral Dis manibus] . . . aut certe ἀναπερικὸς dicit, id est, Marlem et Saturnum, qui intercidunt vitae rationem si radiis suis ortum geniturae pul-saverint; Schol. Dan.: quidam hoc . . . secundum eos tradunt qui dicunt habere nos singulos deos nostros, ut (12, 539-540) 'nec di texere Cupencum, / Aenea veniente, sui'; and perhaps cf. Soph. Trach. 910 (of Deianira): ἀπὲρ τὸν αὐτῆς δαίμον' ἀνακαλουμένη. All that Dido here means, however, seems to be "such gods, whoever they may be (cf. 4, 519-521), as are propitious to the dying Elissa"; cf. Penquitt, op. cit., 60. Dido is now morientis, no longer moriturae. With the phrase cf. Castiglione, De Eliz. Gonzaga, 37: miserae morientis Elisae.

610. Elissae: cf. 4, 335, n. (Elissae), above.

611. accipite: cf. 3, 250; 5, 304: accipite

612. et nostras audite preces. si tangere portus
infandum caput ac terris adnare necesse est,

praeces γ. si m. 2 in ras. γ.
hac γ¹. necessest M.

612-620. si . . . harena: Macrob. Sat. 5, 12, 5 — sic P; infantum P; ad bello P; complexu auulsus; regno aut potiatior (potiatior deletum) P —. 612. nostras preces: Gl. Ansil. 395, 233. 612. tangere portus: Gl. Ansil. 552, 171.

[612*] 613. ac . . . est: Serv. Aen. 6, 16 — et terris —. 613. adnare: Gl. Ansil. 29, 475; q.v.

haec animis laetasque advertite mentes; 10, 104. Henry (Aeneidea, 2 (1878), 817) observes that we have here a theme (accipite haec) with two variations (advertite numen and nostras audite preces), just as in 4, 612-614 we find si . . . necesse est with the variations sic fata Iovis poscunt and hic terminus haeret.

611. malis: Serv. (erroneously): quod mali merentur. Malis is rather neuter (as in Ecl. 10, 61; Aen. 4, 169; 6, 365; 11, 480; etc.), and is to be construed both with meritum and with advertite; cf. Bell, The Latin Dual (1923), 299. The attention of avenging gods is merited by Dido's misfortunes; cf. 2, 690: si pietate meremur.

611. advertite: cf. Hor. Epod. 5, 53-54: nunc in hostilis domos / iram atque numen vertite; Ov. Tr. 2, 223: lusibus ut possis advertere numen ineptis; Sen. Thy. 132: advertat placidum numen; Dietsch, Theologum. Vergilian. Particula (1853), 5. The numen of the gods corresponds somewhat to the animus of men; cf. the phrase animadvertere, both of noticing and of punishing.

612. nostras: cf. 8, 574: et patrias audite preces; for the plural cf. 4, 591; 4, 625; 4, 659-662; Conway, New Stud. of a great Inheritance (1921), 14, n. 2.

612. audite: for such appeals cf. Appel, De Romanorum Precationibus (1909), 119.

612. preces: Serv.: inprecationes dicit; nam non sunt preces, ut paulo post (4, 629), 'imprecator arma armis.' These predictions of the dying are regularly fulfilled; cf. Cic. De Div. 1, 63: adpropinquante morte multo est divinius (sc. animus), and my n. on that passage; Schol. Dan. on line 613: quemadmodum Homerus, qui morituros divinantes

frequenter inducit; Keble, Lectures on Poetry, Eng. trans. by Francis, 2 (1912), 379; Heinze, Virgils epische Technik, 3 ed. (1915), 137, n.o. See also the anonymous letter of Dido to Aeneas (Anth. Lat. no. 83, 13 (1, p. 114 Riese)): quae maledicta dedi, miseris circumdata falis. Pascal (ad loc.) compares Dido's imprecations with the defixiones (dirae), of which many have been preserved, usually written on leaden plates (Audollent, Defixionum Tabellae (1904); Wunsch, Antike Fluchtafeln (1912); etc.).

612. si, etc.: based on the curse of Polyphemos (Od. 9, 530-535): δὸς μὴ Ὀδυσσεῖα πτολιπόρθητον οἶκαδ' ἰκέσθαι. / ἄλλ' εἴ οἱ καὶ μοῖρα φίλους τε ἰδεῖν καὶ ἰκέσθαι / οἶκον εὐκτίμενον καὶ ἔην ἐς πατρίδα γαῖαν, / ὥπ' ἐ κακῶς ἔλθοι ὀλέσας ἀπο πάντας ἑταίρους / νηὸς ἐπ' ἀλλοτρίης, εὖροι δ' ἐν πῆματι οἶκω; cf. Val. Fl. 1, 788-815; Tasso, Ger. lib. 16, 58, 7-16, 59, 2: E s' è destin ch' esca del mar, che schivi / Gli scogli e l' onde, e ch' alla pugna arrivi; / Là tra 'l sangue e le morti egro giacente / Mi pagherai le pene, empio guerriero. For the varied expressions here used cf. 4, 611, n. (accipite).

612. tangere: cf. G. 1, 303 (= Prop. 3, 24, 15): portum tetigere carinae; 4, 358-359: limina divom / tangere.

612. portus: Carcopino (Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie (1919), 745) sees in this and other allusions to harbors a suggestion typifying the port at the mouth of the Tiber undertaken by Augustus in Virgil's own time.

613. infandum: cf. 4, 85, n. (infandum); 4, 497, n. (nefandi); Vida, Christias, 2, 882: infandum evasit caput.

613. caput: cf. 4, 354, n. (capitis . . .

614. et sic fata Iovis poscunt, hic terminus haeret:
at bello audacis populi vexatus et armis,

et si dett.

et $M\pi$ (at $M^2\pi^2$), ad p , et b^1 . populi. b .

[612] 614. et . . . haeret: *Non. p. 455 M. (p. 730 L.)*. 614. fata Iovis: *Gl. Ansil. 236, 570*.
614. hic terminus: *Gl. Ansil. 279, 70*. 614. haeret: *Gl. Ansil. 277, 143; q.v.*
[612*] 615. at bello: *Gl. Ansil. 24, 27 — ad —*.

cari); 4, 357, n. (*caput*); 4, 640: *Dardanii . . . capitis*; Schol. Dan.: *etiam in imprecatione nomen eius delectatur* (the opposite of magic rites, in which the victim must be very accurately designated); *Sen. Med. 465: ingratum caput*; Justin, 18, 7, 10: *nefandissimum caput*; also Hdt. 3, 29: ω κακαὶ κεφαλαι; Ar. *Acharn. 285: \omega μιστὰ κεφαλῇ. The periphrasis here subtly suggests the use of the *caput* in imprecations (e.g., *Plin. Ep. 2, 20, 6*).*

613. *adnare*: Schol. Dan.: *verbum familiare naufragio, ut in primo (538) 'huc pauci vestris adnavimus oris,' id est, per tempestatem venimus*; cf. 6, 358. But, as Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) notes, the word may be used in the transferred sense of coming to a place in a boat; e.g., *Cic. Rep. 2, 9*.

614. *fata Iovis*: Schol. Dan.: '*fata dicta, id est, Iovis voluntas; hic ergo participium est, non nomen*; with which we may compare the Homeric $\mu\omicron\iota\rho\alpha$ (or $\alpha\iota\sigma\alpha$) $\theta\epsilon\omicron\upsilon$ (or $\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$); e.g., *Il. 17, 321*; *Solon, 2, 1-2*; or $\Delta\iota\omicron\varsigma$ $\beta\omicron\upsilon\lambda\eta$ (*Il. 1, 5*); also *Eur. Phoen. 1000: ἀνάγκη δαιμόνων*; 1763: $\epsilon\kappa$ $\theta\epsilon\omega\upsilon$ $\alpha\acute{\nu}\alpha\gamma\kappa\alpha\varsigma$. *Fatum* is sometimes identified with the will of Jupiter (*Serv. Aen. 10, 628: vox enim Iovis fatum est*, and he quotes *Stat. Theb. 1, 213: vocem (sc. Iovis) fata secuntur*; cf. *Isid. Etym. 8, 11, 90: fatum autem dicunt esse quidquid dii fantur, quidquid Iuppiter fatum*); sometimes, as by *Posidonius (Doxogr. Gr. 2 ed. (1929), 324)*, Jupiter, fate, and nature are distinguished as important powers; cf. 4, 340, n. (*me si, etc.*); at times — and perhaps generally in the *Aeneid* — fate is supreme and acts through the gods (especially Jupiter) or through men directly. Expressions in Virgil analogous to *fata Iovis* are *fatis Iunonis iniquae* (8, 292) and the broader term *fata deum* (2, 54; 2, 257; 3, 375; 3, 717; 6, 376;

7, 50; 7, 239); cf. *Bougot, De Morum Indole in Virgilii Aeneide* (1876), 128; *Fabricius, De Iove et Fato in . . . Aeneide* (1896), 9; *Otto in P.-W. 6* (1909), 2048; *MacInnes in Cl. Rev. 24* (1910), 169-174 (fates supreme over gods, men, and fortune); *Heinze, Virgil's epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 293, n. 3; *Matthaei in Cl. Quart. 11* (1917), 14-19 (who views Jupiter as an instrument of the fates); *Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 1 (1926), 86. Perhaps it is asking too much of a poet to expect that he define the relations of fate to deity with the precision required of a philosopher. In Dido's remarks there may lurk a sneer at the religiosity of Aeneas and its reward; cf. 4, 14, n. (*fatis*). The divine predestination here described had been recounted by Aeneas at 3, 251-257.

614. *poscunt*: cf. 5, 707: *quae fatorum posceret ordo*; 7, 272: *hunc illum poscere fata (sc. reor)*; 8, 12; 8, 477: *fatis huc te poscentibus adfers*; 8, 512: *quem numina poscunt* (cf. 11, 901); *Petron. 111, 11: antequam fata poscant*.

614. *terminus haeret*: cf. 7, 250: *immobilis haeret* (cf. *Claud. In Eutrop. 2, 292-293; Carm. min. 49 (46), 10*); *Lucr. 1, 77: alte terminus haerens (= 1, 596; 5, 90; 6, 66)*; 2, 1087-1088; *Acc. 481 Ribbeck: veter fatorum terminus sic iusserat*; *Hor. C. S. 25-28*.

615. *at, etc.*: in 1642 or 1643 Charles I, at the suggestion of Lord Falkland, consulted the *Sortes Vergilianae*, at Oxford, and lighted first upon 4, 615-620. Disturbed at this Falkland himself tried, and fell upon 11, 152; cf. *Welwood, Memoirs* (1700), 105-107; *Macray, Annals of the Bodleian*, 2 ed. (1890), 96; *Platt, Byways in the Classics* (1905), 54-55; *Irvine ad loc.*; variant versions of the story are noted by *Loane in Cl. Weekly*, 21

616. finibus extorris, complexu avolsus Iuli
auxilium imploret videatque indigna suorum

complexu $P\gamma$. auolsus (*corr. in auulsus*) *abc*.
implorent M (imploret M^1), inplotet P .

[612*] 616. finibus . . . Iuli: *Non. p. 15 M. (p. 21 L.) — conspectu auulsus —*. 616. finibus extorris: *Arus. Ex. Eloc. (G. L. K. 7, 472)*.
[612] 617. auxilium imploret: *Gl. Aa, 186, 1477 — ploret —*.

(1928), 187. Dido's curse was pretty completely fulfilled (cf. *Conway in Proc. Camb. philol. Soc. 88-90* (1911), 12), yet so as not to endanger the ultimate success of the Trojan race and the family of Aeneas. Conway well suggests (*Proc. of class. Assoc. of Scotland*, 12 (1914), 61-62) that such wars are the result when men of state make human affections the instrument of their designs, and traffic in woman's love.

In a minor way this may be considered one of those places in the narrative in which, by means of prophecy, action outside the framework of the epic itself is foreshadowed, others being 1, 257-296; 6, 756-892; 8, 36-65; 8, 626-731; cf. *Moore in Harv. Stud. in cl. Philol. 32* (1921), 138-142; *Duckworth, Foreshadowing and Suspense in the Epics of Homer, Apollonius, and Vergil* (1933), 34-36. For the assumption of *Lersch* and others that not the death of Turnus but some later point in the life (or even the death) of Aeneas was planned by Virgil as the terminus of the *Aeneid* cf. *Kern, Supplemente z. Aeneis aus d. 15. u. 17. Jahrh.* (1896), 4, and nn. 1-2, with works there cited. For at following a *si*-clause cf. *G. 4, 241*.

615. *bello . . . et armis*: cf. 1, 545: *nec bello maior et armis*; 7, 235: *bello est expertus et armis*; *Sen. Agam. 614: non illa bello victa, non armis*; *Sil. 8, 216: bellum atque arma*.

615. *audacis populi*: *Serv.: Rutulorum, sicut semper inducuntur; alibi (7, 409) 'audacis Rutuli ad muros'*; cf. 9, 3; 9, 126; 10, 276 (all of Turnus); and 9, 519 (of the Rutuli).

615. *vexatus*: contrasted to the peace he himself anticipated; cf. 1, 205-206: *tendimus in Latium, sedes ubi fata quietas /*

ostendunt. The Sibyl (6, 83-97) agrees more closely with Dido's imprecation.

616. *extorris*: *Serv.: extra suas terras remotas, et significat quando Euandri et Tarchonis petivit auxilium* (8, 81-10, 214). The word might here suggest an exile from his native land rather than one absent from a military camp upon a military and political errand.

616. *complexu*: *Schol. Dan.: quia scilicet quam sit carus patri Ascanius*. Dido, not a little of whose tragic isolation lay in her childlessness (cf. 4, 68, n. (*infelix*); 4, 327-330), might naturally be expected in jealousy to assail Aeneas at his most vulnerable point, namely his pious devotion to his son and heir; cf. 1, 646; 4, 354-355; 4, 601-602. For the figurative use of *complexu* cf. 6, 698: *amplexu ne subtrahere nostro*; 8, 568: *non ego nunc dulci amplexu divellerer usquam*; *Catull. 62, 21-22: qui natam possis complexu avellere matris, / complexu matris retinentem avellere natam*; *Cic. Pro Font. 46: de matris hunc complexu . . . avellet atque abstrahet*; *Ambros. Ep. 6, 17: avulsae de complexu patrum filiae*.

617. *indigna*: 'cruel,' or 'undeserved'; cf. *Frank in Am. Journ. of Philol. 34* (1913), 325; 2, 285-286; 6, 163: *indigna morte peremptum*; *Justin, 11, 15, 14: indignam . . . mortem*; *Sil. 13, 387: funera acerba suorum*. If Dido recalled Aeneas's account in 1, 783, she must have known that he had been promised a queenly wife in Italy. She does not, therefore, predict that he will die without issue, which would have run counter to the traditions with which Virgil had to deal. *Suorum*, then, means Trojans or allies (*Serv.: Palantis* (10, 479-509) *dicunt et ceterorum*) rather than members of his family, and the imprecation is by no means a complete parallel

618. funera; nec cum se sub leges pacis iniquae tradiderit, regno aut optata luce fruatur,

traderit γ¹.

[612] 618-619. nec . . . tradiderit: Serv. Aen. 1, 6 — lege BM —.

[612*, 618]

to *devotiones* such as that in the inscription (I. G. A. 497 = Dittenb. *Syllog.* 37; cf. 524, 33) quoted by Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exilu* (1910), 60: κείνον ἀπόλλυσθαι καὶ αὐτὸν καὶ γένος τὸ κέλινον. Yet cf. 4, 622, n. (tum). Trevelyan, *Life and Letters of Lord Macaulay*, ch. 14, describes the impression made upon Macaulay by an inscription which he had seen reading *ultimus suorum moriatur*.

618. nec: for this conjunction with the subjunctive cf. *Ecl.* 2, 34; 8, 89; 10, 46; *Aen.* 10, 32; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 193.

618. sub leges: cf. 4, 231, n. (*sub leges*); 12, 112: *pacis dicere leges*; Nep. *Timoth.* 2; Ov. *H.* 7, 156: *pacis leges*; Liv. 33, 30, 1.

618. iniquae: Serv.: *ut supra* (1, 6) *diximus, propter perditam linguam, habitum, nomen, quae solet victor inponere, sicut in XII postulat Iuno*; 12, 822-825: *component, cum iam leges et foedera iungent, / ne vetus indigenas nomen mutare Latinos / neu Troas fieri iubeas Teucrosque vocari / aut vocem mutare viros aut vertere vestem, etc.*

619. regno . . . fruatur: yet Aeneas was to reign three years in Latium; cf. 1, 265-266: *tertia dum Latio regnantem viderit aetas / ternaque transierint Rutulis hiberna subactis*; in 6, 764, however, he is to be *longaeva* when Lavinia's son Silvius is born; cf. Conington's n. on that line for a discussion of the inconsistencies involved in the tradition. Sainte-Beuve (*Étude sur Virgile* (1857), 207-208) estimates that Aeneas was about thirty at the fall of Troy and not far from thirty-seven at his death, which would thus be premature (*ante diem*) and justifying the tinge of melancholy which Virgil gives to his person.

619. optata: often used of places (e.g., 1, 172; 3, 132; 3, 509; 6, 203; 7, 393; Sen. *Tr.* 1166; Agam. 790; *Thy.* 404), but also of

other nouns; cf. *Cir.* 276: *optatae spes est incisa salutis*; *Cul.* 79-81: *quis magis optato queat esse beator aeo / quam qui mente procul pura sensuque probando / non avidas agnoscit opes nec tristia bello, etc.*; possibly here an *epitheton ornans*, used of that which is desired by all (Kappes-Wörner, *ad loc.*). The phrase *luce fruatur* may perhaps be compared with such a periphrasis as *vescitur aura* (1, 546; 3, 339); the meaning will then be that Aeneas is not to enjoy either royal power or a peaceful life; cf. also 4, 31, n. (*o luce, etc.*); Paul. Petric. *De Vita Mart.* 2, 201: *illi . . . luce fruuntur*.

620. cadat ante diem: as noted by Servius, Dido prays that Aeneas may die untimely and then so dies herself (4, 697: *misera ante diem*). For the phrase *ante diem* cf. 10, 467: *stat sua cuique dies*; Ov. *Ars am.* 3, 739: *ante diem morior*; M. 1, 148: *filius ante diem patrios inquirat in annos*; 6, 675-676: *hic dolor ante diem . . . / Pandiona misit ad umbras*. On the age of Aeneas at death cf. 4, 619, n. (*regno . . . fruatur*), above. The place of his demise is at the Nemic(i)us River, often identified with the Rio Torto south of Lavinium, but by Carcopino (*Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (1919), 480-491) with the Canale dello Stagno entering the sea two miles southeast of the mouth of the Tiber. Serv.: *Cato dicit iuxta Laurolavinium, cum Aeneae socii praedas agerent, proelium commissum, in quo Latinus occisus est, fugit Turnus; et Mezentii auxilio comparato victus quidem est ab Aenea, qui tamen in ipso proelio non comparuit . . . alii dicunt quod victor Aeneas cum sacrificaret super Numicum fluvium lapsus est, et eius nec cadaver inventum est, unde dicitur 'mediaque inhumatus harena.' postea dictus est inter deos receptus* (cf. Serv. *Aen.* 7, 150; 7, 797; Schol. Dan. *Aen.* 1, 259; 12, 794; Schol. Veron. *Aen.* 1, 259). Note also the following:

620. sed cadat ante diem mediaque inhumatus harena.

in media c. que om. 'bona pars codd.' Pierii. arena b, harenae p.

[612] 620. mediaque . . . harena: Serv. *Aen.* 6, 332 — mediatque H —.

Cass. Hem. *Frag.* 7 Peter: *tribusque mox annis cum Latino regnat socia potestate . . . quo defuncto summam biennio adeptus apud Numicum parere desiit anno septimo. patris Indigilis ei nomen datum*; Sisenna, *Frag.* 3 Peter: *iuxtim Numicum flumen obtruncatur* (sc. Aeneas?); Diod. 7, 3, 2: Αἰνείας γὰρ μετὰ τὴν Ἀλωσιν τῆς Τροίας ἐτῶν τριῶν παρελθόντων παρέλαβε τὴν τῶν Λατίνων βασιλείαν, καὶ κατασχὼν τριετὴ χρόνον ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἡφαισθήη καὶ τιμῶν ἔτυχεν ἀθανάτων (cf. App. *Rom.* 1, 1, 1); Liv. 1, 2, 6: *secundum inde proelium Latinis, Aeneae autem ultimum mortaliū operum fuit. silus est, quemcumque eum dicitur fasque est, super Numicum fluvium. Iovem indigitem appellant*; Dion. Hal. 1, 64, 4-5: μάχης δὲ γενομένης καρτερὰς οὐ πρόσω τοῦ Λαουινίου . . . τὸ δὲ Αἰνείου σῶμα φανερόν οὐδαμῇ γενόμενον οἱ μὲν εἰς θεοὺς μεταστῆναι εἰκάζον, οἱ δ' ἐν τῷ ποταμῷ, παρ' ὃν ἡ μάχη ἐγένετο, διαφθαρήναι. καὶ αὐτῷ κατασκευάζουσιν οἱ Λατίνοι ἥρῳον ἐπιγραφῇ τοιᾷδε κοσμούμενον: Πατὴρ θεοῦ χθονίου, ὃς ποταμοῦ Νομικίου ῥέυμα διέπει, κτλ.; Ov. *M.* 14, 581-608; Plin. *N. H.* 3, 56; *Origo Gent. Rom.* 14, 2-4 (a detailed account); C. I. L. I, p. 283 = X, 808 = X, 8348 (Dessau 63): *in (bel)lo Lauren(tin)o non con(pa)ruit appel(latus)q. est Indigens (pa)ter et in deo(rum n)umero relatus*; Schol. Juv. 11, 63: *Aeneas qui in Numicum fontem lapsus creditur consecratus*; Tert. *Ad Nat.* 2, 9: *quid aliud Aeneae gloriosum nisi quod proelio Laurentino nusquam comparuit? rursus forsitan solito more quasi desertor e proelio fugerit*; Aug. *C. D.* 18, 19 (based on Varro): *Aeneas quando mortuus est non comparuit, deum sibi fecerunt Latini*; Mythogr. Vat. I, 202: *mox quum, apud Numicum fluvium deambulans, nusquam comparuisset, in caelum translatus dicitur*; also Orac. Sibyll. 11, 156-157: πέντ' ἐπὶ (καὶ) δεκάτῳ ἔτεϊ ἐπὶ βένθεσιν ἄλμης / ὕδασιν ὀλίμμενος σῆσσει θανάτῳ τελευτήν; Klausen, *Aeneas u. d. Penaten*, 2 (1840), 901-902 and n. 1802; Cauer, *D. röm. Aeneassage* (1886),

166-169; Smith on Tib. 2, 5, 43-44; Pfister, *Reliquienkult im Altertum*, 1 (1909), 143, and n. 511, who suggests that the lack of relics of Aeneas in Latium led to the conjecture that he had been translated at death; Frazer on Ov. *F.* 3, 647. Similar disappearances are noted in the cases of Oedipus (Soph. *O. C.* 1647-1665), Romulus (Liv. 1, 16, 1-4; Aug. *C. D.* 18, 24; Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy* (1926), 121; etc.), Euenus (Dosithe. *Aetol.* 5 in *Frag. Hist. Gr.* 4, 401 Müller), Moses (*Deut.* 34, 6; cf. Valentine in *Cl. Weekly*, 25 (1931), 67 for a comparison of Aeneas and Moses), and others.

620. media, etc.: Cima (in *Riv. di Filol.* 16 (1888), 299-300; *id.*, *Analecta Latina* (1901), 15-16) thinks the second half of this line was added by a corrector influenced by Liv. 1, 2, 6. But the phrase is attested by Servius and open to no sound objection, for it is easy to supply with it a verb like *iaceat* from the preceding context, or, with some editors, to take *ante diem* as equivalent to an adjective (like *immaturus*) parallel to *inhumatus*.

620. inhumatus: the importance of enough dust to furnish at least the ritual requirements for burial is recognized by Virgil (*G.* 4, 86-87; *Aen.* 5, 871: *nudus in ignota, Palinure, iacebis harena*; 6, 325-330; 6, 365-366; 11, 211-212; *Cir.* 442), as by Horace (*C.* 1, 28, 23-26), and in many other stories, such as those of Ajax (Soph. *Aias*, 1064-1065: ἄλλ' ἀμφὶ χλωρόν ψάμαθον ἐκβεβλημένος / ὄρνισι φορβὴ παραλίου γενήσεται), Polynices (Soph. *Ant.*, *passim*), Ariadne (Catull. 64, 153: *neque iniecta tumulabor mortua terra*), and, among historic cases, Pompey (Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 2, 22, to which add Lact. *Inst.* 6, 6, 17). Cf. Plin. *N. H.* 19, 6: *nulla exsecratio sufficit contra inventorem dictum suo loco a nobis, cui satis non fuit hominem in terra mori nisi periret et insepultus*; also *Aen.* 2, 557-558: *iacet ingens litore truncus / avolsunque umeris caput et sine nomine corpus*; 10, 557-

621. haec precor, hanc vocem extremam cum sanguine fundo.
tum vos, o Tyrii, stirpem et genus omne futurum
exercete odiis cinerique haec mittite nostro

praecor *M* (praecor *M*²).

tunc π, tumos (corr. in tum uos) *p*.

hodiis π. cinerii *P* (cineri *P*²). unostro *P* (nostro *P*²).

621. haec precor: *Gl. Ansil.* 276, 42 — hec —. 621. cum sanguine: *Gl. Ansil.* 156, 144.
622–623. tum . . . odiis: *Non. p.* 295 *M.* (*p.* 457 *L.*) 622. stirpem . . . futurum: *Cento Probae*, 364. 622. genus futurum: *Gl. Ansil.* 265, 221.
[622] 623. exercete: *Gl. Ansil.* 220, 466.

560: non te optima mater / condet humi patrioque onerabit membra sepulcro; / alitibus linquere feris aut gurgile mersum / unda feret piscesque impasti volnera lambent. For an imitation by Fracastoro (*ah, Stygias potius detrudat ad umbras / esca vel alitibus, media intumultus harena / mittat*) cf. Zabughin, *Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital.* 2 (1923), 247.

620. harena: perhaps implying that Aeneas would not penetrate further than the sandy shore of the promised land.

621. haec precor: = Val. Fl. 7, 268.

621. vocem extremam: cf. *Cul.* 384: extrema tristis cum voce recessit; *Sen. Ep.* 66, 48: cui Epicurus extrema voce gratias egil.

621. cum sanguine fundo: *Serv.*: quasi inprecationes ipsas suo consecraret cuore; cf. 2, 532: multo vitam cum sanguine fudit. Some editors would detect here an allusion to the identification of soul and blood; e.g., *Arist. De An.* 2, p. 405 b 5 (for Critias). Penquitt (*De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 61, n. 2) observes that the present in Virgil often has a future meaning, comparing 1, 48; 2, 701; 6, 87; and by understanding fundo in such a sense here he explains away the apparent inconsistency of vocem extremam and novissima verba in line 650. That difficulty is but slight, however, and in the case of the positively last words of a lady need not disturb us!

622. tum: she here passes from imprecations upon Aeneas and his house to those upon the Trojan race, though suorum in 4, 617 may also refer to this same group; cf. 4, 617, n. (indigna). The erotic sentiment seems choked by the political, and in this vaticinium post eventum it is not so much

Dido as the poet who speaks; cf. Valmaggi in *Riv. di Filol.* 25 (1897), 43–44. With this imprecation should be contrasted 3, 500–505, where there are close parallels in form.

622. o Tyrii: *Serv.*: non sunt mandata sed inprecationes, ut dissentiant omnibus rebus, sicut et factum est. nam si mandata sunt, quomodo 'genus futurum'?

622. genus omne futurum: with the thought cf. 4, 606, n. (cum genere); with the metrical phrase *G.* 3, 541; 4, 223 (= *Lucr.* 1, 163; 5, 1338); *Aen.* 8, 628–629: genus omne futurae stirpis; 9, 141; 9, 603: durum a stirpe genus; 12, 530; *Cir.* 12.

623. exercete odiis: we find two common constructions: (a) exercere odium (*Ov. M.* 5, 245), iras (*G.* 3, 152), poenas (*Aen.* 6, 543), pacem (4, 99–100), amorem or amores (*Catull.* 68, 69; 71, 3), and (b) exercere aliquem odiis (as here), poenis (6, 739), curis (5, 779), or fatis (3, 182 = 5, 725); cf. also *G.* 4, 453: non te nullius exercent numinis irae; *Val. Fl.* 7, 93–94: hoc omnes odiisque urguete tyranni / imperiisque caput. The plural of odium occurs twelve times in Virgil and means 'acts of hate'; for such plurals cf. Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 15.

623. cineri: contrast Anna's views (4, 34, and n. on id, etc.) on the sensibility of the deceased to the attentions of the living; cf. 4, 387.

623. mittite . . . munera: cf. 1, 633–636: mittit . . . munera; 6, 380: tumulo sollemnina mittent; 9, 361: mittit dona. These munera of hate are a substitute for physical inferiae; cf. *G.* 4, 545: inferias Orphei Lethaea papavera mittes.

624. munera. nullus amor populis nec foedera sunt.
exoriare aliquis nostris ex ossibus ultor,

nec in ras. *b*.
exoriar *p*.

624. nullus . . . sunt: *Gl. Ansil.* 546, 663. 624. nullus . . . populis: *Gl. Ansil.* 398, 90.
624. sunt: [*Acro*] in *Hor. Serm.* 2, 1, 9; *Gl. Ansil.* 526, 488 — synto —.

625. nostris . . . ossibus: *Gl. Ansil.* 395, 238. 625. ex ossibus: *Gl. Abol.* 125, 126; *Gl. Affatim* (*C. G. L.* 4, 514, 24).

624. nullus: cf. *Sil.* 8, 173–175: dum caelum rapida stellas vertigine volvet, / lunaque fraterno lustrabit lumine terras, / pax nulla Aeneadas inter Tyriosque manebit. For other Virgilian references to the hostility of Rome and Carthage cf. 1, 19–22; 4, 235, n. (*inimica*); 6, 845–846; 6, 857–859; 10, 11–14; 10, 53–55. Amor is doubtless here used of an enthusiastic national friendship, and implies nothing of rights of intermarriage between individuals. The part played by Naevius in establishing the poetic motivation for the Punic Wars is discussed in the introduction.

624. sunt: the formal term (elsewhere in Virgil only in a ritual prescription at 6, 153) lends solemnity to the imprecation; cf. *Serv.*: Urbanus dicit verbo eum iuris usum propter odia hereditaria.

625. exoriare: a verb in the second person with aliquis as subject is noteworthy, since, as Deuticke (*ad loc.*) remarks, Dido in her wild passion speaks in the same breath of an unknown person yet unborn and also to that person; the parallels cited by editors are not very close: *Plaut. Epid.* 399: exite huc aliquis; *Men.* 674; *Merc.* 131; 910–911; *Pseud.* 1284; *Ter. Ad.* 634: aperite aliquis actulum ostium; *Tib.* 1, 6, 39. *Servius* remarks: exorietur; et ostendit Hannibalem, and this would be the natural connotation to the Roman reader, thinking of the long series of Punic Wars, the seriousness of which conflict was still keenly felt at Rome (*Conway, The Vergilian Age* (1928), 75, n. 1, cites *Aen.* 6, 846; 6, 859; *Hor. Epod.* 16, 6; *C.* 2, 1; 3, 5; 4, 4; and *Liv.* 21, init.); cf. *Sainte-Beuve, Étude sur Virgile* (1857), 182, who finds a likeness between Aeneas and the second Scipio; *Georgii, Die polit. Tendenz*

der Aeneide Vergils (1880), 26. Virgil made the hatred of Dido for Aeneas the motive for the Punic Wars in much the same way in which Herodotus (1, 1–4) found in the rapes of Io, Europa, Medea, and Helen the motivating causes for the Persian Wars; cf. *Decker, Beitr.* 2. *Vergleich d. Aeneide Vergils mit der von Veldeke* (1884), 2, n. 1; *Penquitt, op. cit.*, 61. With the line in general cf. *Aesch. Agam.* 1280: ἤξει γὰρ ἡμῶν ἄλλος αὖ τιμάσῃ, κτλ., and for a close imitation of the whole passage *Monti, In Morte di Ugo Bassville*, 4, 265–270.

625. nostris: on the plural cf. *Conway, New Studies of a great Inheritance* (1921), 14, n. 2.

625. ex ossibus: Hannibal was obviously not thought of as a blood descendant of the childless Dido, but as one of her race. Cf. *Serv.*: ex ossibus: secundum Anaxagoran, qui homoeomerian dicit, id est, omnium membrorum similitudinem, esse in rebus creandis ex ossibus, ex sanguine, ex medullis; nam omnia pro parte sui transeunt in procreationem; *Schol. Dan.*: sane Punici ex ossibus dicunt oriri posteros, quos nos ex sanguine. an quia post longum tempus nascetur Hannibal, ideo 'ex ossibus' posuit? *Donat.* (whose comments have now been resumed, after a long lacuna): rem locuta est impossibilem, utpote quae non esset suae mentis suiue consilii. quando enim nasci homo ex ossibus mortui hominis potest? tamen qui inania sentire voluerunt dicunt hoc in Hannibale exitisse, quod est absurdum. nam Dido Tyria fuit, Hannibal Poenus a genere Didonis longe remotissimus. magis est melius sic intellegere, ut perturbata persona nesciret se impossibilia postulare, quod ipsum sequentia docent; etc. The allusion to Hannibal makes uncertain any inference that

626. qui face Dardanio ferroque sequare colonos,
nunc, olim, quocumque dabunt se tempore vires.
litora litoribus contraria, fluctibus undas

qui. (i in ras.) a. sequere b¹.

627. nunc . . . vires: Serv. Aen. 1, 20; [Acro] in Hor. C. 2, 10, 17 — quacumque V — dabunt se: Gl. Ansil. 159, 21.

628–629. litora . . . nepotesque: Charis. Inst. gram. 4 (G. L. K. 1, 282); Donat. Ars gram. 3 (G. L. K. 4, 398) — inprecor; inpuget L; nec potestque S —; Sacerd. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 6, 455) — deprecor —; Beda, De Schem. et Trop. S. Scrip. (1533 ed.), p. 78 — litora litoribus; nepotes (que om.) —; Iulian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris, 5, 38 — inprecor —. 628–629. litora . . . inprecor: Serv. Aen. 1, 108 — inprecor —. 628. litora . . . undas: Diomed. Art. gram. 2 (G. L. K. 1, 447); Pomp. Comm. (G. L. K. 5, 304).

after Dido's death Iarbas and his non-Punic forces were supposed by Virgil to have taken possession of Carthage; cf. 4, 219, n. (aras-que tenentem).

625. ultor: how Hannibal, at the age of nine, at the altar swore hostility to Rome is told by various writers (cf. Lenschau in P.-W. 7 (1912), 2323; to which add App. Iber. 9). So Sil. 1, 114–115 (quoted in n. on face . . . ferroque below); 2, 422–423: ipsa, pyram super ingentem stans, saucia Dido / mandabat Tyriis ultricia bella futuris; cf. 3, 82–83: tangat Elissaeas palmis puerilibus aras / et cineri iuret patrio Laurentia bella; and Dracont. De Laud. Dei, 3, 432 speaks of a Carthaginian as hostis Elissaeus. Such blood feuds are, of course, widespread, though Diod. 13, 23, 2 warns τὴν δὲ διαφορὰν αἰώνιον διαφυλάττοντας παραδιδόναι παισὶ παίδων οὐτ' ἀσφαλές: ἐνίοτε γὰρ οἱ δοκοῦντες ὑπερέχων ἐν ῥοπῇ καιροῦ τῶν πρότερον ὑποπεπτωκότων ἀσθενέστεροι γίνονται.

The scrawling of this verse on a prison wall by Filippo Strozzi just before his suicide (cf. Buscaroli, ad loc.) and its quotation by the Great Elector of Brandenburg at the Peace of St. Germain in 1679 (Ladewig-Deuticke ad loc.) should be recalled.

626. face . . . ferroque: cf. 4, 601, n. (absumere ferro); also the oath of Brutus as told by Liv. 1, 59, 1: vosque, dii, testes facio me L. Tarquinium Superbum cum scelerata coniuge et omni liberorum stirpe, ferro igni quacumque denique vi possim, exacturum; and that of Hannibal in Sil. 1, 114–115: Romanos

terra atque undis, ubi competet aetas, / ferro ignique sequar Rhoeleaque fata revolvam; 1, 118–119: hanc mentem iuro nostri per numina Martis, / per manes, regina, tuos.

626. Dardanio: cf. 4, 365, n. (Dardanus). Note the recurrence of Dardan(i)us in lines 640, 647, 658, 662. With the position of words in this line cf. 5, 55: nunc ultro ad cineres ipsius et ossa parentis; Callim. Hymn. in Del. 324: παῖγνια κουρίζοντι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι γελαστύν.

627. nunc, olim: cf. Luc. 9, 604: nunc, olim factura deum es. La Cerda's attempt (ad loc.), by explaining olim of past time, to find here past, present, and future (instead of present and future), seems, in the light of the context (exoriare . . . sequare), very unsuccessful.

627. quocumque: Schol. Dan.: quia quotienscumque valuerunt Poeni bella renovaverunt.

627. dabunt se: cf. G. 1, 287: multa . . . melius se nocte dedere; Ter. Hec. 380: ut res dant sese; Liv. 28, 5, 9; Anon. ap. Cic. N. D. 2, 66: qui vult esse, quod vult, illa dat se res, ut operam dabit; etc.

628. litora, etc.: the explanations of the Scholia Danielis are inadmissible: aut quia in foedere cautum fuit ut neque Romani ad litora Carthaginiensium accederent neque Carthaginienses ad litora Romanorum; aut potest propter bella navalia accipi inter Romanos et Afros gesta; it is better to compare 1, 13–14, where Carthage is described as Italiam contra Tiberinaque longe / ostia,

629. inprecor, arma armis; pugnent ipsique nepotesque.
Haec ait et partis animum versabat in omnis,

inprecor MPP. ipsi m. nepotesque MPbcm (que del. P²π²) Donat., nepotes. a, nepotes γ dell., Serv. (nepotesque F).
agit c. partes b. omnes ab.

[628*] 629. inprecor . . . armis: Serv. Aen. 4, 612 — inprecor —. 629. inprecor: Gl. Ansil. 307, 1315 — inprecor —; q.v. 629. pugnent . . . nepotesque: Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 627. 629. ipsique nepotesque: Gl. Ansil. 318, 15 — ipseque nepoteque —.
630. animum versabat: Gl. Ansil. 53, 193 — animaduersabat —.

perhaps symbolic of their political opposition. With the phraseology cf. 1, 239: fatis contraria fata rependens; 7, 293–294: fatis contraria nostris / fata Phrygum; Manil. 4, 814: litora litoribus, regnis contraria regna; Ov. M. 14, 301: verbaque dicuntur dictis contraria verbis; Tib. 3, 4, 83: votis contraria vota; and, for the polyptoton, Breazeale in Stud. in Philol. 14 (1917), 312, n. 11. This line and the next are inserted by Marlowe in his Tragedie of Dido, Act 5, 1722–1723.

628. undas: sc. contrarias; cf. Bell, The Latin Dual (1923), 370. The polyptoton of litora litoribus and arma armis is broken, for the sake of both variety and metre. For this construction with inprecor Rantz, Der Accusativus bei Vergil, 1 (1871), 26, compares 10, 503–504; 12, 242–243: foedusque precantur / infectum.

629. pugnent, etc.: Serv.: potest et ad civile bellum referri. This seems unlikely; the reference is to struggles between the Carthaginians and the descendants of Aeneas.

629. nepotesque: cf. 3, 98: et nati natorum et qui nascentur ab illis; 3, 505: maneat nostros ea cura nepotes; 4, 622–623; Braumüller, Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis, 1 (1877), 23 (for nepotes = 'descendants'). So Ariadne's curse included Theseus and his race (Catull. 64, 201: seque suosque). Holdsworth (Remarks and Dissertations on Virgil (1768), 256) would see an allusion here not only to Hannibal but also to Juba. With the sense La Cerda (ad loc.) compares Luc. 9, 87–92: excipite, o nati, bellum civile, nec umquam, / dum terris aliquis nostra de stirpe manebit, / Caesaribus regnare vacet. vel sceptrum vel urbes / libertate sua validas inpellite fama / nominis; has vobis partes, haec arma relinquo;

cf. also 8, 284–285: namque memor generis Carthaginis in pia proles / inminet Hesperiae; Sil. 1, 18: mandata nepotibus arma; 2, 423: mandabat Tyriis ultricia bella futuris.

For the hypermetric line cf. 4, 558, n. (coloremque); the present case is notable as being at the end of a speech (G. 2, 443; Aen. 7, 470; 10, 895 end sentences), and is probably intended to show more vividly that the breathless vehemence of Dido cannot be contained within complete lines, and possibly also that much more remains to be said on the subject. For the pronunciation of the extra syllable cf. Carpenter in Philol. Quart. 9 (1930), 360–362, who thinks elision hardly possible (between the words of Dido and the description of the poet), and suggests a 'principle of the hovering accent,' which she renders nepôtésque.

Bignone (ad loc.) notes the tremendous climax of Dido's imprecation: eternal war and hatred; vengeance reborn in a great, mysterious (aliquis) warrior; fire, bloodshed, and destruction; finally all nature roused by that same hatred, with shores opposed to shores and waves to waves.

630. haec ait et: = G. 4, 415; Aen. 1, 297; 10, 285; 10, 379; 10, 444; Juvenc. 1, 42; 1, 302; 1, 346; 3, 236; 3, 353; 3, 492; 3, 584; 4, 358; 5, 488; Paul. Nol. Carm. 6, 84; Ennod. Carm. 1, 4, 95; 1, 9, 114; Anth. Lat. no. 16, 61 (1, p. 58 Riese); also, above, 4, 30, n. (sic effata).

630. animum versabat: cf. 4, 286, and n. (partis, etc.); 8, 20–21; 10, 285: haec ait et secum versat. Fowler (Death of Turnus (1927), 113–114) contrasts her deliberate suicide with the sudden passion in which Amata kills herself (12, 593–603). Schueler

631. invisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem.
tum breviter Barcen nutricem adfata Sychaei —

sychaei *M* (sychaei est *M*¹), sychei *b*, sichei *γa*, sichei est *c*.

631. invisam . . . lucem: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 692.

(*Quaest. Vergilianae* (1883), 30) considers this passage a poor repetition of 4, 450 and 4, 474-475, but fails to realize that fluctuation in Dido's emotions and purposes which is so prominent a feature in this whole book.

631. invisam . . . lucem: cf. 4, 451: *taedet caeli convexa lueri*; 6, 435: *lucemque perosi*; 11, 177: *vitam moror invisam*; *Eur. Hipp.* 355: *ἐχθρὸν ἦμαρ, ἐχθρὸν εἰσορᾶ φῶς*; *Aug. Conf.* 4, 12: *horrebant omnia et ipsa lux*. Note the position of noun and adjective.

631. abrumpere lucem: the metaphor is somewhat confused, but cf. the more common *abrumpere vitam*; 8, 579 (= 9, 497): *crudellem abrumpere vitam*; *Sen. Tr.* 939: *abrumpere ense lucis invisae moras*; *H. O.* 895: *fataque abrumperes tua*; *Sil.* 2, 597-598: *abrumpere vitam / ocius attoniti quaerunt lucemque gravantur*; 6, 510: *si stat rumpere vitam*; 7, 33: *hic ardens . . . abrumpere vitam*; 9, 649-650: *abrumpere cuncta / iam dudum cum luce libet*; *Aesch. Pers.* 507: *πνέυμ' ἀπέρρηξεν βίον*; *Eur. Orest.* 864: *διὰ σιδήρου πνέυμ' ἀπορρηξάι με δέξ*; *I. T.* 974; *Anth. Pal.* 7, 313, 1; *Hiericus, Vita S. Germ.* 5, 347 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 497): *miseram quam primum abrumpere vitam*; *Vida, Christias*, 5, 55-56: *certus iam abrumpere vitam / invisam*; also the verb *ψυχόρραγεῖν*; and, above, 4, 31, n. (o luce, etc.); 4, 452, n. (*lucemque relinqual*).

632. tum breviter: = 1, 561; 10, 251; *Serv.*: *festinatione mortis; simul neclit causam morarum et ipsi et sorori*; *Wilms, Qua Ratione Verg. in Aen. aut locuturum aliquem aut locutum esse indicaverit* (1865), 3; 15-16 (on what constitutes brevity in a Virgilian speech).

632. Barcen: *Schol. Dan.*: *hoc cognomen familiae Hannibalis fuit*. The name was probably chosen to suggest the cognomen (= 'lightning') of Hamilcar Barcas (*Baraq*) rather than the city in the Cyrenaica (*Meltzer, Gesch. d. Karthager*, 1 (1879), 465;

Rosbach in P.-W. 3 (1899), 20-21); cf. *Sil.* 1, 72-80: *Sarrana prisci Barcae de gente, vetustos / a Belo numerabat avos. namque orba marito / cum fugeret Dido famulam Tyron, impia diri / Belides iuvenis vitaverat arma tyranni / et se participem casus sociarat in omnis. / nobilis hoc ortu et dextra spectatus Hamilcar, / ut fari primamque datum distinguere lingua / Hannibali vocem, sollers nutrire furores, / Romanum sevit puerili in pectore bellum*; 4, 356: *Sidonia Barce*; cf. above, 4, 43, n. (*Barcae*). *Maass (Commentatio mythographica* (1886), xx) remarks that Dido's curse was heard by Barce alone (I think we cannot be sure that she heard it), and that it was later fulfilled by the Barcidae, Hamilcar and Hannibal. Hence she is doubtless an aetiological invention of someone who wished to derive the historic hostility of the two races from a mythological tradition, and this inventor *Maass* thinks was *Naevius* (yet cf. my introduction, on the sources, pp. 18-21). It might, in fairness to the other side of the case, be noted that we do find place names in the Virgilian tradition connected with the names of nurses; e.g., Caieta (7, 1-4) and Baiae (*Serv. Aen.* 9, 707), though in this Virgil may have been following the precedent of *Naevius* in regard to the name of Prochyta (cf. *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 9, 712).

632. nutricem: nurses, who combine the affection of a kinswoman with the docility of a menial (cf. *Plessis and Lejay, ad loc.*), appear, especially as confidantes in love affairs, throughout ancient literature, from *Euryclia*, nurse of *Odysseus* (*Od.* 19, 353-360; 19, 482-502; 22, 394; 22, 480; 23, 25) and *Telemachus* (*Od.* 1, 435; 17, 31; 20, 129; 21, 380), and those of *Orestes* (*Aesch. Choeph.* 734-782 and *Schol.* on 733, which states that *Aeschylus* called her *Cilissa*, *Pindar* *Arsinoe*, and *Stesichorus* *Laodamia*, *Deianira* (*Soph. Trachin.* 871-946; *Sen. H. O.* 233-582),

633. namque suam patria antiqua cinis ater habebat —

suam sua *p.* patriam *P* (patria *P*¹). abebat *γ*.

633. namque . . . habebat: *Donat. in Ter. Hec.* 660; [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* 4 (G. L. K. 4, 226) — cinis a. h. — 633. cinis ater: *Gl. Ansil.* 94, 441 — canis —

Phaedra (*Eur. Hipp.*, *passim*; *Sen. Phaedr.*, *passim*; *Paus.* 1, 22, 1), of *Medea's* children (*Eur. Med.* 1-203; *Sen. Med.* 117-175; 380-430; 670-739; 891-892), *Hermione* (*Eur. Andr.* 802-878), *Hypsipyle* (*Apoll. Rh.* 1, 668-696; cf. 1, 269-271), *Panthea* (*Xen. Cyrop.* 7, 3, 14), *Erysichthon* (*Callim. Hymn. in Cer.* 95), *Myrrha* (*Ov. M.* 10, 420), *Cydisippe* (*Ov. Ep.* 21, 95), and *Dionysus* (*Plin. N. H.* 5, 74), to the nurse *Giddenis* in *Plaut. Poenulus*, *Sophrone* (in *Menand. Heros* and *Epitrepontes*; *Aristaen. Ep.* 1, 6; *Ter. Eunuchus* and *Phormio*; cf. *Austin in Univ. of Illinois Stud. in Lang. and Lit.* 7 (1921), 40-41), *Pyrgo* (*Aen.* 5, 645), *Caieta* (7, 1; *Dion. Hal.* 1, 53, 3; *Ov. M.* 14, 441; but cf. *Serv. Aen.* 7, 1), the nurse in the *Ciris* (257; 277), the nurses of *Horatia* (*Dion. Hal.* 3, 21, 3), *Clytemnestra* (*Sen. Agam.* 125-225), of *Alexander the Great* (*Arr. Anab.* 4, 9, 3), of *Octavia* and *Poppaea* (in the *Octavia*), and others in *Heliod. Aethiop.* 7, 9; *Hist. Apollon. Reg. Tyr.* 2; cf. also *Deborah* (*Gen.* 35, 8); the cases cited by *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 127, n. 2; and the nurse in *Romeo and Juliet*. For general discussions cf. *Mau in P.-W.* 1 (1894), 1844; *Braams, Zur Gesch. d. Ammenwesens im kl. Altertum* (1913), 27-31; *Sister Mary Rosaria, The Nurse in Greek Life* (1917), 26-29; *Prescott, The Development of Virgil's Art* (1927), 298; *Duff, Lit. Hist. of Rome in the Silver Age* (1931), 26-27. *Means* (in *Cl. Weekly*, 23 (1929), 42) stresses in *Barce* the "truly pathetic touch of domestic fidelity enhancing the tragic pathos."

632. adfata: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); *Winter, De Ellipsi Verbi Esse apud Catullum, Vergilium, etc.* (1907), 31.

633. suam: an irregular use of the word where *eius* would have been expected, but the idea is expressed more from the standpoint of Dido herself. Without this line one might have expected her own nurse to have taken

Anna's rôle of confidante; cf. *Eitrem in Festschrift til H. Koht* (1933), 39, n. 1.

Rébelliau (De Vergilio in inform. muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore (1892), 90, n. 2) suggests that Dido's own nurse may have played some significant part in an earlier tradition of the flight of Dido from Tyre. *Kvčala (Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 202) observes that Dido is to atone by her death for her infidelity to the memory of *Sychaeus*, so that there is an especial appropriateness in introducing his aged nurse — presumably devoted to his memory — and confronting her with *Anna*, whose instigations had led (4, 548-549) to this infidelity. At the moment, however, they must both be kept away, so that Dido may be uninterrupted in her plan of suicide. When it is too late for them to prevent she plans to have one or both present at her death; cf. *Penquitt, De Didonis Vergilianae Exiliu* (1910), 62; *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 137, and n. 1. *DeWitt*, on the other hand, thinks (*The Dido Episode in the Aen. of Virgil* (1907), 48-49) that Dido's having to confide in the nurse of *Sychaeus*, rather than using her own nurse for that office, is but another indication of her loneliness, which puts her in contrast to many other heroines.

633. antiqua: cf. 2, 137: *patriam antiquam*; 4, 458, n. (*antiqui*).

633. cinis ater: cf. 4, 34; 4, 384, n. (*atris ignibus*); *Seren. Samm.* 799: *atra cinis*. Some editors have been tempted to identify *cinis* in this line with the Greek *κόνης*, comparing such lines as [*Arist.*] *Peplus*, 22, 2: *Εὐρύπυλον κρύπτει δακρυόεσσα κόνης*; 23, 1-2: *ὕδον ὑπερβήμου Ἀνδραίμονος ἡδὲ θυγατρὸς / Γόργης τῆς Οἰνέως ἡδὲ κόνης κατέχει*; 52, 2: *κατέχει Πάνδαρον ἡδὲ κόνης*; cf. *Hor. C.* 1, 28, 1-4: *te . . . / . . . cohibent . . . / pulveris exigui . . . parva . . . / munera*. But *cinis* should not be confused with *pulvis*, and *ater* clearly

634. 'Annam, cara mihi nutrix, huc siste sororem;
dic corpus properet fluviali spargere lymphā,

arnam *M* (annam *M*¹).

fluualis pargere *p*, sparge (corr. in spargere) *γ*.

634-635. Annam . . . lymphā: *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 1, 7 — limpha *P* —. 634. Annam . . . sororem: *Donat. in Ter. Ad.* 288 — mihi om. *C* —; 291 (*p.* 68 Wessner) — cara m. n. h. s. s. —; *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (*G. L. K.* 7, 510). 634. huc siste: *Gl. Ansil.* 284, 6.

[634*] 635. fluviali . . . lymphā: *Anth. Lat. no.* 16, 83 (*1, p.* 59 Riese) — plubiali *A*; limfa *A* —. 635. fluviali lymphā: *Gl. Ansil.* 248, 231 — flubiali limpha —.

shows that it means ashes blackened by the process of cremation. These may be the ashes of the dead body itself (Klouček, *Vergiliana* (1883), 19-20, compares Soph. *El.* 757-759; 1117-1118; 1129; 1141-1142), but for such *habebat* seems rather inappropriate, as Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 819-823) well points out, citing many instances of *habere*, ἔχειν, and κατέχειν of the earth or burial-place containing the remains of the deceased (cf. 1, 556; 6, 362; *Hor. C.* 1, 28, 2: *cohibent*). On the whole it seems likely that the *cinis ater* means the ashes of the pyre and the body burned upon it, the two being, after the act of cremation, not easily separable, and the larger bulk being thought of as containing the smaller portion within it.

634. Annam . . . sororem: cf. 4, 9: *Anna soror*.

634. cara mihi nutrix: a phrase repeated in a different position in the verse, in *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 164 (*1, p.* 67 Riese); cf. *Hist. Apollon. Reg. Tyr.* 30: *cara nutrix*; above, 4, 492, n. (*cara*). The dative is probably to be construed both with *cara* (cf. *cara mihi* in 11, 537; 11, 586; also 5, 724-725; *Ov. Tr.* 3, 4, 1; 5, 14, 2; *F.* 6, 51) and, as an ethical dative, with *huc siste* (cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 294), though editors usually try to confine it to one or the other.

634. huc: to the part of the palace where Dido was. We need not assume (with Sabadini, 3 ed. of Books IV-VI (1921), xi) that she is still in the spot described at line 586 (*e speculīs*), to which, as noted by Vivona (*in Riv. di Filol.* 26 (1898), 437), it would have been absurd to bring the *pecudes* of line 636.

634. siste: *Serv.*: *huc adduc*, ut (8, 85)

'et cum grege sistit ad aram.' Better parallels are *Plaut. Mil. gl.* 344: *pede ego iam illam huc tibi sistam in viam*; *G.* 2, 488-489: *qui me gelidis convallibus Haemi / sistat*; *Aen.* 2, 620: *tutum patrio te limine sistam*; 6, 675-676: *vos . . . / . . . facili iam tramite sistam*. *Donat. (ad loc.)* suggests that Barce is not to send Anna but to bring her, so that more time may be consumed by the slow coming and going of the aged nurse, and thus opportunity be given Dido for her design (*perficiendo exitio largissimum spatium*). There is no indication, however, that Barce does return with Anna at 4, 674.

635. properet: cf. 5, 550-551: *ducat . . . turmas . . . / dic*; *Schol. Dan.*: *bona est industria hoc loco, quia cum moram velit fieri ea loquitur ut festinare videatur*; *Donat.*: *alia mora, quia, dum hoc Anna expediebat, aliquid accedebat ad tempus*. Dido keeps up her feint of magic and religious rites to Barce as she had done to Anna; cf. Pichon in *Rev. de Philol.* 33 (1909), 249. Similarly in *Soph. Aias*, 646-692, Ajax resorts to dissembling to conceal his intended suicide. The liquid quality of the line, with its use of *l* and *r*, is noticeable.

635. fluviali . . . lymphā: cf. *Prud. Peristeph.* 7, 14-15: *lymphis fluvialibus / gurgis, dum rapit, abluat*; *Sadoletto, De Q. Curtio*, 107: *iuvem spargit fluvialibus undis*; *Serv.*: *sacrificantes diis inferis aspergebantur, ut* (6, 230) '*spargens rore levi et ramo felicitis olivae*'; *superis abluebantur, ut* (2, 719-720) '*donec me flumine vivo / abluero*'; *modo autem inferis sacrificat, ut* (4, 638) '*sacra Iovi Stygio*'; *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 1, 6: *constat diis superis sacra facturum corporis ablutione purgari, cum vero inferis litandum est satis actum videtur si*

636. et pecudes secum et monstrata piacula ducat.
sic veniat, tuque ipsa pia tege tempora vitta.
sacra Iovi Stygio, quae rite incepta paravi,

iouis tycio *p*.

637. tuque . . . vitta: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 377 (*1, p.* 76 Riese) — tegit *A*; uita *A* —.

638-639. sacra . . . curis: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 379-380 (*1, p.* 76 Riese) — iobi stigio *A*; anim. *A*; inponere —. 638. sacra . . . paravi: *Macrob. Sat.* 3, 3, 2 — iouis *B*¹; stigio *Pb*; togio *B*; incepta *P*; parabam (cf. 4, 676 *infra*) —. 638. sacra . . . Stygio: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 635; 6, 138; *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 646; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1, 616; *Mythogr. Val. III*, 7, 4 — sacrum —; *C. I. L. I*, 181 = *IX*, 5350 (= *Dessau* 3188) — stigio —. 638. Iovi Stygio: *Gl. Ansil.* 317, 20 — iobi stigio —.

aspersio sola contingat; cf. *Aen.* 4, 512; 4, 517, n. (*piis*); 6, 635-636: *corpusque recenti / spargit aqua*; *Liv.* 1, 45, 6; *Sil.* 8, 125; *Deubner, De Incubatione* (1900), 23; *Penquitt, De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 62, and n. 4; *Wächter, Reinheitsvorschriften im gr. Kult* (1910), 12; *Eitrem, Opferritus u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 84-86; 127; *Ninck in Philologus*, Supplbd. 14, 2 (1921), 7; *Hopfner, Gr.-ägypt. Offenbarungszauber* (1921), 241-242; *Hünnerkopf in Hoffmann-Krayer, Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 2 (1930), 1686-1689. Note also *Eur. Alc.* 159-160: ὄδασι ποταμίους λευκὸν χρῶα ἐλούσας'.

636. pecudes: *Donat.*: *ecce aliud quod adferret tarditatem, providere necessarias pecudes et adducere, quarum segnior gressus est, et adferre expiationibus necessaria*.

636. monstrata: cf. 4, 498: *monstratque sacerdos* (and n.); *Schol. Dan.*: *vel quae ipsa monstravi vel quae sacerdos*; probably the latter.

636. piacula: offerings in propitiation or in atonement for sin, though the word came to be used for sacrifices in general; cf. *Penquitt, op. cit.*, 63. Doubtless to Barce the word would here mean the continuation of the earlier magic rites, but Dido may have, for herself, the hidden meaning of an atonement to the shade of Sychaeus; cf. *Heinze, Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 141, and n. 2. That the *piacula* and the *pecudes* are identical is uncertain but possible.

636. ducat: cf. *G.* 2, 395: *et ductus cornu stabit sacer hircus ad aram*; *Aen.* 6, 153: *duc nigras pecudes*; *ea prima piacula sunt*.

637. sic: *Serv.*: *ne praemitteret aut praecederet*; cf. *sic* in 1, 225; 1, 444; 4, 660; 7, 668; *Tib.* 1, 7, 53: *sic venias hodiernae*.

637. tuque: Barce is to act as an attendant at the sacrifices and adorn herself accordingly.

637. pia: because belonging to the sacrifice; cf. 4, 517, n. (*piis*); 5, 745: *farre pio*; *Tib.* 2, 1, 13: *casta placent superis*; *pura cum veste venile*; *Sil.* 4, 794: *ture pio*; *Appel, De Romanorum Precationibus* (1909), 186.

637. tege: *Serv.*: *corona, ut et ipsa lardaret*.

637. tempora vitta: cf. 2, 133: *circum tempora villae*; 6, 665: *cinguntur tempora vitta*; 10, 538: *redimibat tempora vitta*; *Ov. M.* 13, 643: *circumdata tempora villis*; *Prud. Psychom.* 30: *phalerataque tempora villis*; *Roiron, Étude sur l'Imagination auditive de Virgile* (1908), 8.

638. sacra, etc.: cf. 4, 454, n. (*sacros*). The real significance of the statement, unperceived by Barce as that at 4, 497-498 was not realized by Anna (cf. 4, 497, n. (*abolere*), above), is that she herself is to be the sacrifice to Pluto; cf. 4, 702-703: *hunc ego Diti / sacrum iussa fero*; *Heinze, op. cit.*, 142, n. 1. Anna recognizes the fact, all too late, at 4, 675-676. *Donat. ad loc.* describes Dido's language as *magna caligo verborum*.

638. Iovi Stygio: *Serv.*: *hoc est, Plutoni*; cf. 6, 252: *Stygio regi nocturnas incolat aras*; *Ov. F.* 5, 448: *Stygii regia visa Iovis*; *Sil.* 1, 386: *Stygio fer bella Iovi*; 2, 674: *Tartareo . . . Iovi*; 8, 116; *nigro . . . Iovi*; *Arnob.* 3, 31: *Neptunus . . . Stygii frater Iovis*; also the Ζεύς καρχήδονιος of *Il.* 9, 457. So *Proser-*

639. perficere est animus finemque imponere curis
Dardaniique rogam capitis permittere flammae.
sic ait. illa gradum studio celerabat anili.

perficeret *P.* inponere *Pp.*

dardani (*corr.* in dardanii) *a.* flammis *Mp.*

celerabat *Mabcpp.*, *Donat.*, celebrabat *M¹P¹*; *Schol. Dan.*: alii 'celebrabat' legunt. anilem *ab¹c¹p.*, inilem *P* (inili *P²*), anili *Mb²c²*, anilem. (i et e m. 2 in ras.) *γ.*

[638*] 639. finem . . . curis: *Non. p.* 328 *M.* (p. 516 *L.*) — inponere —.

640. Dardaniique . . . capitis: *Donat. in Ter. Phorm.* 491; *Gl. Ansil.* 160, 119 — dardanie rocam —. 640. Dardanii rogam: [*Prob.*] *De ult. Syll.* 3 (*G. L. K.* 4, 227).

641. illa . . . anili: *Donat. in Ter. Eun.* 913: illa g. s. c. a., scilicet non re celebrabat — celebrat *V.*, celerabat *C* — sed studio.

pina is called, in 6, 138, *Iunoni infernae*, and by *Stat. Theb.* 4, 526–527, *Stygiæ* . . . *Iunonis*.

638. rite: cf. 4, 555: *rebus iam rite paratis*.

638. incepta: 4, 504–521; at the latter point there is no indication that the rites were regarded as interrupted and to be resumed later.

639. perficere: *Schol. Dan.*: *mire; quamdiu enim Aeneas praesens erat non omnino desperans trahebat exitium*; cf. 6, 629: *susceptum perfice munus*; 6, 637: *perfecto munere divae*; and, for her resolution to die, 4, 308, n. (*nec, etc.*). For the infinitive dependent upon (*est*) *animus* cf. 3, 60; 10, 715; 11, 324–325; *Ov. M.* 5, 150; *Val. Fl.* 1, 165–166; 4, 193; *Suet. Iul.* 82; *Krause, De Vergilii Usurpatione Infinitivi* (1878), 72; *Kühner-Stegmann, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 668.

639. finemque imponere: cf. 2, 619: *finemque impone labori*; *Ov. M.* 8, 68: *finemque inponere bello*; *Val. Fl.* 4, 461: *finem inponite poenis*; *Juvenc.* 1, 203: *finemque inponere verbis*; *Claud. In Rufin.* 2, 192–193: *nostris imponere finem / cladibus*.

639. curis: *Serv.*: *amoris*; the Scholia Danielis add: *an rei susceptae*? Probably the former explanation is correct; cf. 4, 1, n. (*cura*).

640. Dardanii: cf. 6, 626, n. (*Dardanios*); 11, 399–400: *capiti cane talia demens / Dardanio*. The only other Virgilian cases of -ii in the genitive seem to be 3, 702; 9, 151; cf. also *Enn. Ann.* 155 (as quoted by *Serv.*

Aen. 6, 219); *Catull.* 9, 5; *Moretum*, 90; *Kühner-Holzweissig, Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 1, 2 ed. (1912), 452, 7.

640. rogam: *Serv.*: *in quo eius imago fuerat*; cf. 4, 508: *effigiemque toro locat*; *Penquitt, op. cit.*, 64; also *Schol. Dan.*: *et bene suum rogam illius dicit, ne suspicionem faciat*.

640. capitis: cf. 4, 354, n. (*capitis* . . . *cari*); 4, 357, n. (*caput*); 4, 613, n. (*caput*).

640. flammae: *Cesareo* (in *Athenaeum*, 7 (1929), 214) compares *Theocr.* 2, 28: *ὡς τὰ κοιῶν' ἵπ' ἔρωτος ὁ Μίνδιος αὐτῆς Δέλφης*; cf. *Ecl.* 8, 80–83 for a like allusion to magical burning. The reading *flammae* seems better supported than *flammis* and avoids a similar ending for successive lines (*imponere curis, permittere flammis*); cf. *Wagner, Lectionum Vergilian. Libellus* (1859), 80.

641. sic ait: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); 4, 437, n. (*talis, etc.*).

641. illa, etc.: like *Enn. Ann.* 35 (*et cila cum tremulis anus attulit artubus lumen*), this passage has the quality of a genre picture (cf. that of *Baucis* in *Ov. M.* 8, 660–661), which forms a little relief to the tragic situation; cf. *Skutsch in P.-W.* 5 (1905), 2605; *Stearns, Stud. of the Dream as a technical Device in Lat. Epic and Drama* (1927), 33, n. 80. For the metrical effect cf. *Maxa in Wiener Stud.* 19 (1897), 82, and n. 3.

641. gradum . . . celerabat: cf. *Od.* 23, 1–3: *γρηῖς δ' εἰς ὑπερὶ ἀνεβήσεται καρχαλόουσα, / δεσποίνῃ ἐρέουσα φίλον πόσιν ἔνδον ἔντα / γούνατα δ' ἐρρώσαντο, πόδες δ' ὑπερ-ικταίνοντο* (translated by *Auson. Perioch.*

642. at trepida et coeptis immanibus effera Dido,
sanguineam volvens aciem maculisque trementis

inmanibus *bcp.*

uoluens (uolu in ras.) *b.*

642–643. at . . . aciem: *Iulian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris*, 6, 77 — trepidam *FL*; inmanibus; faciem *EF* —. 642. at trepida: *Gl. Ansil.* 33, 840 — ad —.

[642*] 643. sanguineam . . . aciem: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 329 (1, p. 74 *Riese*).

Odys. 23: *Chalcidicum gressu nutrix superabat anili*; *Soph. Trach.* 927, where the nurse says, *κατὰ δρομαία βῆσ', ὅσοντες ἔσθενον*; *Schol. Dan.*: alii 'celebrabat' legunt, quia antiqui hoc verbum in velocitate ponebant. *Accius* (23–24 *Ribbeck*) 'celebri gradu gressum adcelerate.' In manuscripts *celerate* and *celebrare* are sometimes confused, as here and in 5, 609; cf. *Thes. Ling. Lat.* 3 (1906), 757, 84–758, 1, but, as *Mackail (ad loc.)* well remarks, though Virgil uses *celebrare* ten times, it is with groups rather than individuals as its subject. With the present phrase cf. *Liv.* 2, 43, 8: *gradum accelerare*; *Sil.* 16, 78: *haec inter celerare gradum*; *Stat. Theb.* 8, 158: *nec celerare gradum*; *Apul. M.* 6, 14, 1: *at illa studiose gradum celerans*; *Amm. Marc.* 14, 11, 16: *celerare gradum conpellebatur*; *Ambros. De Abr.* 1, 70: *quamvis senilem celeret studio gradum*; *Cain et Ab.* 2, 3: *aut celerare gradum aut sistere*; *Prud. Hamartig.* 774: *ille gradum celerat fugiens*; *Dracont. Orest.* 664: *accelerare gradus*; also the phrases *celerare gressum* (*Sil.* 1, 574; *Dracont. Romul.* 8, 553), *cursus* (*Aen.* 10, 249), *viam* (*Aen.* 5, 609; *Sil.* 15, 208), *iter* (*Aen.* 8, 90, and in several other authors), and *vestigia* (*Sil.* 7, 719–720; *Dracont. Orest.* 106). See also *Festa in Nuova Antologia*, 273 (1930), 23, on the skill with which Virgil in a few words here describes what Homer elaborates more fully in his picture of *Euryclia*.

641. anili: modifying *studio* in an interlocked order. *Wagner (Lectionum Vergil. Libellus* (1859), 80) favors the variant *anilem*, and with it we may compare *Ambros. De Abr.* 1, 8, 70 (quoted above); *Sen. Phaedr.* 431–432: *quid huc seniles fessa moliris gradus, / o fida nutrix*. But *anili* is more likely to have been corrected to *anilem* than the reverse. The meaning of *studio*

. . . *anili* is well explained by *Servius*: *aut pro aetatis possibilitate, aut pro industria qua utuntur aniculae*. Probably the latter; *Page renders (ad loc.)* "she hastened with an old woman's eagerness."

642. trepida: *Serv.*: *festina; nam moritura nihil timebat* — logically but not psychologically true. On this and similar descriptions in Virgil cf. *Cartault, L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide*, 2 (1926), 896.

642. coeptis: in Virgil commonly of daring enterprises; cf. *G.* 1, 40; *Aen.* 8, 15; 9, 296; 9, 625; 10, 461.

642. immanibus: an adjective used 55 times in the major Virgilian works; cf. *Cypr. Hept. Gen.* 434: *inmanibus ausis*.

642. effera: *Schol. Dan.*: *nimis fera*; *Donat.*: *exasperata in perniciem suam crudelium consideratione coeptorum*; cf. *Val. Fl.* 2, 104–105: *eadem effera et ingens, / et maculis suffecta genas*. *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* well compares *Hor. C.* 1, 37, 29: *deliberata morte ferocior*; *Sen. Agam.* 210: *Ajax morte decreta furens*.

643. sanguineam: *Schol. Dan.*: *more suo ostendit eam furem vultu, gestu, voce*; cf. 7, 399: *sanguineam torquens aciem*; also 2, 210: *ardentisque oculos suffecti sanguine*; *Eur. I. A.* 381: *αἰματηρὸν ὄμμ' ἔχωρ*; *Val. Fl.* 4, 235: *sanguineosque rotat furiis ardentibus orbes*; *Sil.* 9, 404–405: *fulgent sanguinei . . . / . . . oculi*.

643. volvens aciem: cf. 4, 363 (= 7, 251; 12, 939): *volvens oculos*; for *aciem* 6, 788; 12, 558; etc.

643. maculis: cf. *Prop.* 1, 5, 16: *et timor informem ducet in ore notam*; *Val. Fl.* 2, 104 (quoted above); also the gruesome note of *Peerlkamp (ad loc.)*: *observatum est nuper in Francia, eos, quibus crines et pars tunicae in cervicibus absconduntur, ut mox securi Guil-*

644. interfusa genas et pallida morte futura,
interiora domus inrumpit limina et altos

pallida///a.

644. et . . . futura: Anth. Lat. no. 15, 101 (1, p. 54 Riese); Schol. Lucan. 7, 130 — om. G¹ —.
645. interiora . . . limina: Donat. in Ter. Andr. 133 — inrumpit (inrumpit C) —.
645. inrumpit: Gl. Ansil. 309, 1449; q.v.; Gl. Abstr. 49, 203.

lotina percutiantur, plerumque in vultu flavas
et coeruleas maculas contrahere.

643. tremennis: cf. Pichon, De Sermone
amatorio (1902), 283.

644. interfusa: a verb (also in G. 4, 480 =
Aen. 6, 439) first appearing in Virgil; cf. also
Hor. C. 1, 14, 19; etc.

644. pallida, etc.: Serv.: aut pallidior
quam solent homines esse post mortem; aut
pallida omine mortis futurae; cf. 4, 26, n.
(pallentis); 4, 499: pallor simul occupat ora;
8, 709 (of Cleopatra): illam inter caedes
pallentem morte futura (cf. Knight, Virgil's
Troy (1932), 25); 10, 821-822: ut vultum
vidit morientis et ora, / ora modis . . . pal-
lencia miris; 12, 221: iuvenali in corpore
pallor; Ov. M. 8, 465; 13, 74: pallentemque
metu et trepidantem morte futura; Luc. 7, 129-
130: multorum pallor in ore / mortis venturae
faciesque simillima falo; Amm. Marc. 25, 1,
2: pallescentem morte propinqua; Milton,
P. L. 10, 1008-1009: "so much of death her
thoughts / Had entertained as dyed her
cheeks with pale"; Racine, Phèdre, 5, 5,
1464-1465: Un mortel désespoir sur son
visage est peint; / La pâleur de la mort est
déjà sur son teint; Foscolo, Dei Sepolcri, 194-
195 (of Alfieri): avea sul volto / il pallor della
morte e la speranza. The paleness of dread
(especially dread of death), the χλωρόν δέος
of Homer (Il. 8, 77; Od. 11, 633; etc.) and
Aeschylus (Suppl. 566), is recognized by
many writers; e.g., Enn. Sc. 26: exalbescat
metu; Cic. Top. 52; Tusc. 4, 19; Catull. 64,
100; Lucr. 3, 154-155; Hor. C. 1, 4, 13 (cf.
Hier. Comm. in Osee, 2, pp. 53-54 Vall.):
pallida mors (where the paleness is perhaps
not only of those in death but also of those
anticipating its approach); Cir. 225; Aetna,
277; Quintil. 11, 3, 78; Plin. Ep. 6, 2, 2;
Epict. 2, 13, 5; 2, 13, 17; Paus. 2, 21, 9;
Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 4, 15; 12, 417:

insigne enim mortis est pallor; Hist. Apollon.
Reg. Tyr. 37; cf. Price in Am. Journ. of
Philol. 4 (1883), 15.

645. interiora: cf. 2, 486: domus interior;
4, 494: lecto interiore (and n.); 4, 504: pene-
trali in aede; Il. 22, 440 (= Od. 4, 304):
μυχῶ δόμου ὑψηλοῖο. The news of Dido's act
passes from this inner recess to the alta
atria (4, 665-666) and thence per urbem (4,
666). The inner rooms of the palace are the
natural refuge for ladies seeking privacy,
especially for suicide; cf. Iocasta in Soph.
O. T. 1072; 1241-1243: ὅπως γὰρ ὀργῇ χρω-
μένη παρήλθ' ἔσω / θυῶνος, ἔτε' εἰθὺ πρὸς τὰ
νυμφικὰ / λέχη, κόμην σπῶσ' ἀμφιδέξιοις ἀκμαῖς,
κτλ.; Eurydice in Soph. Ant. 1243; 1278-
1283; Deianira in Soph. Trach. 813; 900-
931 (especially 920, where she apostrophizes:
ὦ λέχη τε καὶ νυμφεῖ' ἐμά); Alceste in Eur.
Alc. 175-188 (175-179: κάπειτα θάλαμον
εἰσπεσοῦσα καὶ λέχος, / ἐνταῦθα δὴ ἔδραρυσε
καὶ λέγει τάδε' / ὦ λέκτρον, ἔνθα παρθίνει'
ἔλυσ' ἐγὼ / κορεῖματ' ἐκ τοῦδ' ἀνδρός, οὐ θνήσκω
πένι, / χαῖρ', κτλ.).

645. inrumpit: cf. 6, 528: inrumpunt
thalamo; 11, 879: portas primi inrumpere
patentis; Plaut. Mil. gl. 460: intro rumpam
recta in aedis; Rud. 570: intro rumpam . . .
in Veneris fanum; Eur. Alc. 175: εἰσπεσοῦσα.

645. limina: figuratively, as often, for
'palace'; cf. Braumüller, Ueber Trophen u.
Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis, 1 (1877), 20;
Kunz, Realien in Vergils Aeneis, 1 (1894),
20, n. 41.

646. furibunda: cf. Sil. 8, 51-53: in
penetralibus atram / festinat furibunda pyram.
tum corripit ense / certa necis, profugi donum
exitiale mariti.

646. rogos: the plural is usually of more
than one pyre (cf. G. 4, 477 (= Aen. 6, 308);
Aen. 11, 189), but some editors think that
in Ov. M. 4, 166 (quodque rogis superest una

646. conscendit furibunda rogos enseque recludit
Dardanium, non hos quaesitum munus in usus.

radus P (gradus P¹; cf. 4, 685 et Sabbadini in Mcl. P. Thomas (1930), 616), ragos (corr. in
rogos) γ², rogos Mabz, Donat., gradus ut uid. γ¹, Schol. Dan. (?). recludit γ¹.

646-647. enseque . . . usus: Donat. in Ter. Ad. 191. 646. furibunda: Gl. Ansil. 259,
275; q.v. 646. recludit: Gl. Ansil. 487, 184; q.v.
[646] 647. in hos usus: Gl. Ansil. 306, 1185 — os —.

requiescit in urna) the bodies of Pyramus and
Thisbe were burned on a single pyre, the
plural perhaps suggesting the logs of which
it was formed; cf. Braumüller, Ueber Trophen
u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis, 1 (1877), 11.
Sabbadini (in Mélanges P. Thomas (1930),
616) believes rogos rather than rogam is here
used to avoid elision with ense. The less
well attested reading gradus (known to the
author of the Scholia Danielis) seems due to
the influence of 4, 685: gradus evaserat altos.
Donatus remarks: bene autem addidit poeta
furibunda conscendit altitudinem rogi, ut
ostenderet nullum de nece sua posse cogitare
nisi quem primo amentia furoris oppresserit.
As a possible artistic inspiration for the
present passage Weege (in Conf. Virgiliane
tenute alla Univ. catt. (Milan, 1931), 103)
suggests the Medea by Timomachus of By-
zantium, in the temple of Venus Genetrix.

646. ense: cf. 9, 423: ense recluso. So
on a real pyre the weapons of the dead might
be placed (e.g., 6, 233; Ael. V. H. 7, 8).
Aeneas was already (4, 579) provided with
another sword; perhaps that which Dido
had given him (4, 261-262). In the shrine
of Dido at Carthage, according to Sil. 1, 91,
in front of a seated statue of the queen, ante
pedes ensis Phrygius iacet. On methods of
suicide in antiquity cf. 4, 475, n. (decrevitque
mori).

647. Dardanium: cf. 6, 626, n. (Dar-
danius).

647. non hos: cf. 4, 496, n. (impius) for
the bad omens involved in a gift from (one
now) an enemy; also Ov. Ars am. 3, 39-40:
et famam pietatis habet tamen hospes et ense /
praebuit et causam mortis, Elissa, tuae; H.
7, 187: quam bene conveniunt fato tua munera
nostro; 7, 195-196 (= F. 3, 549-550):
praebuit Aeneas et causam mortis et ense. /

ipsa sua Dido concidit usa manu; Politian,
Manto, 233-234: mox et Phrygium — pro
tristia dona, / ah niveum per pectus ager mi-
serabilis ense!

On the exchange of gifts between Dido and
Aeneas cf. 4, 263, n. (munera); also that
between Glaucus and Diomedes in Il. 6, 230-
236. Page (ad loc.) thinks there is no evidence
in 4, 261-262 to show that she gave Aeneas
a sword, but this is not the view of most
commentators (cf. Palmer on Ov. H. 7,
184). On the bad omens involved in the gifts
cf. Serv. Aen. 1, 650; Schol. Dan. Aen. 1,
653. Had Dido been really the wife of Aeneas
the acceptance of such gifts would have
violated a Roman taboo; cf. Plut. Quaest.
Rom. 7, and Rose ad loc.

647. quaesitum: various editors (e.g.,
Conington ad loc.), while recognizing the
tradition shown in Sil. 8, 149 (ensem Dar-
dani quaesitum in pignus amoris) that
Dido had asked this sword as a gift from
Aeneas, consider that the expression in 4,
507 (exuvias enseque relictum) indicates that
it was still his (cf. 4, 495), and Kvíčala (Neue
Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis (1881), 204-207)
tries to avoid the supposed inconsistency by
construing non with quaesitum rather than
with hos and assuming that Silius in his imi-
tation mistook Virgil's meaning. At this
point I should prefer to follow Silius rather
than Kvíčala.

It is further objected that a sword would
have been an inappropriate present for
Aeneas to give Dido; cf. 4, 497, n. (impius).
For use it would, but as a pledge of love (cf.
Ecl. 8, 91-93) no symbol could have more
suitably typified the complete devotion of
a warrior. That there had been some ex-
change of gifts seems probable, for Dido now
has Aeneas's sword, while in 4, 261-262 she

648. hic, postquam Iliacas vestes notumque cubile
conspexit, paulum lacrimis et mente morata
incubuitque toro dixitque novissima verba:

(hi)c P. poscam (i.e., posquam) c. noctum M (notum M¹).
(co)nspexit P. paululum a¹. lacrimis codd. aliquot Pieriani.
(i)ncubuit P.

648. Iliacas vestes: *Gl. Ansil.* 290, 19.

649. lacrimis et mente: *Gl. Ansil.* 327, 179 — hac (i.e., ac) mente —.

650. incubuitque . . . verba: *Serv. Ecl.* 8, 20; *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 117 (1, p. 54 Riese) —
incupuitque A —. 650. incubuit: *Gl. Ansil.* 295, 312; q.v. 650. novissima: *Gl. Ansil.* 396,
331; q.v.

seems to have given him one, though Page (ad loc.) doubts this. If these two were the same, as some editors think, and *quaesitum* is understood as 'procured,' Virgil would, as Conington (ad loc.) says, have made more of the death of Dido by her own gift. Heinze (*Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 144, n. o) well remarks that no legally binding act of gift had perhaps taken place, yet Aeneas had hung his weapons in the *thalamus* (4, 495), and left them there at his departure; cf. Klouček, *Vergiliana* (1883), 20-21. This view avoids the question why Dido had asked the sword as a token from him at a time when she did not anticipate his departure, though later (4, 497-498) she considers all such objects as mementos.

647. usus: for the plural cf. *Ov. M.* 4, 524: *hos usus praestet tibi . . . alumnus*; 5, 111: *non hos adhibendus ad usus*; 11, 28: *thyrsos non haec in munera factos*; Manil. 5, 548: (Andromeda) *induiturque sinus non haec ad vota paratos*.

648. hic, etc.: perhaps temporal (cf. 2, 122; 3, 369; etc.) rather than local; so Donatus seems to have understood it. Patin (*Étude sur les Tragiques grecs. Euripide*, 1 (1884), 201) finds the motif for this account in such passages as *Soph. Trach.* 900-911; *O. T.* 1241-1248; *Eur. Alc.* 158-195; cf. also *Plut. De Garrul.* p. 513 F: οὕτω καὶ τοῖς ἐρωτικοῖς ἡ πλεῖσθη διατριβὴ περὶ λόγους μνήμην τινὰ τῶν ἐρωμένων ἀναδιδόντας: οἱ γὰρ κἂν μὴ πρὸς ἀνθρώπους πρὸς ἑψυχὰ περὶ αὐτῶν διαλέγονται: 'ὦ φιλήτατη κλῆνη', κτλ.; *Prop.* 2, 15, 1-2: o tu / lectule deliciis facte beate meis.

648. Iliacas vestes: cf. 1, 647-650: *munera prolestea Iliacis erepta ruinis / ferre iubet, pallam signis auroque rigentem / et circumtextum croceo velamen acantho, / ornatus Argivae Helenae, etc.*; but Conington (ad loc.) thinks that the reference is rather to 4, 496; 4, 507-508, and this may well be.

648. cubile: cf. 4, 496, n. (lectumque iugalem); *Sil.* 8, 88-90: *mox turbida anhelum / rettulit in thalamos cursum subitoque timore / substitit et sacrum timuit letigisse cubile*.

649. lacrimis, etc.: "in tears and thought"; cf. *Val. Fl.* 2, 169: *lacrimisque iterum visuque morantur*.

649. mente morata: cf. 5, 207: *magno clamore morantur*; *Serv.*: *et mente: consilio*.

650. incubuitque: cf. *Ov. H.* 10, 51: *saepe torum repeto, qui nos acceperat ambos*; etc.; 10, 55-56: *incumbo lacrimisque toro manante profusus / 'pressimus,' exclamo, 'te duo; redde tuos'*; *Ep.* 15, 149: *incubui teli-gique locum qua parte fuisti*; etc.

650. dixitque novissima verba: = 6, 231; cf. *Ecl.* 8, 20: *extrema moriens tamen adloquor hora*; *Ov. Ars am.* 1, 539: *rupitque novissima verba*; *Aug. De Unit. Eccles.* 28: *cum verba novissima hominis morientis audiuntur*; *C. I. L. VI*, 6976, 3 (*Carm. Lat. epigr.* no. 1033 Bücheler): *hic verba novissima dixit*; also 4, 30, n. (sic effata).

651. dulces, etc.: *Donat.*: *hic suspendenda pronuntiatio est nec iungendum 'dum fata deusque sinebant,' ne expressum mire moriturae vexemus adfectum, ut putetur illas vestes amare desisse, quas in tantum diligebat*

651. 'dulces exuviae, dum fata deusque sinebat,
accipite hanc animam meque his exsolvite curis.

651-688: *FMP.* (d)ulces P. exuviae (u pr. in ras.) F. sinebat *MPb*, sinebant *FP²p*.
(a)ccipite P. me γ², ne γ¹ (ut uid.). absolute c.

651. dulces . . . sinebat: *Macrob. Sat.* 4, 6, 10 — exuviae P¹; sinebant —. 651. dulces exuviae: *Serv. Aen.* 4, 496. 651. dum . . . sinebat: *Anth. Lat. no.* 15, 118 (1, p. 54 Riese) — sinebant —; no. 17, 43 (1, p. 63 Riese) — deusquae A; sinebant —.

652. meque . . . curis: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 1 — absolute —.

ut earum favillas suis voluerit misceri cineribus. amat igitur has ostendens quod illas non odii sed amoris causa secum decreasset incendi . . . sensus ergo integer sic est . . . : dulces exuviae, vixi quamdiu deus et fata sinebant et quem dederat cursum fortuna peregi, accipite hanc animam meque his exolvite curis. quoniam, inquit, estis dulces vos debetis excipere sanguinem meum et anima mea vobis debet infundi. But this explanation seems forced; I think the true one is that the exuviae have been dear to her during her life; after it is over she will, presumably, not care for such matters. The variations in the monologue, by narrative, etc., are discussed by Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 137-138. For neums for lines 651-658 in a MS of S. X/XI cf. 4, 424, n. (i, etc.). Chaucer, *Legend of good Women, Dido*, 413-415: "O swete clooth, while Jupiter hit leste, / Take my soule, unbynde me of this unreste, / I have fulfilled of fortune al the course." On the rhetorical character of this speech cf. Sikes, *Roman Poetry* (1923), 24.

651. exuviae: cf. 4, 496, n. (exuvias); 4, 507; *Mar. Victor, Aleth.* 3, 179: *exuvias . . . dulces*.

651. dum, etc.: cf. 11, 701: *dum fallere fata sinebant*; *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 1067, 3 Bücheler: *dum fata sinebant*.

651. fata deusque: possibly sneering; cf. 4, 14, n. (fatis); 4, 614, n. (fata Iovis). Certainly Dido is not speaking in purely philosophic terms, and she may use fata, as Gercke (*Die Entstehung der Aeneis* (1913), 116) suggests, merely in the sense of good or bad 'luck,' and hence not in sharp contrast to *Fortuna* in line 653; cf. 4, 109, n. (fortuna),

and the combination of the two terms in 1, 239-240; 2, 653-656; 3, 493-494; 5, 709-710; 8, 334: *fortuna omnipotens et ineluctabile fatum*; 10, 112-113; 10, 435-438; 12, 147: *qua visa est Fortuna pati Parcaeque sinebant*; 12, 676-677.

The combination of fates and gods (or deus) is found several times in Virgil; Haackermann, *Comm. in Aeneidis Lib. alterum* (1863), 19, cites 4, 440; 5, 707; 8, 398; 8, 512; 8, 574-575. Here the idea perhaps is that the fates ordain and the god declares and executes; cf. Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 435. On the use of deus in the singular cf. 1, 199; 1, 303; 3, 715; 4, 440, and n. (deus); 5, 467; 6, 749; *Serv.*: *aut Iuppiter qui Aeneam abscedere compulit, aut amor, aut necessitas fati*.

651. sinebat: evidence is rather evenly balanced between the singular and the plural; *Servius* supports the plural and *Donatus* appears to, though the MSS vary. If the singular is retained it is not because *fata deusque* form a single concept (as *Wagner*, *Conington*, and others hold), but because the verb agrees with the nearer subject (as in 3, 269: *ventusque gubernatorque vocabat*); cf. *Dietsch, Theologum. Vergilian. Particula* (1853), 27. The whole line, with the reading *sinebant*, is quoted by *Castiglione, De Eliz. Gonzaga*, 1; cf. above, 1, 18: *si qua fata sinant*; *Molsa, Ad Sodalem in Morbo mortifero*, 9: *dum fata sinebant*.

652. accipite . . . animam: the converse of *animam dare* (*G.* 4, 204; *Aen.* 10, 854).

652. exsolvite: cf. 4, 479: *vel eo me solvat amantem*; 4, 703: *teque isto corpore solvo*.

652. curis: cf. 4, 1, n. (cura).

653. vixi et quem dederat cursum Fortuna peregi,
et nunc magna mei sub terras ibit imago.

uix F (uixi F¹). peregi F (peregi F¹).
magna. γ. meis M (mei M¹).

653. vixi . . . peregi: *Sen. Ep.* 12, 9; *Dial.* 7, 19, 1; *De Benef.* 5, 17, 5; *Anth. Lat.* no. 15, 96 (1, p. 53 Riese) — *furtuna peregit A* — 653. vixi . . . de(derat): *C. I. L.* XI, 3752, 4 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 385 Bücheler). 653. quem . . . peregi: *Mythogr. Vat.* III, 9, 10. 653. quem . . . fort(una): *C. I. L.* XII, 287 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 814 Bücheler).

654. et . . . imago: *Porphyr. in Hor. C.* 1, 24, 15 — *terris M* —; *Comm. Cruq. in Hor. C.* 1, 24, 15; *Charis. Inst. gram.* 2 (G. L. K. 1, 235) — *et non NP*; *mei PC*, *meis N*; *iret NPC* — 654. sub . . . imago: *Anth. Lat.* no. 15, 112 (1, p. 54 Riese).

653. vixi: "I have finished my life"; so *Plaut. Bacch.* 151 and *Most.* 1002 uses *vixisse* of being dead; cf. *Plut. Cic.* 22: 'ἔζησαν' εἶπεν. οὐτω δὲ ῥωμαίων οἱ δυσφημεῖν μὴ βουλόμενοι τὸ τεθνάναι σημαίνουσιν. Thus 10, 861-862: *Rhaebe, diu, res si qua diu mortalibus ulla est, / viximus*; cf. *Hor. C.* 3, 29, 43-45: *vixi; cras vel atra / nube polum pater occupato, / vel sole puro*, etc.; *Schiller, Des Mädchens Klage*, 14: *Ich habe gelebt und geliebt*; *Byron, Letters* (quoted by *Henry, Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 826): "I have lived, and am content"; *Tennyson, Passing of Arthur*, *sub fin.*: "I have lived my life"; cf. also 2, 325: *fuimus Troes, fuit Ilium*. *Serv.*: *excusat vitae abruptionem, quia dicit Plato magna poena adfici animas eorum qui vitam ante tempus relinquunt*. There should be noted in these lines both their pathetic quality (*Cic. De Invent.* 1, 107: *primus locus est misericordiae per quem quibus in bonis fuerint et nunc quibus in malis sint ostenditur*), which lies in that *περίπτεται* so characteristic of tragedy (*Arist. Poet.* 11), and also their epigraphic terseness (*Penquitt, De Didonis Vergilianae Exilu* (1910), 64, compares the inscriptions on the Tombs of the Scipios; cf. *C. I. L.* I, 29-38 = *Dessau nos.* 1-9; see *Masera, ad loc.*; *Knight, Vergil's Troy* (1932), 13).

653. quem, etc.: cf. 10, 49: *et quamcumque viam dederit Fortuna, sequatur*; *Pind. Nem.* 4, 41-43: ἐμοὶ δ' ὅποταν ἀρετὰν / ἔδωκε Πότμος ἄναξ, / εὐ οἷδ' ὅτι χρόνος ἔρπων πεπρωμένην τελέσει; *Cic. Pro Milone*, 95: *quemcumque cursum fortuna dederit*; *C. I. L.* VI, 5953, 1 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 1068): *iler . . .*

peregi; XIV, 316, 1-2 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr.* 1105): *vixi / et quem mi dederat cursum Fortuna peregi* (sic); *Dialogus Agri*, 481 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 383): *vitae stadio cursuque peracto*; *Tolman, A Study of the sepulchral Inscr. in Buecheler's Carmina Latina epigraphica* (1910), 42, for other passages, in which life appears as a journey completed.

653. Fortuna: *Serv.*: *non natura nefatum. tribus enim humana vita continetur: natura, cui ultra centum et viginti solstitiales annos concessum non est; fato, cui nonaginta anni, hoc est, tres Saturni cursus, exitium creant . . . fortuna, id est, casu, qui ad omnia pertinet quae extrinsecus sunt, ut ad ruinam, incendia, naufragia, etc.* If we should here emphasize the literal meaning of *Fortuna*, Dido would sum up her life as owed to it, as Aeneas would have ascribed his to fate; cf. 1, 14, n. (*fatis*); 1, 109, n. (*fortuna*); 4, 651, n. (*fata deusque*). *Dietsch (Theologum. Vergilian. Particula* (1853), 25) explains *Fortuna* here as the whole series of events by which one attains what fate destines for him.

653. peregi: cf. 3, 493-494: *vivite felices, quibus est fortuna peracta / iam sua*; *Luc.* 4, 361: *turba haec sua fata peregit*; 2 *Tim.* 4, 7: τὸν δρόμον τετέλεκα. Dido's assertion that she has completed her course seems contrary to Virgil's own view that she dies prematurely (4, 696: *nec fato*) and is later placed in the next world with the untimely dead.

654. nunc, etc.: cf. 12, 648-649 (said by *Turnus*): *sancta ad vos anima atque istius inscia culpa / descendam, magnorum haud umquam indignus avorum*; *Sil.* 8, 143-145:

655. urbem praeclaram statui, mea moenia vidi,

Vers. 655-656 inuerso ordine codd. Mentel., Menag. alt., Sprot. perclaram M (praeclaram M²). statui P (statui P²), stui c.

655-658. urbem . . . carinae: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 696 — *praeclarum F*; *inimica F*; *numium F*; *tatum F*; *danie F*; *nostradi charine F* — 655-656. urbem . . . virum: *Schol. Lucan.* 5, 660 — u. u. uirum (u. uirum om. G¹) — 655. urbem . . . vidi: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 75. 655. statui: *Gl. Ansil.* 536, 63; q.v. 655. mea moenia: *Gl. Aa*, 290, 211.

Aeneae coniux, Veneris nurus, ulta maritum, / vidi constructas nostrae Carthagini arces. / nunc ad vos magni descendet corporis umbra; 10, 288: *nec manis tam parva intramus imago*; 15, 370-373: *circumdanda postquam / nil restare videt virtus, quod debeat ultra / iam superis, magnum secum portare sub umbras / nomen mortis avel*; *Carducci, Odi barbare*, 14, 60 (*Da Desenzano*): *e discendemmo grandi ombre tra gl' inferi*. Virgil here ascribes to Dido a respect for her own regal office and dignity which earlier rumor had denied her (4, 193: *regnum immemores*), and which suggests both the appeals of *Polyxena* in *Eur. Hec.* 550-552 (ἐλευθέραν δέ μ', ὡς ἐλευθέρα θάναω, / πρὸς θεῶν, μεθεντες κτελναι· ἐν νεκροῖσι γὰρ / δούλη κεκληῖσθαι βασιλῆς οὖσ' αἰσχύνομαι) and the queenly dignity of *Cleopatra* which *Horace* admires despite himself (*C.* 1, 37, 29-32: *deliberata morte ferocior, / saevius Liburnis scilicet invidens / privata deduci superbo / non humilis mulier triumpho*).

654. magna: *Schol. Dan.*: *cogitatione eorum qui me non viderunt, sed factis cognoverunt*. The allusion may be to greatness of character, though the physical appearance of the shade after death is not infrequently described, sometimes as larger than in life (e.g., 2, 773 (the shade of *Creusa*): *nota maior imago*), while in *Sen. Tr.* 33 the shades of *Hecuba's* children are called *umbrae minores*. Cf. also *Plat. Gorg.* 524 C: οἷον εἰ τινας μέγα ἦν τὸ σῶμα φύσει ἢ τροφῇ ἢ ἀμφοτέρω ζῶντος, τοῦτον καὶ ἐπειδὴν ἀποθάνῃ ὁ νεκρὸς μέγας, κτλ. *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* considers *magna* as here predicative rather than attributive in use.

654. mei: cf. 4, 237, n. (*nostrum nuntius*). For the touch of egoism in this genitive and the first person of the verbs *statui*, *vidi*, and

recepti, cf. *DeWitt, The Dido Episode in the Aeneid of Virgil* (1907), 47.

654. sub terras: cf. 4, 660: *ire sub umbras*; 6, 459: *si qua fides tellure sub ima est*.

654. ibit imago: cf. 8, 671: *ibat imago*. *Servius* treats at length the nature of the *imago* (*simulacrum*, εἰδωλον); we consist of (1) *anima*, which at death goes aloft (cf. 4, 684), (2) *corpus*, which returns to earth, and (3) *umbra*, a likeness of our body, which goes to the underworld. *sciendum tamen abuti poetas et confuse vel simulacrum vel umbras dicere*.

655. urbem, etc.: *Donat.*: *non dixit 'perfecti' sed 'statui'*; *statuere est enim instituire aliquod novum et quod fuerit nunquam*; and *Servius* tries to reconcile this line with 4, 88-89. Cf. 1, 573: *urbem quam statuo vestra est*; 2, 294-295: *his moenia quaere / magna, pererrato statues quae denique ponto*; 12, 193-194: *mihī moenia Teucrī / constituent*; *Ov. H.* 7, 119-120: *urbem constitui lateque patentia fixi / moenia finitimis invidiosa locis*; *Vell. Pat.* 1, 1, 2: *tris ibi urbis statuit*; *Sil.* 8, 143-144: *ulta maritum, / vidi constructas nostrae Carthagini arces*; [*Auson.*] *Epigr.* 2, 11-12 (p. 420 *Peiper*): *sic cecidisse iuvat. vixi; sine vulnere famae, / ulta virum positus moenibus oppetii*; *Dracont. De Laud. Dei*, 3, 512-513: *dives Dido fugax extincti coniugis ultrix / urbis Elissaeae perfectis moenibus amplae*. Dido, in time to come, will be famed as the κτιστὴς (*conditrix*) of the new city; cf. *Serv. Aen.* 7, 303: 'condi' proprie dicuntur qui sibi statuunt civitatem (*Carcopino, Virgile et les Origines d'Ostie* (1919), 298, n. 4); *Tert. Apol.* 50 (for Dido as the *conditrix* of Carthage).

The transposition of this line and the next,

656. ulta virum poenas inimico a fratre recepi,
felix, heu nimium felix, si litora tantum

uita *M* (pro ulta). a (corr. in ab) c, ab π.

[655*] 656. ulta . . . recepi: *Prisc. Inst.* 18, 204 (G. L. K. 3, 307) — a fratre in ras. V; recipi V —; 18, 219 (G. L. K. 3, 316); 18, 292 (G. L. K. 3, 365) — ultra V; penas D; a add. sup. n —; *Lupus Ferrar. Ep.* 34 (Mon. Germ. hist., Epist. 6, 43). 656. ulta virum: *Donat. in Ter. Phorm.* 189; *Eugraph. in Ter. Phorm.* 189; *Serv. Aen.* 1, 363. 656. recepi: *Gl. Ansil.* 486, 68; q.v.

[655*] 657-658. felix . . . carinae: *Macrob. Sat.* 6, 1, 42 — nimia P¹; littora —. 657. felix . . . felix: *Anth. Lat. no.* 17, 42 (1, p. 63 Riese) — eu A —; C. I. L. VI, p. 389 (Carm. Lat. epigr. no. 1347A, 17 Bücheler).

found in some poorer MSS, seems to be an old variant, for the imitations in the Pseudo-Ausonius and Dracontius show that they were familiar with it. It is doubtless due to someone who wished to reduce Dido's reminiscences to a more logical order.

655. statui: Servius (on line 656) quotes with approval the explanation *urbem praeclaram et mea moenia statui vidi, hoc est, vidi dum staturerentur*, but this seems forced and unnatural.

655. moenia: cf. 1, 437: o fortunati, quorum iam moenia surgunt.

656. ulta virum: cf. 4, 655, n. (urbem, etc.), for imitations of this phrase. *Donat.*: *pulant enim Sychaei mortem defensam non esse, quia Pygmalion occisus non est, cum non sit unum genus ultionis. nam defendisse est occisi mortem praedam propter quam mactatus est abstulisse; quo in facto Pygmalion homo profundae avaritiae et reus remansit et pauper; Serv.*: *puniendo eius interfecitorem . . . et re vera nulla avari maior est poena quam amittere pecuniam propter quam commiserat scelus. . . alii haec quasi per interrogationem volunt accipi, ut nihil dicat esse perfectum: 'numquid urbem statui? numquid ulta sum virum? numquid a fratre poenas recepi? felix tamen fuisset si vel hoc tantum contingeret ut Carthaginem non veniret Aeneas.* Kvčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 207-210) considers this line an early interpolation, for, he thinks, Dido did not adequately avenge the death of Sychaeus, taking away the treasure from Pygmalion being too mild a punishment and Venus (1, 340-368) not emphasizing this feature of the story. He

and others are troubled by the transposition of lines 655 and 656 in some poorer MSS, and by the interruption in the natural connection of lines 655 and 657. He admits, however, that Silius presents in his imitation (8, 143-144, quoted in n. on urbem, etc., above) the same (or an even greater) difficulty. And, as Servius says, the carrying away of the treasure was a blow to Pygmalion (1, 363-364: *portantur avari / Pygmalionis opes pelago*), while, more than that, it should be observed that Dido had drawn away some of his subjects and had founded with their aid a city which was not to be obedient to him but an independent rival (Burmman's conjecture of *Poenos for poenas* fits this sense, though I cannot accept it); in thus reestablishing, on a new site, the city of Sychaeus she had vindicated her dead husband, and line 656 does not form a case of *hysteron proteron* after 655 but is the natural result of its action. Nor, thus interpreted, does 656 seem unpleasantly petty, as Kvčala thinks, after the recital of the great achievement of line 655. Nor, again, is the mention of Sychaeus inappropriate here; as the episode of her love for Aeneas fades into the past her early devotion to Sychaeus reemerges.

656. poenas . . . recepi: like *poenas sumere* (2, 103; 2, 576; 2, 585-586; 6, 501; 11, 720: *poenas inimico ex sanguine sumit*), the complementary expression to *poenas pendere* (6, 20; 7, 595; 8, 668-669), *expendere* (10, 669; 11, 258), or *dare* (G. 1, 405; *Aen.* 2, 366; 4, 386; 6, 585; 8, 538; 10, 617; 11, 592).

656. fratre recepi: cf. 4, 47, n. (*surgere regna*).

658. numquam Dardaniae tetigissent nostra carinae.
dixit, et os impressa toro 'moriemur inultae,

hos γ. inpressa *codd.* moriamur b¹, moriēmur O. P. 1099 (*sed glossa αποθάνωμεν* [sic] *uerbum moriamur explicare uidetur*).

[655*, 657] 658. carinae: *Gl. Ansil.* 99, 723; q.v.

659-660. moriēmur . . . ait: *Macrob. Sat.* 4, 2, 2; *Serv. Aen.* 11, 847 — multae F —. 659. os . . . toro: *Gl. Ansil.* 417, 38.

657. felix, etc.: cf. Prop. 2, 32, 43-44: o nimium . . . felicem . . . Romam / si, etc.; Luc. 8, 139: heu nimium felix; Stat. Silo. 2, 7, 24: felix (heu nimis), etc.; 3, 3, 25: felix, a! nimium felix; 5, 5, 59: o nimium felix; Prud. Cont. Symm. 2, 1020: o felix nimium; C. I. L. VI, 1756 A, 17 (Carm. Lat. epigr. 1347 A, 17 Bücheler): felix, heu nimium felix, dum vita maneret; XIII, 5657, 3-4 (Carm. Lat. epigr. 362 Engström): (felix) o nimium, tanti si munere voli / (liq)uissem natos incolumemque virum; Alcuin, Ep. 216, p. 713 Wattenbach and Dümmler: tunc felix nimium quo non felicius ullus (cf. Aen. 9, 772); Hrabanus Maurus, Carm. 48, 4, 1 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 214): felices nimium; Walahfridus Strabo, Vita S. Galli, 177 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 433): o nimium felix; Paul. Diac. Carm. 19, 3: o nimium felix; Anon. De Poeta, 8 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 668): o felix nimium; Pope, Rape of the Lock, 4, 149-150: "Happy, ah! ten times happy had I been, / If Hampton Court these eyes had never seen." The use of felix contrasts powerfully with Dido's real state; cf. 4, 68, n. (infelix).

657. heu nimium: = 6, 189.

657. nimium felix: cf. G. 2, 458: o fortunatos nimium, sua si bona norint.

657. si litora, etc.: cf. Eur. Med. 1-15 (1-2: εἰθ' ὦφελ' Ἀργεὺς μὴ διαπτάσθαι σκάφος / Κόλχων ἐς αἶαν, κτλ.; 6-8: οὐ γὰρ ἂν δέσποινα' ἐμῇ / Μήδεια πύργους γῆς ἔπλευσ' Ἰωλκίας / ἔρωτι θυμὸν ἐκπλαγέισ' Ἰάσονος, κτλ.; cf. Enn. Sc. 246-254 Vahlen: utinam ne in nemore Pelio, etc.; Christus Patiens, 1-3 (Patr. Gr. 38, 137): εἰθ' ὦφελ' ἐν λειμῶνι μηδ' ἔρπειν ὄφισ, / μηδ' ἐν νάπαισι τοῦδ' ἐφεδρεῖσεν δράκων / ἀγκυλομήτης; Apoll. Rh. 4, 32-33: αἰθε σε πόντος, / ξέινε, διέρραισεν, πρὶν Κολχίδα γαῖαν ἰκίσθαι; Catull. 64, 171-172: utinam ne tempore primo / Gnosia

Cecropiae tetigissent litora puppes; Ov. H. 7, 139-140: vellem veluisset (sc. deus) adire / Punica nec Teucris pressa fuisset humus; Val. Fl. 8, 432-433: vellem equidem nostri tetigissent litora patris / te sine duxque illis alius quicumque fuisset; Stat. Theb. 1, 573-574: felix si Delia numquam / furta nec occultum Phoebos sociasset amorem; Juven. 4, 441-442: quanto felicius esset / si numquam terris tetigissent lumina vitae; Patin, Études sur les Tragiques grecs. Euripide, 1 (1894), 123, n., on the way in which passion naturally attacks imaginary causes and overlooks the real ones; also cf. Ecl. 6, 45: et fortunatam si numquam armenta fuissent.

658. Dardaniae: cf. 4, 626, n. (Dardanos); Ov. F. 1, 519: et iam Dardaniae tangit haec litora pinus. In Dido's words there is perhaps a bitter reminiscence of those of Anna in 4, 45-46: dis equidem auspiciis reor et Iunone secunda / hunc cursum Iliacas vento tenuisse carinas.

659. dixit: cf. 4, 30, n. (sic effata).

659. os impressa toro: cf. 4, 650: incubuitque toro; Serv.: *adplicito ore ad lectulum; aut quasi amatrix, ut* (4, 82-83) *'stratisque relictis incubat'; aut certe quasi peritura insensibili rei dat solum, et sic ad lectulum loquitur, ut ad hastam Turnus* (12, 97) . . . Mezentius ad equum (10, 861), etc. For kissing a couch once dear cf. Eur. Alc. 183: κυνεί δὲ προσπίπτουσα; Apoll. Rh. 4, 26: κύσσει δ' ἐόν τε λέχος, κτλ.; Ov. M. 8, 538; Val. Fl. 2, 168-169: oscula iamque toris iamque oscula postibus ipsis / ingeminant; 8, 6-9: ultima virgineis tunc flens dedit oscula villis; / quosque fugit complexa toros, crinemque genasque / ante per antiqui carpsit vestigia somni; / atque haec inpresso genuit miseranda cubili; and on customs connected with kissing cf. Kroll in P.-W. 5 Supplbd. (1931), 511-520, who

660. sed moriamur' ait. 'sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras.

set *M.* moriemur *F* (moriamur *F*¹). et *F* (ait *F*¹). si sic (corr. in sic sic) *γ*. iubat *M*, iualere *F*, iuuat ire *F*¹. sub (b m. 2) *γ*.

[659] 660. sed . . . ait: *Anth. Lat. no. 15, 107* (1, p. 54 Riese). 660. sic sic . . . umbras: *Anth. Lat. no. 15, 128* (1, p. 54 Riese) — iubat *A* —; *Isid. Etym. 1, 36, 10* — per umbras —; *Iulian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris, 5, 28*; cf. *Alberic, Flor. rhet.* (Willard in *Anniv. Essays . . . by Students of C. H. Haskins* (1929), 362). 660. iuvat . . . umbras: *Charis. Inst. gram. 2* (G. L. K. 1, 235) — uolat ire —. 660. ire . . . umbras: *Gl. Ansil. 318, 21*.

compares (517) *Aen. 2, 490* and other cases of the kissing of inanimate objects. Heyne (*ad loc.*) and others have thought it inappropriate that Dido should kiss the couch at the moment when she is to die unavenged upon Aeneas, and Pascal (*ad loc.*) thinks that she bit the couch in rage; but Kvíčala (*Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 211) well explains the kiss as a farewell to the couch (cf. Deianira in *Soph. Trach. 920-922*), to which, according to the third suggestion of Servius (quoted above), her words are addressed, as to a faithful friend; cf. also Rébelliau, *De Vergilio in inform. muliebr. quae sunt in Aen. Personis Inventore* (1892), 91, n. 2; 92, n. 1.

Yet there is perhaps in the act of Dido more than a mere kiss, for she seems partly to bury her face in the couch, if we may judge from similar phrases cited by Henry (*Aeneidea, 2* (1878), 820-830): *Ov. M. 10, 410-412*: *exsiluit gremio furibunda, torumque ore premens, 'discede . . . / . . .', ait*; *Petron. 18*: *lacrimas rursus effudit gemilibusque largis concussa tota facie ac pectore torum meum pressit*; *Stat. Theb. 5, 252*: *hic inpressa toris ora*; (perhaps) *Apul. M. 8, 9*: *loro (faciem impressa)*; *Flor. 16, 66* (of the corpse of Philemon): *iacebatque incumbens toro, similis cogitanti, adhuc manus volumini implexa, adhuc os recto libro impressus*. This gesture of Dido is, however, very inappropriately compared by Thiel (cf. Kvíčala, *op. cit.*, 211, n.) with *Suet. Caes. 82*, where Caesar at his murder veils his face with his toga.

659. moriemur: on the plural cf. Conway, *New Studies of a great Inheritance* (1921), 14, n. 2; also *Donat.*: *plurali numero dixit 'moriemur inultae' vel quia cum vestibis vel quia etiam cum soli aliquid faciunt aut dicunt, pluralem solent sibi numerum vindicare*.

In *Oxyrh. Papyri, 8* (1911), no. 1099 (cf. Moore in *Cl. Philol. 19* (1924), 319-321) Hunt publishes a fragment of a vocabulary to the *Aeneid*, in which Greek translations are given for certain words in *Aen. 4, 659-705* and in the beginning of the fifth book, the Latin words being also provided with acute accents on stressed syllables, and *moriemur* being marked with a macron over the *e*. The evidence from the Latin part of this vocabulary, inaccurate as it is, I have given in the apparatus criticus, cited as *O. P. 1099*.

659. inultae: as yet unavenged, though she had prayed for a later *ultor* (4, 625). In 2, 670 the line ends *moriemur inulti*, which seems to have been imitated by Virgil here, as also (in parody) by *Hor. Serm. 2, 8, 34* (Plessis and Lejay on that passage think the phrase is perhaps Ennian); *Ov. M. 9, 131* (cf. *F. 2, 233*: *moriantur inulti*); *Dracont. Orest. 168*. La Cerda (*ad loc.*), Voss (*Anmerk. u. Randglossen z. Gr. u. Römern* (1838), 211), Conington (*ad loc.*), and others place an interrogation point after *inultae*; cf. *Prop. 2, 8, 17-18*: *sic igitur prima moriere aetate, Propterit? / sed morere*. The interpretation of *Donatus*, however (*etiamsi inultae morimur tamen, quoniam hoc expedit, moriamur*), does not indicate that he so punctuated the line.

660. sic, sic: *Serv.*: *quasi interrogatio et responsio* (as Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 368, says, this would be right if the caesural pause came between *sic sic*, which it does not): *et placet sic inultam perire? placet. et hoc eam se loco intellegimus percussisse; unde alii dicunt verba esse se ferientis*, i.e., that they correspond to two stabs with the sword, as some scholars hold and as is apparently the meaning of *Anth. Lat. no. 634, 4* (2, p. 100 Riese), in a poem on the contents of the

661. hauriat hunc oculis ignem crudelis ab alto

crudelis *γ*.

661-662. hauriat . . . Dardanus: *Non. pp. 487-488 M.* (p. 783 L.) — auriat —; *Charis. Inst. gram. 4* (G. L. K. 1, 266); *Prisc. Inst. 17, 167* (G. L. K. 3, 192); *Donat. Ars gram. 3* (G. L. K. 4, 393); *Serv. in Donat.* (G. L. K. 4, 446); [*Serg.*] *Explic. in Donat. 2* (G. L. K. 4, 563); *Pomp. Comm.* (G. L. K. 5, 291); *Sacerd. Art. gram. 1* (G. L. K. 6, 450); [*Acro*] in *Hor. C. 4, 6, 12* — hauriat . . . alto om. a —; *Porphyr. in Hor. C. 4, 6, 12* — ignem om. —; *Donat. Aen. 4, 383* — nunc LR —; *Serv. Aen. 4, 159*; 12, 946; *Schol. Veron. Aen. 9, 363*; *Iulian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris, 2, 9*. 661. hauriat . . . ignem: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 359* — auriat *F* —. 661. hauriat . . . oculis: *Gl. Ansil. 275, 140* — auriat —. 661. hauriat: *Gl. Ansil. 275, 120*; *q.v.*; *Gl. Abba, 68, 22*.

Aeneid: quartus (sc. *liber*) *item miserae duo vulnera narrat Elissae*; cf. also the use of *vulnera* in 4, 683, though whether Anna at that line could yet have learned the facts is doubtful. This explanation, however, seems too melodramatic, and gives inadequate opportunity for Dido to utter the next two lines, so that the phrase *sic, sic* probably anticipates the manner of her death, without actually accompanying the stabs. Further, the references in 4, 689 and 6, 450 to a single wound should not be overlooked.

Virgil nowhere else uses exactly this repetition of *sic*, though a partial parallel is 2, 644: *sic, o sic positum adfati discedite corpus*. Others, however, have imitated it; e.g., *Sen. H. F. 1218* (= *H. O. 846*): *sic, sic agendum est*; *Med. 90*: *sic, sic, caelicolae, precor*; *Thy. 102*: *sic, sic ferantur*; *Sil. 4, 506*: *infelix animae, sic, sic vivasque*, etc.; 9, 25: *'sicine, sic,' inquit, 'grates pretiumque rependis'*; 16, 125: *sic, sic, caelicolae*; *Sidon. Ep. 2, 10, 4, 28*: *sic, sic psallite*; *Anth. Lat. no. 700, 6* (2, p. 171 Riese): *sed sic sic sine fine feriat*; *Waltharius, 946* (cf. Creizenach, *Die Aeneis, die vierte Eclogie, u. d. Pharsalia im Mittelalter* (1864), 15, n. 87): *sic, sic*; *Shakesp. Mids. Night's Dream, Act 5, Sc. 1, 305*: "Thus die I, thus, thus, thus"; *Tennyson, Lucretius, sub fin.*: "Thus — thus: the soul flies out and dies in the air"; and the phrase *sic, sic iuvat ire sub umbras* is quoted in *Thomas Kyd's Spanish Tragedy* by Hieronimo as he "sets his breast unto the sword" (1901 ed., p. 35). For such repetitions due to pathos or to earnestness cf. 5, 189: *nunc, nunc insurgite remis*; *Hor. C. 2, 17, 10*: *ibimus, ibimus*; 3, 3, 18: *Ilion, Ilion*; 4, 1, 2:

precor, precor; 4, 4, 70: *occidit, occidit*; 4, 13, 18: *illius, illius*; *Epod. 4, 20*: *hoc, hoc*; 5, 53: *nunc, nunc*; 5, 71: *a, a*; 7, 1: *quo, quo*; 14, 6: *deus, deus*; in *Seneca* they form a common mannerism; cf. Wölfflin in *Sitzb. d. k. bayr. Akad. 3* (1882), 438 (= *Ausgewählte Schriften* (1933), 294-295); *Canter, Rhet. Elements in the Trag. of Seneca* (1925), 156-157.

In this line *sic* has been variously interpreted (cf. Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 213), as meaning (1) 'even though I am unavenged'; (2) 'like a heroine'; (3) 'in a decent posture'; (4) 'in this place,' i.e., on the couch *quo perii* (4, 497); (5) in the view of Heyne, Kvíčala, et al., as construed with what follows, i.e., *hoc modo ut crudelis Dardanus ab alto hunc ignem oculis hauriat* (as an unhappy omen). Anna's words (4, 681): *sic te ut posita . . . abessem* may point to the third or fourth explanation noted above, but this is uncertain.

660. iuvat: cf. *Mart. 12, 18, 26*: *sic me vivere, sic iuvat perire*; *Sen. H. O. 344*: *ire, ire ad umbras Herculis nuptam libet*; [*Auson.*] *Epigr. 2, 11* (p. 420 Peiper): *sic cecidissee iuvat*. For *iuvat ire* (of a pleasure journey) cf. *G. 3, 292*; *Aen. 2, 27*; 3, 606: *hominum manibus periisse iuvabit*.

660. sub umbras: cf. 4, 25, n. (ad umbras); 4, 654: *sub terras ibit*; 6, 461: *has ire per umbras*; 6, 578: *tenditque sub umbras*; 11, 831 (= 12, 952): *fugit indignata sub umbras*; *Stat. Theb. 2, 608*: *iubet ire sub umbras*; *Carm. Lat. epigr. 743, 5* Bücheler: *ire sub umbras*; *Gualterus, Alexandreis, 9, 417*: *talem decet ire sub umbras*.

661. hauriat: *Schol. Dan.*: *aut videat*

662. Dardanus et nostrae secum ferat omina mortis.'

secum nostrae *M* (nostrae secum *M*²; secum nostrae *M*^{*}). omnia γ¹ (omina γ²).

[661]

omina tempestatis futurae, quia navigantibus malum omen est si regalis flamma videtur; aut certe satisfaciat suae crudelitati. With the figurative use of *haurire* cf. *G.* 2, 340: *lucem pecudes hausere*; *Aen.* 10, 899: *suspiciens hausit caelum*; 12, 945-946: *ille oculis postquam saevi monumenta doloris / exuviasque hausit*; *Liv.* 27, 51, 1; *Stat. Silv.* 5, 3, 32; *Sil.* 11, 282: *oculis mirantibus haurit*; *Ambr. Ep.* 18, 31: *hauriant, inquit, hauriant vel inviti fumum*; *Aug. Conf.* 10, 13: *per oculos haustum*; *De Gen. ad Lit.* 12, 22: *quod haurerunt oculi*; in *Cir.* 163 (*venis hausit sitientibus ignem*) the figure is different. Cf. also 4, 359, n. (*vocemque, etc.*).

661. *ignem*: cf. 5, 3-5: *moenia respiciens quae iam infelicitis Elissae / conlucent flammis. quae tantum accenderit ignem / causa laet.* Whether Dido herself kindled the pyre or it was later lighted by attendants to burn her body has been disputed; cf. Kvíčala, *Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis* (1881), 213-217. For the former view there are as reasons (1) the adjective *hunc*; (2) 4, 639-640, with her intention to end her cares and to burn the couch, etc. — a purpose misunderstood by Barce (and Anna) at the time, but later seen in its real meaning; (3) 4, 676: *hoc rogas iste mihi, hoc ignes araeque parabant*; (4) Dido's expectation that Aeneas will not yet be out of sight of the flames (5, 3-7 shows this expectation to be justified), though, if she had left the lighting to be done — without specific orders from her — after her death she could not have been sure that in the interval the Trojan fleet would not have passed out of sight (Aeneas apparently crosses to Sicily in one day; cf. Kvíčala, *op. cit.*, 215-216); (5) the argument that Silius (2, 422-425) makes Dido stand *pyram super ingentem* as she utters her curses seems weak, since we cannot assume that Silius exactly followed Virgil and his words do not specifically state that she kindled the flame. Contrary arguments are (1) the lack of an express statement

by Virgil that Dido applied the torch — a detail fully described in 6, 224, when Misenus is cremated; (2) such kindling was usually the work of menials; and (3), most important, lines 685-692 refer to events which would have taken place with difficulty if the pyre were already burning (though lines 667-671 suggest a parallel to the lamentation at a burning pyre from that at a burning city). Kvíčala's conclusion, which is not free from difficulties, but perhaps as simple as any, is that Dido had prepared everything for the final application of the torch; that Anna on her arrival at once understood the real intention of lines 639-640 and promptly executed it, so that Aeneas was able from a distance to see the flames; and that *hunc . . . ignem* here means "the fire that is presently to consume this pyre."

On instances, however, of death on the pyre cf. Kowalski, *De Didone Graeca et Latina* (1929), 11, n. 3, and works there cited; 14; noteworthy were the cases of Sardanapalus, Croesus, and Heracles; add also Callanus (Pease on *Cic. De Div.* 1, 47), Peregrinus, who imitated Heracles (*Luc. De Morte Peregrini*; *Hier. Chron.* A.D. 167), a barbarian general in Armenia (*Flor.* 2, 32, 45: *oppressus gladio et pyra, in quam se percussus inmisit, . . . Caesari satisfecit*), and the wife of Hasdrubal, who at the destruction of Carthage in 146 B.C. cast herself and her sons into the flames. So, says Otto of Freising (*Chron.* 2, 41), the last queen of Carthage and the first had a similar fate and a like exit from life.

661. *crudelis*: cf. 4, 311.

662. *Dardanus*: *Schol. Dan.*: *pro 'Dardanius' . . . vel quia ipse Aeneas ante Dardanus dictus est* (not, however, in the *Aeneid*, though *Dardanius* has been used; e.g., 4, 224; 4, 640; 4, 647). The numerous citations of this word by the grammarians (see the testimonia for 4, 661) are chiefly made to illustrate this use of *Dardanus* for

663. dixerat, atque illam media inter talia ferro conlapsam aspiciunt comites ensemque cruore

adque *F*, ast *p.* illa *F* (illam *F*¹).

conlapsam *FMP*, conlapsam *O.P.* 1099. accipiunt *Menag. alt.*

663. *media . . . talia*: *Gl. Ansil.* 361, 59.

664-665. *ensem . . . manus*: *Donat. in Ter. Ad.* 316 — *ensemque c. s. s. q. m.* —

Dardanius, in which Virgil probably imitates the *Δάρδανος ἄνθρωπος* of *Il.* 2, 701; 16, 807. Cf. 2, 618: *Dardana . . . arma*; 6, 57: *Dardana . . . tela*; *Sil.* 1, 14. In 12, 14 *Dardanium* is applied to Aeneas, as *Dardanus* here, with some feeling of contempt.

662. *nostrae*: cf. 4, 659, n. (*moriemur*). The order *nostrae secum* seems not only a little better attested by the MSS than the reverse, but also by the testimony of Donatus and the Scholia Danielis, and avoids a *cacemphaton*; cf. Unterharnscheidt, *De Veterum in Aeneide Coniecturis* (1911), 14; also Wagner, *Lectioem Verg. Libellus* (1859), 81.

662. *omina*: *Schol. Dan.*: *ut Aeneas quoque per vim maturius obeat. et bene infausta omnia (sic) inprecatur ei, quia ad novi regni auspicia properat*. Cf. also 4, 384: *sequar atris ignibus absens*; 5, 7: *triste per augurium Teucrorum pectora ducunt*. On omens at the beginnings of enterprises cf. Pease on *Cic. De Div.* 1, 65; *Hor. C.* 3, 27, 1-7; etc. For the plural cf. Spitta, *Quaest. Vergilianae* (1867), 12, who compares 2, 691: *haec omina firma*; 9, 21: *sequor omina tanta*.

663. *dixerat*: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); Gladow, *De Vergilio ipsius Imitatore* (1921), 13; *Stat. Theb.* 9, 481: *dixerat, atque illi, etc.*; for the repetition (*-at at-*) 4, 47, n. (*surgere regna*).

663. *atque*: cf. 4, 261, n. (*atque*); Knapp in *Cl. Weekly*, 26 (1933), 199, n. 8, who translates 'and at once.'

663. *illam, etc.*: *Sil.* 8, 148 baldly states: *haec dicens ensem media in praecordia adegit*; but Virgil, with a reticence like that of Greek tragedy, leaves the actual stabbing to be inferred by the reader; cf. *Donat.*: *non descripsit ictum quo Dido confossa est, sed quae fecisset demonstravit ut ostenderet celeritatem facti; nam nullus vidit percutientem sed cadentem et ferrum spumare inundatione*

sanguinis. tanta autem vis fuit ut exanimis manus defectione celerrima spargerentur; *Schol. Dan.* 4, 664: *non induxit occidentem se sed ostendit occisam. et hoc tragico fecit exemplo, apud quos non videtur quemadmodum fit caedes, sed facta narratur*. Henry (*Aeneidea*, 1 (1873), 481-482; 2 (1878), 84; 833-834) cites other cases in which the principal fact must be inferred from the context: *G.* 4, 458-461; *Aen.* 1, 86; 2, 105-107; 6, 77; 6, 529; 11, 858-864; 12, 603-604 (in the suicide of Amata): *nodum informis leti trabe nectit ab alta. / quam cladem, etc.* It may be noted, however, that later (4, 689) the wound is described as *sub pectore*, and if the explanation of Mackail cited in 4, 689, n. (*stridit*) is correct, the wound pierced one of Dido's lungs.

663. *media inter talia*: cf. 6, 183: *opera inter talia*; 12, 318: *media inter talia verba*.

663. *ferro*: on suicide by stabbing cf. 4, 475, n. (*decrevitque mori*). Virgil's own friend, Cornelius Gallus, in his suicide *stricto incubuit ferro* (*Amm. Marc.* 17, 4, 5). With *ferro conlapsam* cf. *Soph. Aias*, 828: *πεπτῶτα τῷδε περὶ νεορράντῳ ἔλπει*; 899: *κρυφαίῳ φασγάνῳ περιπτύχης*. *Ov. M.* 14, 79-81 describes the present incident: *non bene discidium Phrygii latura mariti, / Sidonis; inque pyra sacri sub imagine facta / incubuit ferro, deceptaque decipit omnes*.

664. *conlapsam*: cf. 4, 391-392: *susci-piunt famulae conlapsaque membra / . . . referunt*; 8, 584: *famuli conlapsum (sc. Evandrum) in tecta ferebant*; 9, 708: *conlapsa ruunt immania membra*. They apparently did not touch the body before the arrival of Anna, but merely gazed upon it (*aspiciunt*); cf. *Sil.* 8, 150-151: *viderunt comites tristisque per atria planctu / concurrunt; magnis resonant ululatus aedes*; in *Soph. Trach.* 930 the nurse relates how the attendants beheld

665. spumantem sparsasque manus. it clamor ad alta atria; concussam bacchatur Fama per urbem. lamentis gemituque et femineo ululatu

id *P* (it *P*²), et *FM* (it *F*¹*M*¹). iit *O.P.* 1099. at *P*, ab *O.P.* 1099.

concussam (cu ex corr.) *F*¹, concússam *O.P.* 1099. bachatur *p*.

lámētis *O.P.* 1099. cumgemituque *M* (gemituque *M*¹). femine *P* (femineo *P*¹). ululato *M*, *O. P.* 1099 (ululatu *M*¹).

[664*] 665-666. ad . . . atria: *Gl. Ansil.* 24, 6. 665. sparsasque manus: *Schol. Lucan.* 2, 30.

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667. lamentis gemituque: *Anth. Lat. no.* 83, 102 (1, p. 117 Riese) — lamenta *A* —.

667. lamentis: *Gl. Ansil.* 328, 240; q.v. 667. femineo ululatu: *Gl. Ansil.* 239, 170.

(ὄρωμεν) the body of Deianira after her suicide. In the present case it is not clear how they learned of Dido's death; in Eur. *Hipp.* 776-778 (cf. 790-791) the shrieks of a handmaid give the alarm to others.

664. *ensemque*, etc.: cf. Ov. *H.* 7, 185-186: *perque genas lacrimae strictum labuntur in ensem, / qui iam pro lacrimis sanguine tinctus erit.*

665. *sparsasque*: Serv.: *aut perfusas sanguine aut morte resolutas*; probably the former (supplying *cruore* from the preceding line), though Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 835) adopts the second and explains it of hands outspread, comparing Mart. 3, 82, 14; Alc. Avit. *Poem.* 1, 91, and some other, rather poor, parallels.

665. *it clamor*: cf. 4, 130, n. (it), and, for the use with *clamor* and similar nouns, 4, 443: *it stridor*; 5, 451: *it clamor caelo*; 8, 595: *it clamor*; 9, 499: *it gemitus*; 9, 664: *it clamor*; 11, 192: *it caelo clamorque virum clangorque tubarum*; 12, 409: *it tristis ad aethera clamor*; Luc. 1, 388: *it tantus ad aethera clamor*; Val. Fl. 3, 277: *it gemitus toto . . . caelo*; Stat. *Theb.* 3, 593 (= Sil. 2, 417; Vida, *Christias*, 1, 425): *it clamor ad auras*; Sil. 8, 150-151: *tristique per atria planctu / concurrunt; magnis resonant ululatus aedes*; also Apoll. Rh. 3, 708-709: ὄρωτο δ' ἰωὴ / λεπταλὴν διὰ δώματ' ὀδυρομένων ἀχέεσσιν. For the formal *conclamatio* after death cf. Mau in *P.-W.* 3 (1899), 347-348, to which add Liv. 1, 58, 12 (after Lucretia had stabbed herself): *conclamat vir paterque*.

Crump (*Growth of the Aeneid* (1920), 97)

observes that the remaining forty lines bring the book to a quiet ending, like the close of a Greek tragedy, and compares the last eighteen lines of Book VI after the climax in the apostrophe to Marcellus (6, 883).

665. *alta*: cf. 1, 725-726: *fit strepitus tectis vocemque per ampla volulant / atria*; 12, 474: *alta atria lustrat.*

666. *atria*: for the plural cf. Spitta, *Quaest. Vergilianae* (1867), 8-9; on the use of the word cf. also Magoun in *Proc. Am. philol. Assoc.* 27 (1896), lvii-lx.

666. *concussam*: cf. 12, 594: *quae totam luctu concussit funditus urbem.*

666. *bacchatur*: cf. 4, 300-301: *totamque incensa per urbem / bacchatur* (sc. *Fama*); 4, 302, n. (*Baccho*); 10, 41: *medias Italum bacchata per urbes*; 12, 608: *hinc totam infelix volgatur fama per urbem*; Sil. 7, 504: *Fama furit*. The word may be translated 'riots'; cf. Henry, *Aeneidea*, 4 (1889), 14.

666. *Fama*: cf. 4, 173, n. (*Fama*).

666. *per urbem*: Rumor has passed from the inner rooms (cf. 4, 645, n. (*interiora*), above) to the semipublic halls (*atria alta*) of the palace, from which it spreads wildly through the whole city. For *urbs* = *incolae* Lünzner (*Über Personificationen in Vergils Gedichten* (1876), 7) compares 9, 473-474: *pennata per urbem / nuntia Fama ruit*; 11, 26: *maestam . . . ad urbem*; 11, 350: *concedisse urbem luctu*; cf. also 7, 104: *volitans iam Fama per urbes*.

667. *et femineo ululatu* = 9, 477; Serv.: *proprio feminarum*. Horatius (*Epod.* 10, 17): *'et illa non virilis eiulatio'*; also 2, 487-488:

668. tecta fremunt, resonat magnis plangoribus aether, non aliter quam si immissis ruat hostibus omnis

tremunt *F* (fremunt *F*¹). clangoribus *Pa*, plangoribus (*p e corr. m. ant.*) *b*. alter *F* (aliter *F*¹). immissa *F* (immissis *F*¹), inmissis *Pp*, inmissis *O. P.* 1099. ruit *P* (ruat *P*²).

668. resonat . . . aether: *Arus. Ex. Eloc.* (G. L. K. 7, 505) — magnis om.; clangoribus *G* —.

669-670. non . . . Tyros: *Macrob. Sat.* 4, 6, 5 — carthago (cartago *P*); tiros *P* —; *Iul. Rufin. p.* 45 *Halm* — carthago —. 669-670. non . . . Karthago: *Iulian. Tolet. De Vitis et Figuris*, 6, 106 — inmissis; kartago —. 669. inmissis hostibus: *Gl. Ansil.* 305, 1092 — inmissis ostibus —.

penitusque cauae plangoribus aedes / femineis ululant; 11, 878: *femineum clamorem ad sidera tollunt*; Aesch. *Agam.* 594-596: γυναικεῖν νόμῳ / δόλον γμὸν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν κατὰ πτόλιν / ἔλασκειν, κτλ.; Val. Fl. 1, 318: *femineis . . . ululatus*; 8, 143: *inpletque ululatus auras*; Stat. *Theb.* 7, 677: *femineis ululatus*; 10, 567: *atria femineis trepidant ululata querellis*; 12, 790: *femineus quatit astra fragor*; Sil. 1, 318: *femineis . . . ululatus*; 13, 313: *femineum . . . ululatum*; Tac. *Hist.* 4, 18: *feminarum ululatu* (cf. *Germ.* 7; Pfister in *P.-W. Supplbd.* 4 (1924), 338); Oros. 4, 6, 13: *infeliciū matrum ululatus*; *Anth. Lat.* no. 483, 19 (2, p. 4 Riese): *ululans mulier*; Vida, *Scacchia*, 420: *lacrimis et femineo ululatu*; also Il. 22, 409: κωκυτῷ τ' εἶχοντο καὶ οἰμωγῇ κατὰ ἄστυ (where scholia assign οἰμωγῇ to men and κωκυτὸς to women); Pacuv. *Trag.* 268-269 Ribbeck: *conqueri fortunam adversam non lamentari decet; id viri est officium, fletus muliebri ingenio additus* (cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 2, 50; 2, 55); Hor. *Epod.* 16, 39: *muliebrem tollite luctum*; Plin. *Ep.* 6, 20, 14: *audires ululatus feminarum, infantum quirilatus, clamores virorum*. The words *ululare* and *ululatus* sometimes denote martial or ritual cries, but often the wailings after a death or at a funeral; e.g., 11, 190; Curt. Ruf. 4, 15, 29; Dares, 35; Dict. Cret. 4, 1; Hier. *Ep.* 108, 29, 1; Dracont. *Orest.* 458; *Hist. Apollon. Reg. Tyr.* 25. On laments at funerals cf. 11, 37-38; Henry (*Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 838) cites Eus. *Hist. eccl.* 4, 65 for those at the death of Constantine the Great. It will be recalled that the nymphs at Dido's 'wedding' had raised an *ululatus* (4, 168); its portentous

significance can now be seen; cf. Ov. *H.* 7, 95-96: *nymphas ululasse putavi; / Eumenides fatis signa dedere meis*.

On the hiatus (*femineo ululatu*), possibly to suggest the gasping effect of such laments, *ululatus* itself being onomatopoeic (4, 168, n. (*ulularunt*), above), cf. 4, 235, n. (*spe*); it is imitated by Val. Fl. 4, 393: *et Tartareo ululatu*; cf. Ov. *M.* 11, 17: *Bacchei ululatus*; Sannazaro, *De Partu Virg.* 1, 341: *luctisono ululatu*; Norden, ed. of Book VI, Anhang IX, 1, who thinks it represents γυναικεῖν δόλον γμῶ — "der Hiät und Rhythmus gleichzeitig malerisch."

668. *tecta*, etc.: the line is repeated by Albertus Stadensis, *Troilus*, 6, 413.

668. *fremunt*: of grief also in 6, 175; the house is here personified as in 2, 487-488: *aedes . . . ululant*.

668. *resonat*, etc.: cf. G. 3, 150: *furit mugilibus aether*; Aen. 2, 487-488 (quoted above); 5, 228: *resonatque fragoribus aether*; 12, 607: *resonant late plangoribus aedes* (Roiron, *Étude sur l'Imagination auditive de Virgile* (1908), 190-192; 306-308); Stat. *Theb.* 5, 697-698: *resonant ululatus aedes / femineis*; Sil. 8, 151: *magnis resonant ululatus aedes*; Oros. 4, 6, 12: *omnia ululatus personabant*; Vida, *Christias*, 5, 771: *resonant plangoribus aedes*. Lucr. 5, 973 speaks of *plangore . . . magno*.

668. *aether*: in hyperbole a sound is often raised to the stars, the sky, or the aether; cf. the examples cited above; also 2, 338: *sublatus ad aethera clamor*; 5, 140: *ferit aethera clamor*; 7, 395: *ululatus aethera complet*; 12, 409: *it tristis ad aethera clamor*; 12, 724: *ingens fragor aethera complet*; Hun-

670. Karthago aut antiqua Tyros, flammaeque furentes
culmina perque hominum volvantur perque deorum.

Versum 670 post 677 transposuit, dein ad locum suum revoc. F. carthago FMP, c(art)ha(go) O. P. 1099, cartago ac. tyros a, dell., Donat., tyros (corr. in tyros) γ.

(cu)l(mi)na O. P. 1099. uolantur M (uoluantur M¹), uoluuntur (corr. in uoluantur) P, uol- uuntur γ²c¹, uoluentur a¹, (uoluuntur) O. P. 1099 (vers. Graec. exhibet κυλιονται). deo(rum) P.

[669*]

ziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), 93, who compares Aesch. *Sepl.* 155: δοριτινακτος αιθηρ δ' επιμαίνεται.

669. non aliter: cf. *Il.* 9, 591-594: κατέ- λεξεν ἅπαντα / κήδε', δσ' ἀνθρώποισι πέλει τῶν ἄστυ ἁλώη, κτλ.; 22, 408-411 (the likeness noted by Macrob. *l.c.*): ῥώωξεν δ' ἐλεεινὰ πατήρ φίλος, ἄμφι δὲ λαοὶ / κωκυτῶ τ' εἶχοντο καὶ οἰμωγῇ κατὰ ἄστυ. / τῶ δὲ μάλιστ' ἄρ' ἔεν ἐναλγικίον, ὥς εἰ ἅπανα / Τίλιος ὀφρυόεσσα πυρὶ σμύχουτο κατ' ἄκρης; Aesch. *Sepl.* 320-368; Eur. *Phoen.* 1033-1039; Polyb. 2, 56, 7-10; Cic. 2 *Verr.* 4, 52: *quem concursum in oppido factum putatis? quem clamorem? quem porro fletum mulierum? qui viderent equum Troianum introductum, urbem captam esse dicerent*; Catull. 62, 24: *quid faciunt hostes capta crudelius urbe?* (cf. *Aen.* 2, 746: *quid in eversa vidi crudelius urbe?*); Ov. *H.* 8, 11-12: *quid gravius capta Lacedaemone serva tulissem, / si raperet Graias barbara turba nurus*; M. 12, 225: *captaeque erat urbis imago*; 14, 578-579: *et sonus et macies et pallor et omnia captam / quae deceant urbem*; Tr. 1, 3, 25-26: *si licet exemplis in parvis grandibus uti, / haec facies Troiae cum caperetur erat*; Liv. 1, 29, 2: *tumultus ille nec pavor qualis captarum esse urbium solet*, etc.; 3, 26, 5: *tantus pavor, tanta trepidatio fuit quanta si urbem, non castra, hostes obsiderent*; 23, 10, 7: *quid violentius capta Capua fieret*; Prop. 5, 8, 56: *spectaculum capta nec minus urbe fuit*; Sen. *De Clem.* 1, 26, 2: *quale eius regnum est? non aliud quam captarum urbium forma*, etc.; Stat. *Theb.* 7, 599-600: *templa putes urbem- que rapi facibusque nefandis / Sidonios ardere lares*, etc.; App. *B. C.* 4, 22: *βοαι καὶ διαδρομαὶ μετ' οἰμωγῆς ὥς ἐν ἀλίσκομένῃ πόλει*; Justin, 19, 2, 8: *quae res (a pestilence) cum nuntiata Karthagini esset non secus ac si urbs ipsa capta esset maesta civitas fuit* (cf. Oros.

4, 6, 11); Chariton, 1, 5: *πανταχῶθεν ὁ θρή- νος ἤκούετο, καὶ τὸ πρᾶγμα ἔφκει πόλεως ἁλώσει*; Opp. *Hal.* 5, 553-555 (after the harpooning of a young dolphin): *φαῖης κεν ὀδυρομένην δρᾶσθαι / μητέρα περθομένης πόλιος περὶ δυσμενέσσι / παίδων θ' ἐλκομένων, κτλ.*; Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 12, 100, 3-8: *in ogni canto / della città smarrita il romor erra / misto di gridi e di femmineo pianto, / non altrimenti che se presa in guerra / tutta ruini, e'l foco e i nemici empì / volino per le case e per li tempi*; Tennyson, *Passing of Arthur*, 43-45: "As of some lonely city sack'd by night, / When all is lost, and wife and child with wail / Pass to new lords, etc."; *Princess*, 4, 147: "There was a shriek as of a city sack'd." Quintil. 8, 3, 67-70 discusses the rhetorical description of the capture of a city. With *non aliter quam si* cf. G. 1, 201; Liv. 21, 63, 9; 23, 4, 4; Suet. *Aug.* 40.

669. immissis: cf. 2, 495: *immissi Danai.*

669. ruat: cf. 2, 290: *ruit alto a culmine Troia*; 2, 363: *urbs antiqua ruit*; 12, 610: *urbisque ruina*. The tragedy of Dido, like that of Turnus, is not merely individual but also involves the whole nation, and this makes the present expression more significant than as a mere simile.

670. Karthago, etc.: as noted by Glover (*Virgil*, 2 ed. (1912), 130, and n. 3), there had been, before Virgil's time, great historic sieges of both Tyre and Carthage, which would doubtless have occurred to the reader.

670. antiqua: Serv.: *vel nobilem dicit; vel illud ostendit, quia Carthago ante Byrsa, post Tyros dicta est, post Carthago a Cartha oppido, unde fuit Dido, inter Tyron et Berylon*. Tyre was, of course, old as contrasted with Dido's 'New Town' (1, 298; 1, 366: *novae Karthaginis arcem*; 1, 522). Eiselen (*Sidon* (1907), 25-26) concludes that in antiquity

672. Audiit exanimis trepidoque exterrita cursu,
unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnīs,

audit π. que add. sup. γ, om. a.
(u)nguibus: O. P. 1099.

673. unguibus . . . pugnīs: Donat. in *Ter. Eun.* 859 — unguibus (uirginibus TC) o. (ex T) s. f. et p. p. —.

Tyre was looked upon as older than Sidon and as having the political preeminence. Cf. also 4, 75, n. (*Sidonias*).

670. Tyros: for the form cf. *Ecl.* 6, 13: *Mnasyllus*; etc. In the case of this word the poets commonly use the -os ending; cf. Tib. 1, 7, 20; 2, 3, 58; 4, 2, 16; Prop. 3, 13, 7; Ov. *Ep.* 17, 149; M. 15, 288; Mart. 6, 11, 7; 10, 16, 7; Stat. *Silv.* 3, 2, 139.

670. flammaeque furentes: note the alliteration.

671. culmina: cf. 12, 569; Val. Fl. 2, 178-179; Sil. 17, 506: *volucris spargit per culmina flammās*; Kunz, *Realien in Vergils Aeneis*, 1 (1894), 19. Possibly the word may suggest lofty buildings (cf. Buscaroli, *ad loc.*), but it is also appropriate in that the roofs would be the parts of the buildings, both public and private, which contained the greatest amount of inflammable material, the stone or (sundried) brick walls offering little to the hostile torch.

671. perque: cf. *Ecl.* 10, 23: *perque nives alium perque horrida castra*; Aen. 1, 537: *perque undas . . . perque invia saxa*; 2, 364-367: *perque vias sternuntur inertia passim / corpora perque domos et religiosa deorum / limina*; 7, 499: *perque uterum sonitu perque ilia venit harundo*; also 9, 556-557: *inter et hostis / inter et arma*; and, for the position of *per*, 4, 257, n. (*ad*); 5, 663: *transtra per et remos*.

671. hominum . . . deorum: grief for Dido, like the conflagration of a city, affects both secular and ecclesiastical interests; cf. 4, 186-187. With *deorum* there is, of course, an ellipsis of *culmina*; cf. Bell, *The Latin Dual* (1923), 368.

671. volvantur: cf. 2, 706: *propiusque aestus incendia volvant*; 2, 758-759: *ignis edax summa ad fastigia vento / voluitur*; 12, 672-673.

672. audiit, etc.: the punctuation of this passage is disputed. Sparrow (*Half-Lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 145-146) summarizes the possibilities: (1) a colon after *audiit* (cf. Donat. *ad loc.*) and no other punctuation till the period after *ruit* (but then *soror* must be supplied with *audiit* from line 673, and the asyndeton *audiit, ruit* is awkward); (2) a semicolon after *pugnīs* (but there is the same asyndeton and *exanimis . . . pugnīs* seems nonsensical with *audiit* rather than with *ruit*); (3) a comma after *exanimis* (-que joining *audiit* and *ruit* rather than *exanimis* and *exterrita*; but he thinks *exanimis* in Virgil means 'dead' except in 5, 669, where it means 'out of breath'; Anna here, he believes, is not out of breath); accordingly he would emend to *audiit Anna minas*. The real clue, I think, is found in Servius, who glosses *exanimis* by *territa*; cf. Hor. *Serm.* 1, 1, 76: *an vigilae metu exanimem*; 2, 6, 114: *exanimis trepidare*; Liv. 1, 25, 6: *exanimis vice unius*; Hunziker, *Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils* (1896), 129, and n. 225. Yet the literal meaning is not excluded; in line 635 Dido gave orders that Anna should hurry; Virgil here refers to her *trepido . . . cursu*; and during the next speech, at least, she climbed a long flight of stairs (4, 685), all of which would explain breathlessness. For a similar passage cf. Sil. 8, 152-156: *accepi infelix dirisque exterrita fatis, / ora manu lacerans, lymphato regia cursu, / tecta peto celsoque gradus evadere nilor. / ter diro fueram conata incubere ferro, / ter cecidi exanimae membris revoluta sororis* (despite Anna's reference to Dido as *exanimae* it is hardly possible to connect *exanimis* in our passage with Dido).

673. unguibus, etc.: this line is repeated at 12, 871; cf. 11, 86: *pectora nunc foedans pugnīs, nunc unguibus ora*. Servius remarks:

674. per medios ruit ac morientem nomine clamat:

numine *m.* clumae *F* (clamat *F*¹).674. nomine clamat: *Gl. Ansil.* 394, 118.

cruentans, sanguine foedans; cf. *Il.* 19, 284–285 (of Briseis): *χερσὶ δ' ἄμυσσε / στήθεά τ' ἥδ' ἀπαλὴν δειρὴν ἰδὲ καλὰ πρόσωπα*; *Eur. Androm.* 826–827; *Suppl.* 76–77; 826; *Tr.* 280: *ἔλκ' ὀνύχεσσι δίπτυχον παρείαν*; *Hel.* 373–374; *Or.* 961–962; *Orac. ap. Hdt.* 6, 77: πολλὰς Ἀργείων ἀμφιδρυφάας τότε θήσει; *Leg. XII Tab.* 10, 4 (ap. *Cic. De Leg.* 2, 59; cf. *Fest.* p. 273 M. = p. 338 L.; *Plin. N. H.* 11, 157; *Serv. Aen.* 12, 606 (quoted below)): *mulieres genas ne radunto*; *Cic. Tusc.* 3, 62: *illa varia et delestabilia genera lugendi, paedores, muliebres lacerationes genarum, pectoris, feminum, capitis percussiones*; *Varr. ap. Schol. Dan. Aen.* 3, 67: *Varro quoque dicit mulieres in exsequiis et luctu ideo solitas ora lacerare, ut sanguine ostenso inferis satisfaciant. quare etiam institutum est ut apud sepulcra et victimae caedantur* (cf. *Lact. Plac. ad Stat. Theb.* 6, 204); *Aen.* 2, 285–286: *quae causa indigna serenos / foedavit voltus*; 12, 606: *et roseas laniata genas*, where *Servius* says: *moris fuit ut ante rogos humanus sanguis effunderetur, vel capivorum vel gladiatorum; quorum si forte copia non fuisset laniantes genas suum effundebant cruorem ut rogis illa imago restitueretur. tamen sciendum cautum lege duodecim tabularum ne mulieres carperent faciem, his verbis: mulier faciem ne carpilo*; *Tib.* 1, 1, 68: *teneris, Delia, parce genis*; *Prop.* 2, 9, 10; 2, 13a, 27; *Ov. Am.* 2, 6, 3–4: *ile, piaae volucres, et plangite pectora pinnis / et rigido teneras ungue notate genas*; 3, 6, 48; *H.* 12, 154; *Ars am.* 3, 708; *M.* 11, 726; *Tr.* 3, 3, 51; *Curt.* 8, 2, 5; *Petron.* 111, 8: *faciemque unguibus sectam*; *Plut. Solon.* 21, 4: *ἀμυχὰς δὲ κομπομένων . . . ἀφείλεν*; *Stat. Achill.* 1, 77; *Theb.* 6, 624–625: *pectora nunc maerens, nunc ora indigna cruento / ungue secat meritamque comam*; 12, 109–110; *Il.* Lat. 28–29: *maerens secat unguibus ora / dilaceratque comas annosaeque pectora plangit*; 845: *unguibus ora secat*; 1017: *saevisque arat unguibus ora*; *Mart.* 2, 11, 5; *Lucian, De Luctu*, 12: *οὐμωγαὶ δὲ ἐπὶ τοῖσιν καὶ κοκκινὸς γυναικῶν*

καὶ . . . στέρνα τυπτόμενα καὶ σπαρattoμένη κόμη καὶ φουνισσόμενα παρειαί, κτλ.; *Apul. M.* 5, 11; *Opp. Hal.* 4, 259; *Philostr. Imag.* 2, 4; *S. Zeno*, 1, 16, 6 (*Patr. Lat.* 11, 378): *lanialis crinibus, lanialis et genis, totum crebris ictibus livida pectus*; *Commod. Instr.* 73, 8: *os laceras, tundis pectus*; *Dict. Cret.* 4, 1: *foedantesque oralanialibus*; *Claud. In Eutrop.* 2, 193: *secat ungue genas*; *Prud. Peristeph.* 10, 557–558: *charaxat ambas unguis scribentibus / genas cruentis et secat faciem notis*; *Dracont. De Laud. Dei.* 3, 108–109: *unguibus ora / dilacerans*; 3, 390: *ungue secans vultus*; *Romul.* 9, 41; *Anth. Pal.* 7, 487, 3; 7, 491, 3–4; 7, 711, 8; *Anth. Lat. no.* 29, 2–3 (1, p. 100 Riese): *ne candida laedas / unguibus ora*; no. 475, 2 (1, p. 347 Riese): *consecuitque genas*; *Isid. Etym.* 11, 1, 123: *proprie autem sanguis animae possessio est; inde genas lacerare mulieres in luctu solent*; *Eustath. De Hysm. et Hysm. Amor.* 6, 11, 1: *τὴν παρειὰν αἰλακίζουσα, διαρρησσουσα τὴν ἐσθῆτα, λίθῳ πλήσσοις τὸ στέρνον καὶ τὴν κεφαλὴν καταράσσοις*; *Ermoldus, In Hon. Hludowici*, 1, 411–412 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 18): *percussit pectora pugnis / ora unciis foedans unguibus*; *Gualterus, Alexandreis*, 10, 397: *arantes unguibus ora*; *Dante, Inf.* 9, 49–50: *con l'unghie si fendea ciascuna il petto; / batteansi a palme*; 18, 131: *che là si graffia con l'unghie merdose*; *Spenser, Faerie Queene*, 2, 1, 15, 5: “And scratcht her face with ghastly dreriment”; *Shakesp. Troil. and Cress.* Act 4, Sc. 2: “Tear my bright hair and scratch my praised cheeks”; *Hartland, Legend of Perseus*, 2 (1895), 320–325; *Rohde, Psyche*, 4 ed. 1 (1907), 221; *Samter, Geburt, Hochzeit u. Tod* (1911), 177–179 (on such blood offerings); *Frazer, Folk-Lore in the Old Testament*, 3 (1918), 270–303 (Greek examples on p. 274), who thinks the blood drawn is to feed the dead (301–302) and the hair is to strengthen them (302–303); *Westermarck, Ritual and Belief in Morocco*, 2 (1926), 437; 515; 519.

673. foedans: cf. 3, 241: *pelagi ferro*

foedare volucres; *Dict. Cret.* 4, 1, quoted above.

673. *pectora pugnis*: on the plural *pectora* cf. the Greek *στήθεα*, English ‘breasts’; *Löffstedt, Syntactica* (1928), 33; 42. For beating of the breast in lamentation or grief cf. 1, 481: *lusae pectora palmis*; 4, 589: *pectus percussa*; 7, 503: *palmis percussa lacertos*; 11, 36–37: *gemitum lusi ad sidera tollunt / pectoribus*; 11, 877: *percussae pectora matres*; *Il.* 18, 30–31: *χερσὶ δὲ πᾶσαι / στήθεα πεπλήγοντο*; *Sappho*, 62, 2: *καττύπωνθε, κόραι*; *Soph. O. C.* 1609: *στέρνων ἀραγμοῖς*; *El.* 90: *στέρνων πληγὰς αἵματος σμύνων*; *Aias*, 631–634; *Eur. Alc.* 87; 103–104; *Tr.* 794; *Bion*, 1, 4–5: *πλατᾶγγσον στήθεα*; *Plaut. M. G.* 202: *pectus digitis pulsat*; *Rud.* 1290; *Catull.* 64, 351: *varia—bunt pectora palmis*; *Auct. ad Herenn.* 4, 45: *pectora maerore pulsabat*; *Dion. Hal.* 3, 21, 4: *ταῖς χερσὶν ἀμφοτέραις παίουσα τὸ στήθος ἐσθῆται καὶ ἀνεκαλεῖτο τὸν ἀνεψιόν*; 7, 67, 2; 11, 31, 3; *Diod.* 1, 83; *Prop.* 3, 24, 52: *plangas pectora*; *Ov. H.* 11, 91–92; *M.* 2, 584: *plangere nuda meis conabar pectora palmis*; 5, 473: *percussit pectora palmis*; 6, 248; 8, 536: *liventia pectora tundunt*; 11, 682: *pectoraque ipsa ferit*; 13, 491; 13, 688–689; *Tr.* 3, 3, 48: *feries pavida pectora fida manu*; *Philo Jud. De Abr.* 260; *In Flacc.* 157; *Sen. H. F.* 1100–1101; 1112–1113; *Tr.* 64: *ferite palmis pectora*; 93–94; 106; 114; 410; *Thy.* 1045–1046; *H. O.* 1857–1858; *Oct.* 736; 745: *pulsata palmis pectora*; *Dial.* 6, 6, 6; *Apocol.* 12, 3; *Luc.* 2, 38; 3, 733; 4, 182; 7, 128; 7, 608; *Petron.* 111, 9: *laceravit vehementius pectus*; *Plut. Ant.* 77, 3; 82, 1; *Cons. ad Apollon.* 26: *στερνοτυπούμενοι*; *De Garrul.* 11; *De Superst.* 13; *Calpurn.* 3, 30; *Stat. Theb.* 9, 399–400; *Silv.* 3, 5, 53; 5, 1, 179–180; 5, 5, 16–17; *Il. Lat.* 29 (quoted above); 1052; *Tac. Ann.* 1, 23, 1: *pectus alque os manibus verberans*; *Mart.* 2, 11, 5; 5, 37, 19; 10, 50, 2; *Juv.* 13, 127: *pugnis caedere pectus*; *Apul. M.* 4, 25; 4, 34; 5, 7; 7, 27; 8, 7; 9, 31: *pugnis obtundens ubera*; *Luc. De Syr. Dea*, 6; *De Luctu*, 12; *Dio Cass.* 78, 23; *Arnob.* 5, 16; 5, 17; *Juvenc.* 2, 377; *Lact. Inst.* 1, 21, 20; *Firm. Mat. De Errore*, 2, 3; *Avien. Descr. Orb. Terr.* 427; *Hier. Vit. Hilar.* 5: *pectus pugnis verberans*; *Ep.* 14, 11, 1; 22, 7, 3; 39, 5, 5;

Licent. Ad Aug. 48 (*Frag. Poet. Rom.* 415 Baehrens); *Claud. De Rapt. Pros.* 3, 129; 3, 405; *Sedul. Pasch. Carm.* 2, 124–125; *Dracont. De Laud. Dei.* 3, 388; 3, 648; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 193, 2; 7, 574, 7; *C. I. L. XIII.* 2397, 7 (*Carm. Lat. epigr.* no. 361 Engström); also *Luke*, 23, 48: *τυπτοντες τὰ στήθη*; *Paul. Diac. Carm.* 9, 15 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 1, 47): *tundimus, heu, maesti pro plausu pectora pugnis*; *Anon. In Trono S. Ceciliae*, 6, 11 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 2, 663): *tundamus pectora pugnis*; *Anon. Vita Leudigarii*, 2, 37 (*Poet. Aevi Carol.* 3, 26): *pugnis pectora tundens*; *Johannes Canaparius, Vit. S. Adalberti*, 2 (in *Bierlowski, Mon. Polon. hist.* 1 (1864), 163; *Olbert of Gembloux*, 4 (*Acta Sanctorum*, March, 3, 847). Songs accompanying the beating of the breast are known as *κομμοί*; cf. *Diehl in P.-W.* 11 (1922), 1195. Probably the breast (as at times also the head) was beaten because it was regarded as the seat of the emotions; cf. 4, 4, n. (*pectore*). The Scholia Danielis on *Aen.* 5, 78 give, however, a different explanation: *umbrae autem sanguine et lacte satiantur; unde feminae quae mortuos prosequuntur ubera tundunt ut lac expriment, cuncti autem se lacerant ut sanguinem effundant*. On Virgil's portrayal of feminine lamentation cf. *Kunz, Realien in Vergils Aeneis*, 1 (1894), 33. For the alliteration (*pectora pugnis*) cf. 4, 589, n. (*terque quaterque*).

674. *per medios*: = 1, 440; 1, 504; 10, 21. The masculine is generic; probably most of the immediate attendants were women.

674. *nomine clamat*: cf. 4, 30, n. (*sic effata*); 4, 383–384. *Donat.*: *quaeritur cur dixerit 'nomine clamat' et cur secutum sit non Didonis vocabulum sed 'hoc illud, germana, fuit?' aut quid necesse fuerit eam clamari cum nomine. cum nomine igitur vocari oportuit eam quae maxima leti parte oppressa vanescens iam morte oculis nesciret quae loqueretur; quia tamen accipere aliquid auribus poluit addi vocabulum debuit, cuius integra ratio est quod non Didonem sed germanae nomine appellare ut sentiret sororem suam esse praesentem*; *Serv.*: *aut Didonem vocat . . . aut 'nomine clamat' nominat; sicut et Homerus dicit (Il. 1, 361, etc.) ἐκ τ' ὀνόμαζεν . . . aut certe vero nomine, ut solent dolentes . . . et*

675. 'hoc illud, germana, fuit? me fraude petebas?
hoc roguis iste mihi, hoc ignes araeque parabant?
quid primum deserta querar? comitemne sororem

frude P.

isti M (iste M³). ignis π. arae add. sup. F¹.

prium M (primum M¹). quaerar F (querar F¹), querar (r post. m. 2) γ. comitemue γ¹ (comitemque γ²). sorore M (sororem M¹).

675. hoc . . . fuit: Donat. in Ter. Andr. 125 — g. f. (i. c. f. A, e. i. c. f. TC, a. r. f. V); [Prob.] De ult. Syll. (G. L. K. 4, 258); Terent. Maur. 1667 (G. L. K. 6, 375). 675. hoc . . . germana: [Prob.] De ult. Syll. (G. L. K. 4, 221). 675. fraude petebas: Gl. Ansil. 253, 76.

676. hoc roguis . . . parabant: Non. p. 221 M. (p. 327 L.). 676. roguis iste: Gl. Ansil. 500, 103. 676. hoc ignes . . . parabant: Anth. Lat. no. 17, 48 (1, p. 63 Riese).

677-678. comitemne . . . moriens: Non. p. 399 M. (p. 641 L.). 677. quid . . . sororem: Macrob. Sat. 4, 6, 12. 677. quid . . . querar: Anth. Lat. no. 17, 8 (1, p. 61 Riese).

multi quaerunt quomodo procedat hoc, cum eius nomen nusquam sequatur . . . dicendo 'hoc illud, germana, fuit' quasi nomen dixit. sane sciendum bene eum perturbatae integrum non dedisse sermonem; Kvčala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis (1881), 217. Cf. also G. 4, 356: te crudelem nomine dicil; Aen. 4, 383-384: nomine Dido / saepe vocaturum.

On the transitive use of *clamat* cf. Ecl. 6, 43-44: Hylan . . . relictum / clamassent; Aen. 7, 504: duos conclamat agrestis; Moretum, 31: *clamat* Scybalen; Thes. Ling. Lat. 3 (1912), 1253, 33-73.

675. hoc illud: cf. 2, 664-665: hoc erat . . . quod me . . . eripis; 3, 558: haec illa Charybdis; 7, 128: haec erat illa fames; 7, 255-256: hunc illum fatis . . . / portendi; 7, 272: hunc illum poscere fata; Ter. Andr. 125-126: hoc illud est, / hinc illae lacrimae, haec illast misericordia; Wagner, Quaest. Vergilian. 20, 8 (4 ed., 4 (1832), 478); Kvčala, Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis (1881), 218-219, who compares τοῦτ' ἐκεῖνο ἦν, etc.

On Anna's former incredulity cf. 4, 436, n. (*quam, etc.*); for Dido's deception of Anna 4, 479, n. (*quae, etc.*). Dido's selfishness recalls that of Amata, which brings grief to her family (12, 605-611), Anna being introduced partly for the effect of pathos; cf. Heinze, Virgils epische Technik, 3 ed. (1915), 128. With her laments Heinze (*op. cit.*, 431) compares those of the mother of Euryalus (9, 481-497), of Aeneas (11, 42-58), and of Evander (11, 152-181). The position of *hoc*

and its repetition at the beginning of the next line make it very emphatic.

675. me: also emphatic (cf. 4, 314: mene fugis); the magic rites which Anna had supposed directed toward Aeneas she now feels were primarily to deceive her, Dido's own dear sister; cf. 4, 8, n. (*unanimam*); also 4, 477; 4, 500-501.

675. fraude petebas: cf. 12, 359-360: quam bello, Troiane, petisti / Hesperiam; Liv. 40, 55, 3: *petitus fraude et insidiis*. The verb *petere* by itself also has often the idea of hostility. In Ov. M. 14, 81 it is said of Dido *deceptaque decipit omnes*.

676. ignes: on the plural for words denoting fire or flames (*ignes, incendia, lumina*) cf. Braumüller, Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis, 1 (1877), 12.

676. arae: cf. 4, 509; 4, 517.

677. quid primum: cf. 4, 284: quae prima exordia sumat; 4, 371: quae quibus anteferam; Mackail (*ad loc.*) paraphrases: "I was the first to whom you carried all your complaints; is it my first complaint now, that you have deserted me?" Grief-stricken survivors in the Aeneid may pray for death but they do not commit suicide; cf. Knapp and Hahn in Cl. Weekly, 27 (1934), 146, n. 18.

677. deserta: cf. Dido's own complaint in 4, 330: non . . . capta ac deserta viderer.

677. comitemne: Serv.: deest 'illudne quod sprevisi comitem sororem?' et semiplene loquitur; cf. 9, 199-200: mene igitur socium

678. sprevisi moriens? eadem me ad fata vocasses;
idem ambas ferro dolor atque eadem hora tulisset.
his etiam struxi manibus patriosque vocavi

spraeuisti F. adem M (eadem M¹). mea M (mead M¹).

fero F (ferro F¹). adque Fa. ora Pγ.

uocauit (corr. in uocauit) π.

[677]

679. idem . . . tulisset: Prisc. Inst. 12, 21 (G. L. K. 2, 589) — ferre R; ora LK Pal. —; Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 456 — decor F —. 679. idem dolor: Gl. Ansil. 287, 31. 679. eadem hora: Gl. Ansil. 191, 9.

680. his . . . manibus: Anth. Lat. no. 11, 158 (1, p. 47 Riese).

summis adiungere rebus, / Nise, fugis, solum te in tanta pericula mittam; Sil. 8, 66: quod se non dederit comitem in suprema sorori; 8, 82-83: ille — / heu cur non idem mihi tum! — roguis.

677. sororem: cf. 4, 31, n. (*sorori*).

678. eadem . . . ad fata: = eadem . . . ad mortem; cf. Dietsch, Theologum. Vergilian. Particula (1853), 27, who contrasts the use of *fato* in 4, 696.

678. vocasses: either (1) the apodosis accompanying a protasis to be completed from *comitem sprevisi moriens* (= *nisi me comitem sprevisisses*) and to be translated 'you might have called me,' or (2) an unfulfilled wish, without the usual *utinam*, to be rendered 'oh, if you had only called me'; cf. 8, 643; 10, 443; 10, 854; 11, 162-163; Catull. 2, 9; Cir. 447; Ov. H. 10, 77; Tr. 4, 3, 41-47; Sil. 17, 559-560; Walahfridus Strabo, De Vita . . . Mammae, 19, 22 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 289): *aliena ad fata vocasses*; Kvčala, *op. cit.*, 219; Sonnenschein in Cl. Rev. 25 (1911), 244; Kühner-Stegmann, *Ausf. Gram. d. lat. Spr.* 2, 1, 2 ed. (1912), 184-185; Riemann-Ernout, *Syntaxe latine*, 7 ed. (1927), 295, §167, who call it the subjunctive of regret; but cf. also Blase in Glotta, 10 (1919), 36.

With the thought cf. Eur. Orest. 1052-1053: πῶς ἂν ξίφος νῶ ταῦτόν, εἰ θέμις, κτά- νοι / καὶ μνήμα δέξαιθ' ἐν; Ov. M. 8, 709: *auferat hora duos eadem*, etc.

679. ferro: whether Anna uses this for suicide in general or already knows the method of Dido's death (4, 663-664) is uncertain.

679. eadem hora: Donat.: *quas unus vinxerat germanitatis adfectus unum genus mortis, eadem simul momenta consumerent perindeque fieret ut allera alterius durum non videret exitium*; cf. Soph. Trach. 719-720: καίτοι δέδοκται, κείνος εἰ σφαλῆσεται, / ταύτη σὺν ὀρμῇ κάμῃ συνθανεῖν ἅμα; Heliod. Aethiop. 8, 11: εἴθε γ' ἅμα κατ' ἀμφοτέρων καὶ θάνατον ἔνα καὶ ἐν ὥρᾳ μὴ καταδικάσειεν, ὥς οὐδὲ τελευτήν ἂν τοῦτ' ἔβην, ἀλλὰ πάντων κακῶν ἀνάπαυλαν.

679. tulisset: Schol. Dan.: *abstulisset*; cf. Ecl. 5, 34; Aen. 2, 555; 2, 600; 5, 356: *ni me quae Salium Fortuna inimica tulisset*; 10, 652; etc.

680. his . . . manibus: = 8, 426; cf. Donat.: *manus meas parricidii crimine polluiti*; Schol. Dan.: *quasi sceleris contaminata et quasi ipsa interitum sororis adiuerit*. Henry (Aeneidea, 2 (1878), 841) compares Stat. Theb. 12, 336-337: *ipsa dedi bellum maestumque rogavi / ipsa patrem, ut talem nunc te complexa tenerem*. Eitrem (in Festschrift til H. Koht (1933), 40) thinks Anna's statement opposed to 4, 504-521, where there is no mention of her presence. Yet cf. Dido's command to her in 4, 494-497; 4, 503.

680. struxi: Serv.: *subaudis 'rogos.'*

680. patrios . . . deos: why Servius calls these Saturn and Jupiter is not clear.

680. vocavi voce: a solemn ritual use of the *figura etymologica*; cf. G. 1, 388; Aen. 5, 860 (= 12, 638): *voce vocantem*; 6, 247: *voce vocans*; 6, 506: *voce vocavi*; 10, 873: *voce vocavit*; 12, 483: *voce vocat*; 12, 638; Enn. Ann. 50: *voce vocabam*; Lucr. 4, 711: *voce vocare*; Tib. 2, 1, 83-84: *vocale voce*; Ov. H.

681. voce deos, sic te ut posita crudelis abessem.
extincti te meque, soror, populumque patresque

positam Mb (posita M^{2b1}).

extincti P, extincti p, extincti M (extincti M²), extincti F, extincti γa, extincti (csi m. rec. in ras.) b, extincti xi π.

681. sic posita: Gl. Ansil. 522, 76.

682. extincti . . . soror: Charis. Inst. gram. 4 (G. L. K. 1, 278) — extincti (extincteque L, extincti N); me soror L —; Diomed. Art. gram. 2 (G. L. K. 1, 441) — extincti (extincti M); me teque —. 682. extincti: [Prob.] De ult. Syll. (G. L. K. 4, 263) — extincti —; Gl. Ansil. 227, 1246 — extincti —.

10, 34: voce voco; M. 10, 3: voce vocatur; 10, 507: voce vocavi; Löfstedt, Syntactica, 2 (1933), 185. The added ablative indicates clearly that the invocation is uttered aloud rather than silently; cf. Landgraf in Act. Sem. philol. Erlang. 2 (1881), 26; Appel, De Romanorum Precationibus (1909), 68; 209; Pease on Cic. De Div. 1, 129.

681. sic . . . posita: cf. 4, 660, n. (sic, sic); also Ecl. 2, 55: sic posita quoniam suavis miscetis odores; Aen. 2, 644: sic o sic positum adfati discedite corpus; 11, 30: corpus . . . exanimi positum Pallantis. Palmer (on Ov. H. 10, 122) thinks positus is used of one who lies down to die and compositus of one laid out on his death-bed by his friends; cf. Ov. M. 9, 503-504: toroque / mortua componar positaque del oscula frater; also Stat. Theb. 8, 651-652: positusque beata / morte pater.

681. ut: cf. Kvíčala (Neue Beitr. z. Erkl. d. Aeneis (1881), 220-221), who places a colon after deos and interprets the rest of the line as an indignant question, since he thinks it 'too modern' a touch to explain it as a purpose-clause. But it is rather a clause of result, and Klouček (Vergiliana (1883), 22-24), attacking the view of Kvíčala, cites as parallel 11, 160-161 (Evander to his son's corpse): contra ego vivendo vici mea fata, superstes / restarem ut genitor; Ov. H. 3, 53-56; Liv. 40, 13, 4; Sil. 7, 628-630; Curt. 8, 2, 6.

681. crudelis: is this a vocative (of Dido), or a nominative (in apposition with the subject of abessem), as Donatus understands it (the Scholia Danielis are in doubt)? It

seems more in keeping with Anna's complainant disposition to suppose that she makes the charge against herself rather than against Dido (as in G. 4, 356; Aen. 9, 483), and in 12, 873 Juturna, as Cartault (L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide, 2 (1926), 887) observes, like Anna, unguibus ora soror foedans et pectora pugnīs, charges herself with being dura towards Turnus because she can no longer assist him and must consequently appear insensible to his calamity. Henry (Aeneidea, 2 (1878), 841) draws somewhat weak conclusions from the word-order, yet points out that Anna in this sentence, with its emphasis upon her own part in preparing for the tragedy, would but confuse the question if she turned to reproaches against Dido. Cf. also Sil. 8, 65-66: divis inimica sibi, / quod se non dedit comitem in suprema sorori; 13, 655-657: cur / ulla fuere adeo, quibus a te saevius abessem, / momenta; Claud. De Rapt. Pros. 3, 420-421: ego te, fateor, crudelis ademi, / quae te deserui, etc.

682. extincti: cf. C. I. L. VI, 9685 (Carm. Lat. epigr. no. 1786 Bücheler): extincti hic meque simul matremque patremque; also Soph. Ant. 751: ἦδ' οὖν θανέεται καὶ θανούσ' ὀλεῖ τινά; 871: θανὼν ἔτ' οὖσαν κατήραres με; 1288: αἰαῖ, ὀλωλότ' ἄνδρ' ἐπεξεργάσω; El. 808: Ὀρέστα φίλταθ', ὥς μ' ἀπώλεας θανῶν; Aias, 901-902: ὦμοι, κατέπεφνες, ὦραξ, / τόνδε συνναῦταν; Eur. Orest. 195-200: ἔκαρες ἔθανες, ὦ / τεκομένα με, / μήτερ, ἀπὸ δ' ὠλεσας / πατέρα τέκνα τε τάδε / σίθεν ἀφ' αἵματος / ὀλόμεθ' ἰσονίκους, ὀλόμεθα; Hunziker, Die Figur der Hyperbel in den Gedichten Vergils (1896), 127, for the use of hyperbole in ex-

683. Sidonios urbemque tuam. date volnera lymphis

volnera Ppγ²abc.

683. urbemque tuam: Serv. Aen. 4, 655.

pressions of extreme grief. On the form and figurative use of extincti cf. 4, 606, n. (extinxem).

682. meque: Schol. Dan.: Varro ait non Didonem sed Annam amore Aeneae impulsam se supra rogum interemisse; cf. above, introd., p. 20.

682. populumque patresque: a distinctly Roman phrase, suggesting the familiar S. P. Q. R.; cf. Hahn, Coordination of non-coordinate Elements in Vergil (1930), 187, n. 816. Virgil does in 8, 679 use the order patribus populoque, yet generally he and other poets employ the reverse; cf. G. 2, 509: plebisque patrumque; Aen. 9, 192: populusque patresque; Lucil. 1229 Marx: populusque patresque; Ov. M. 15, 486-487: extinctum Latiaeque nurus populusque patresque / delevit Numam; 15, 590: populumque gravemque senatum; Stat. Silv. 1, 4, 115: populi patrumque; 2, 5, 25: populusque patresque; Mart. 7, 5, 1: populi patrumque; 8, 50, 7: populusque patresque; 9, 48, 7: populumque patresque; Sil. 10, 634 (= 11, 496): populusque patresque; Auson. Mosella, 409: populumque patresque; Priscian. Carm. 1, 312: populi sanctique senatus; Sadoletto, De Q. Curtio, 47: populusque patresque. Norden (Ennius u. Vergilius (1915), 45, n. 1) thinks the expression originated in a lost passage of Ennius. The order is occasional in prose; e.g., Sall. Iug. 41, 2: populus et senatus Romanus; 88, 1: plebi patribusque; C. I. L. II, 5041 (= Dessau 15): populus (sic) senatusque Romanus; Mon. Ancy. 8: iussu populi et senatus. Schol. Dan.: quidam hoc loco volunt tres partes politicae comprehensas, populi, optimalium, regiae potestatis; Cato enim ait de tribus istis partibus ordinatam fuisse Carthaginem. As noted by Cartault (L'Art de Virgile dans l'Énéide, 1 (1926), 335), the whole nation is represented as perishing with Dido, giving thus a national color to the event. On the double -que cf. 4, 83, n. (audique videtque); on the alliterative

pair Wölflin in Sitzb. d. k. bayr. Akad. 2 (1881), 77 (= Ausgewählte Schriften (1933), 271).

683. Sidonios: cf. 4, 75, n. (Sidonias).

683. date: Serv.: aut aquam aut 'dale,' id est, permittite. lavare autem cadavera satis proximis concedebatur; unde queritur mater Euryali (9, 487-488) 'nec vulnera lavi/veste tegens.' Bell (The Latin Dual (1923), 280) and others explain as date (lymphas), volnera lymphis abluam, while Geist (Erkl. einiger Stellen aus d. Aeneide Vergils (1878), 43) and others suggest a case of hypallage, date volnera lymphis being for date volneribus lymphas; cf. 3, 61: dare classibus austros. With dare in the second sense suggested by Servius Sabbadini (in Riv. di Filol. 60 (1932), 498) well compares 2, 669-670: sinile instaurata revisam / proelia, and especially 6, 883-884: manibus date lilia plenis / purpureos spargam flores (where lilia is the object, not of date, but of spargam; yet cf. Haackermann in Philologus, 20 (1863), 517-518); cf. also Auson. Ephem. 2, 5-6: da rorē fontano abluam / manus et os et lumina (and Housman in Cl. Rev. 16 (1902), 282); Prud. Cont. Symm. 2, 732: date, vincula demam; Peristeph. 4, 193: pio fletu, date, perluamus. The confusion of construction and compression of thought are made possible, as Mackail (ad loc.) observes, by the fact that in the first person the future indicative and the present subjunctive (abluam) are identical. With the general thought cf. Ov. M. 13, 531-532: quid moror interea crudelia vulnera lymphis / abluere; Stat. Theb. 3, 398: vulnera dum lymphis Epidaurius eluit Idmon; also G. 4, 376: manibus liquidos dant ordine fontis.

683. volnera: perhaps meaning one volnus letale (cf. Spitta, Quaest. Vergilianae (1867), 16) or else with reference to more than one wound (cf. 4, 660, n. (sic, sic), above); yet cf. 4, 689: volnus; 6, 450: recens a volnere Dido.

684. abluam et, extremus si quis super halitus errat,

et m. 2 *supr. P.* halitus (h *add. supr.*) γ, alitus *abπ.* erret *dett.*

683. *lymphis*: on the washing of bodies before burial cf. the Greek custom seen in Eur. *Alc.* 158-160; Plat. *Phaedo*, p. 115A: δοκεῖ γὰρ δὴ βέλτιον εἶναι λουσάμενον πνέειν τὸ φάρμακον καὶ μὴ πράγματα ταῖς γυναῖξι παρέχειν νεκρὸν λούειν; in Virgil the same is seen at 6, 219 (of the washing of the corpse of Misenus). Death brought a certain pollution to all connected with it, which had to be removed by ritual washing; cf. Penquitt, *De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu* (1910), 66. For the plural *lymphis* cf. 1, 701; 9, 23; 10, 834: *volnera siccabat lymphis*; Braumüller, *Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis*, 1 (1877), 11.

684. *extremus, etc.*: Donat.: *observare* (query: *servare*?) *enim volo exeuntem spiritum; ideo hoc dixit quia hunc carissimi colligere se posse arbitrantur, licet teneri non possit*; Schol. Dan.: *muliebriter, tamquam possit animam sororis excipere et in se transferre*. Just before death the soul was supposed to hover in the throat or the nose of the dying man; cf. such expressions as *anima in faucibus* (Querolus, p. 46, 5 Peiper), in *primis labris animam habere* (Sen. *N. Q.* 3, praef. 16), ἡ ψυχὴ ἐπὶ χειλέων (Herond. 3, 3-4; *Anth. Pal.* 5, 78, 1; 5, 197, 5-6), *anima in naso* (Petron. 62, 5; cf. *Anacreont.* 29 (7), 7-8: κραδίη δὲ βρώς ἀχρὺς ἀνέβαινε), and other passages collected by Headlam on Herond. 3, 4. At last it made its escape (cf. Plin. *N. H.* 7, 174), sometimes in the shape of a bird (Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 3 (1911), 33-36) or in other forms which the hand might catch (cf. Harrison, *Prolegom. to the Study of Gr. Relig.* (1908), 632), but more commonly breathed forth into the air (4, 705; Sil. 10, 152-153: *dum supremam Telesinus in auras / exhalat lucem*; Hier. *Vit. Paul.* 16: *extremum halitum fundam*; Serv. *Aen.* 12, 395 (= Isid. *Etym.* 10, 72): *ut extremum spiritum redderent terrae*), so that it might be caught in the mouth of kinsmen or successors of the dying; e.g., Cic. 2 *Verr.* 5, 118: *quae nihil aliud orabant nisi ut filiorum extremum spiritum ore excipere sibi*

liceret; Cons. ad Liv. 95-97: *at miseranda parens suprema nec oscula legi, / frigida nec fovit membra tremente sinu; / non animam apposito fugientem excepit hiatu*; 157-158: *tu mea condas / lumina et excipias hanc animam ore pio*; Ov. *Ars am.* 3, 745-746: *exil et incauto paulatim pectore lapsus / excipitur miseri spiritus ore viri*; M. 7, 860-861: *et in me / infelicem animam nostroque exhalat in ore*; perhaps M. 12, 424-425: *oraque ad ora / admovet atque animae fugienti obsistere temptat* (but the idea may be a different one; cf. 2 *Kings*, 4, 34-35); Sen. *Ep.* 78, 4: *non effundere mihi spiritum videbar sed tradere*; H. O. 1341-1342: *o nate, liceat, spiritus fugiens meo / legatur ore*; Stat. *Silv.* 5, 1, 195-196: *haerentemque animam non tristis in ora mariti / transtulit*; Justin, 23, 2, 8: *ut extremos viri spiritus exciperet*; Ambr. *De Exc. Satyr.* 1, 19: *o amplexus miseri inter quos . . . halitus supremus evanuit . . . utinam si tuam nequivi meo spiritu vitam producere, vel ultimi anhelitus tui vigor transfundi potuisset in meam mentem et illam tui animi, puritatem atque innocentiam noster spirasset affectus*; C. I. L. X, 7567: ἡδε γὰρ ἦνκα πνεῦμα μελῶν ἀπέλυε Φίλιππος, / ψυχὴν ἀκροτάτοις χεῖλεσι προσπελάσας, / στ(ᾷ)σα λι(π)οψυχ(ο)ῦντος ὑπὲρ γαμέτου Πάμπτιλλα / τὴν κείνου ζωὴν ἀντέλαβεν θανάτου; *Epigrammata Gr.* no. 327, 1-2 Kaibel: ἔθαδε κείμει / ἐν χρηστῆς ἀλόχου πνεῦ(μα) λιπὼν παλάμαις; Ariosto, *Orl. fur.* 24, 82, 5-8: *le reliquie estreme / dello spirto vital, che morte fura, / va ricogliendo con le labra meste, / fin ch' una minima aura ve ne reste*; Tasso, *Ger. lib.* 2, 35, 3-6: *s' impetrerò che giunto seno a seno / l' anima mia nella tua bocca io spiri; / e venendo tu meco a un tempo meno, / in me fuor mandì gli ultimi sospiri*; Mau in *P.-W.* 3 (1899), 347; Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, 4 ed., 1 (1903), 432-433; Smith, *Relig. of the Semites*, 2 ed. (1894), 40, n. 1; Kroll in *Rhein. Mus.* 52 (1897), 338-339; Rohde, *Psyche*, 4 ed., 1 (1907), 23, n. 1; Oldfather in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 39 (1908), 55, n. 2; Frazer, *op. cit.*, 3 ed., 3 (1911), 30-33; 4 (1914), 198-200, for the

685. ore legam.' sic fata gradus evaserat altos,
semianimemque sinu germanam amplexa fovebat

auaserat (*corr. in euaserat*) P, euaserat (e *add. supr.*) γ.
semianimam p, sem. animem (i *eras.*) b. geramnam F (germanam F¹). plexa m. tenebat p (fovebat p¹).

685. ore legam: *Gl. Ansil.* 416, 157; *Gl. Aa.* 311, 569. 685. sic . . . altos: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 646 — effata; efata gradus F —. 685. evaserat: *Gl. Ansil.* 213, 23; q.v.
686. semianimemque . . . fovebat: *Schol. Lucan.* 9, 57 — om. *UG*¹ —. 686. semianimemque . . . germanam: *Schol. Dan. Aen.* 4, 683 — sinum F, signum T —.

son of the chief in the island of Nias (west of Sumatra) catching the breath of his dying father; Cumont, *After Life in Roman Paganism* (1922), 59, who observes that Virgil is here ascribing a Roman belief and custom to the early Carthaginians; Frazer, *Belief in Immortality*, 2 (1922), 298, who cites a usage in the Society Islands, by which the son of a dying sage inhales, as it were, his father's departing spirit; Rose, *Primitive Culture in Italy* (1926), 152, who considers it an Italic rather than a Greek custom, and thinks the survivors are catching, not the soul, but the genius of the family; Duncan in *Cl. Journ.* 25 (1929), 230-234; Rüsche, *Blut, Leben, u. Seele* (1930), 94-95 (in *Stud. z. Gesch. u. Kultur d. Allertums*, 5 Ergänzb.); McCartney in *Papers of the Mich. Acad. of Sci., Arts, and Letters*, 16 (1931), 179-182, who compares Pope, *Eloisa to Abelard*, 324: "Suck my last breath and catch my flying soul"; Shelley, *Elegy on the Death of Adonis*, 44-45: "Oh, let thy breath flow from thy dying soul / Even to my mouth and heart, that I may suck"; Kroll in *P.-W.* 5 Supplbd. (1931), 517, who connects with this custom various references to kissing the dying (to which add Oldfather, *l.c.*; Duncan, *op. cit.*, 232-233; Heller in *Cl. Weekly*, 25 (1932), 194, and n. 5; Eur. *Alc.* 404; Sen. *Dial.* 6, 3, 2; and the custom of the kiss in the funeral liturgy of the Greek Church, noted by Plessis and Lejay, *ad loc.*). Crawley-Besterman, *Mystic Rose*, 2 ed., 2 (1927), 197, cite a case of the transfer of characteristics from one person to another by the breath (cf. also *Gen.* 2, 7; John, 20, 22). In the present instance there is evident a desire to keep the soul within the family; so Petron. 141, 3, mentions

a custom of kinsmen eating the flesh of the deceased, perhaps for the same reason. Kiesow (in *Miscellanea di Studi critici in Onore de E. Stampini* (1921), 222) would find in the Dido story three conceptions of the anima: (1) as *sanguis* (4, 683-687), (2) as breath (here and in 4, 705), and (3) as residing in the hair (4, 608-705). Conington (*ad loc.*) suggests that 4, 686 may also refer to Anna's attempt to catch the last breath of Dido. With the phraseology cf. Cic. *Tusc.* 2, 22: *efflavit . . . extremum halitum*.

684. *super*: 'remaining,' rather than 'above (the mouth)'; cf. 2, 567; 3, 489: *o mihi sola mei super Astyanactis imago*; 7, 559: *si qua super fortuna laborum est*.

685. *sic fata*: cf. 4, 30, n. (sic *effata*); that passage doubtless influenced the incorrect quoting of our phrase by the Scholia Danielis. *Fata* is essentially present in meaning; cf. 6, 335: *vectos*.

685. *gradus . . . altos*: cf. Sil. 8, 153-154: *ora manu lacerans, lymphato regia cursu / lecta peto celsosque gradus evadere nilor*; Serv.: *ascenderat, rogi scilicet, qui pro qualitate fortunarum fiebant*; Schol. Dan.: *aut quia lecti antiquorum alti erant et gradibus ascenderantur, quibus superatis Anna amplectitur sororem*; Herodian, 4, 2, 5 (of imperial pyres at Rome): *ἐκατέρωθεν δὲ βάθρα τινὰ σύγκειται ἐν κλίμακος σχήματι*. Though the pyre was high (cf. 4, 504-505; 4, 645-646), however, it is here more natural to understand that it was built in a high part of the palace to which Anna, while speaking these lines, had ascended, and that she had now got beyond the stairs themselves to the flat space in which the pyre stood. On the transitive use of *evaserat* cf. Rantz, *Der Accusativus bei*

687. cum gemitu atque atros siccatat veste cruores.
illa gravis oculos conata attollere rursus

atros *P.* iccatat *P* (siccatat *P*¹). ueste *add. supr. m. post π.*
graves *c.* attollere *b*¹.

687. atque . . . cruores: *Serv. Aen. 8, 106* — siccatat *H* —; *Beda, De Orthogr. (G. L. K. 7, 268)* — siccatat *P*, significabat *L*; ueste cruores *om. L* —. 687. veste cruores: *Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 683* — cruorem —. 687. cruores: *Charis. Excerpt. (G. L. K. 1, 548)*.

Vergil, 1 (1871), 18, who compares 2, 731; 3, 282; 5, 689; 6, 425; 9, 386; 9, 560; 12, 907; contrast 2, 458: *evado ad summi fastigia culminis*.

686. semianimem: literally of Dido, while the stronger *exanimis* is used (4, 672) figuratively of Anna. The first *i* of the word is here consonantal as in 10, 396; 10, 404; 11, 635; 12, 356 (all perhaps imitating *Enn. Ann. 473: semianimesque micant oculi lucemque requirunt*) and like *semihominis* in 8, 194; cf. also *G. 4, 221: omnia; Aen. 1, 2: Laviniaque; 2, 16: abiete; 5, 589: parietibus; 6, 33: omnia; 7, 237: precantia*.

686. sinu: cf. *Cons. ad Liv. 96: frigida nec fovit membra tremante sinu*. Conington (on 4, 684) thinks this line may represent Anna's attempt to catch the last breath of Dido; cf. 4, 684, n. (*extremus, etc.*).

686. fovebat: *Schol. Dan.: bene non 'fovit' sed 'fovebat', ut id diu factum ostenderet; cf. 1, 718: gremio fovet inscia Dido; 8, 388: cunctantem amplexu molli fovet; Tib. 1, 6, 6: nescio quem tacita callida nocte fovet*.

687. atros: of slightly clotted blood, but also as an epithet of death; cf. 4, 384, n. (*atris ignibus*); 9, 333: *atro tepefacta cruore; 11, 646: ater . . . cruor*.

687. siccatat: *Schol. Dan.: exprimebat vel abluebat, ut (10, 834) 'vulnera siccatat lymphis.' an suam vestem vulneri Didonis intersertam*. The imperfect is probably conative.

687. cruores: *Serv.: usurpavit; nam nec 'sanguines' dicimus numero plurali, nec 'cruores'; cf. also the citations of the line by the grammarians, noted above*.

688. illa, etc.: on descriptions of death in Roman poetry see the elaborate study of Blümner in *Neue Jahrb. f. d. kl. Alt. 43* (1919), 244–272.

688. gravis oculos: cf. *Cic. Post Red. in Sen. 13: gravibus oculis; Ov. M. 4, 144–146: vultusque attolle iacentes. / ad nomen Thisbes oculos iam morte gravatos / Pyramus erexit; Sen. Ep. 122, 2: oculos hesternae graves crapula; Apul. M. 6, 15: graves oculos; Avian. 24, 9: ille graves oculos . . . retorquens; Eur. Alc. 385: καὶ μὴν σκοτεινὸν ὄμμα μὲν βαρύνεται*. Such heaviness is most often due to overeating or drunkenness (cf. *Ov. H. 14, 33; Curt. 7, 6, 18*), but sometimes, as in Ovid and here (cf. *G. 4, 496*), to the oncoming of death.

688. conata attollere: Loewe (*Symbolae ad enarr. Serm. Poet. Lat. (1873)*, 37, and n. 2) maintains that in Virgil cases in which a final vowel elides with an identical initial vowel are infrequent and usually for special effects, as here of Dido's weary struggle (cf. 4, 694–695) with death; he compares also the threefold case in 12, 720–722. For *attollere* of raising the eyes cf. 5, 847: *attollens . . . lumina*; *Lucr. 1, 66–67; Thes. Ling. Lat. 2* (1906), 1149, 62–1150, 4; Vasold, *Augustinus quae hauserit ex Vergilio*, 2 (1908), 15; Ekkehard, *Waltherius*, 53.

689. deficit: a 'run-over' word as in *G. 3, 96*; Dido's ebbing strength just exceeds the full line and then fails; cf. also 11, 231: *deficit ingenti luctu rex ipse Latinus*.

689. infixum: cf. *C. I. L. VI, 5302, 8* (= Dessau 8513): *infixumq. viro vulnus perpetuumq. dedit*. The participle properly referring to the weapon is here figuratively transferred to the wound; *Buscaroli (ad loc.)* compares a similar transfer in the verb *adigere* (of the weapon in 9, 431; 12, 319–320, and the wound in 10, 850: *alle vulnus adactum*).

689. stridit: cf. *Ov. M. 4, 121–124: ut iacuit resupinus humo, cruor emicat alle; /*

689. deficit; infixum stridit sub pectore volnus.
ter sese attollens cubitoque adnixa levavit,

689–705: *MP.* defecit *Mγ*, deficit *FM³Pabcp*, *O. P. 1099*. stridet *bcπ*, *Donat.* uulnus *Mpabcγ²*.

attollit et (?) *P* (attollit *P*¹, attollens *P*²). cobito (*corr. in cubito*) *b*, cubito *a*. adnixa (*m. 2 in ras.*) *γc*, innixa *m.* leuabit *Mγ* (leuavit *M*¹), leuavit (*m. 2 in ras.*) *c*, laeuavit *O. P. 1099*.

689. infixum . . . volnus: *Serv. Aen. 9, 576* — sup *L*; uulnus —; *Anth. Lat. no. 17, 15* (1, p. 62 Riese) — uulnus —.

690–691. ter . . . est: *Auson. Cento nupt. 122–123* (p. 217 *Peiper*) — innixa; thoro *TL* —. 690. ter . . . levavit: *Julian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris*, 6, 77 — ter se esse *E*; attollens —. 690. levavit: *Gl. Ansil. 337, 322; q.v.*

non aliter quam cum viiatio fistula plumbo / scinditur, et tenui stridente foramine longas / ei aculatur aquas atque ictibus aëra rumpit (Cima (in *Riv. di Filol. 16* (1888), 300) improbably thought that in our line the words *infixum . . . volnus* were made up by an ancient emender from the Ovidian passage, but in 18 (1890), 484 he admitted his mistake and recognized the Virgilian authorship); *Hier. Adv. Rufin. 1, 11: stridet vulnus in pectore*. The verb *stridere* (in Virgil always of the third conjugation) is used of various somewhat related sounds, illustrated by examples at 4, 185, n. (*stridens*). These would support Mackail (*ad loc.*) in referring *stridit* to "the whistling sound with which breath escapes from a pierced lung" (cf. *Buscaroli ad loc.*), rather than Papillon and Haigh, who explain it of the gurgling of spurting blood, and with this agrees *Cels. 5, 26, 9* (cited by Maiocchi ap. Cima in *Riv. di Filol. 18* (1890), 484): *pulmone vero icto spirandi difficultas est; sanguis ex ore spumans, ex plaga ruber, simulque etiam spiritus cum sono fertur*. Kappes-Wörner (*ad loc.*) compare *Soph. Aias*, 918; *Antig. 1238*. Perhaps we should also cf. *Ov. M. 8, 417* (of the Calydonian boar): *stridentemque novo spumam cum sanguine fundit*.

689. sub pectore, etc.: *Serv.: nunc per transitum dicit vulneris locum*. For parallel expressions cf. 1, 36: *sub pectore volnus*; 4, 67, n. (*vivil, etc.*); also 4, 660, n. (*sic, sic*); 4, 683, n. (*vulnera*) on the question of the number of wounds.

690. ter: *Serv.: aut 'saepius' (cf. Serv. Aen. 1, 116), aut promanteus est, propter*

bella Carthaginis (a fanciful bit of symbolism on the part of Servius); cf. *Apoll. Rh. 3, 654–655: τρις μὲν ἐπειρήθη, τρις δ' ἔσχετο, τέτρατον αὖθις / λέκτροισιν πρηγῆς ἐνικάπτεσεν εὐλιχθεῖσα*; *Tasso, Ger. lib. 3, 46, 1–3: gli aprì tre volte, e i dolci rai del cielo / cercò fruire, e sovra un braccio alzarsi; / e tre volte ricadde, etc.* Virgil is fond of such anaphora with numeral adverbs; cf. the repetition of *ter* in *G. 1, 281–282; 4, 384–385; Aen. 2, 792–793; 3, 566–567; 6, 700–701; 8, 230–232* (a triple case); 10, 685; 10, 885–886 (triple); 11, 188–189; also *Cir. 371–373* (triple); *Hor. C. 3, 3, 65–67; Ov. H. 4, 7–8* (triple); *M. 2, 270–271; F. 2, 823; Stat. Theb. 9, 140–141; Achill. 1, 99; Sil. 8, 155–156*; repetition of *bis*: *G. 1, 48; 2, 150; 2, 410–411; Aen. 2, 218; 6, 32–33; 6, 134; 9, 799–800; 11, 629–630*; and of *quater* (2, 242–243; *Ov. M. 8, 462–463*). Several of these instances describe a repeated attempt followed, as here, by a repeated collapse or failure; cf. especially *Sedul. Pasch. Carm. 2, 199–200: ter sese attollens animo perstare superbo, / terque volutus (ter revolutus T¹) humo, etc.*; *Vida, Christias, 3, 229–230*. The slow spondaic movement of the first part of this line seems appropriate to the labor of Dido's effort, as the quicker rhythm of the next line is to her sudden collapse.

690. attollens: awkwardly repeated after *attollere* in 4, 688.

690. cubitoque adnixa: cf. *Cir. 348: cubito subnixa*; *Ov. M. 7, 343–344: ille, cruore fluens, cubito tamen allevat artus, / semilacerque toro temptat consurgere*. Mackail (*ad loc.*) remarks upon the fusing into one

691. ter revoluta toro est oculisque errantibus alto
quaesivit caelo lucem ingemuitque reperta.

Versum 691 om., in marg. m. rec. add. c. reuoluta (corr. in reuoluta) γ. reuoluta est O. P. 1099. torost Pc, toro est MP²ργab.
quaesiuit P. reperta . . . M², reperta P, O. P. 1099, repertam MP²γbc²π.

[690*] 691-692. alto . . . lucem: Serv. Aen. 10, 781. 691. errantibus: Gl. Ansil. 207, 17; q.v.

[691]

expression of two ideas: sese attollens levavit and sese attollens cubito adnixa.

691. revoluta: cf. 5, 336: spissa iacuit revolutus harena; 11, 671.

691. errantibus: Schol. Dan.: vicinitate mortis; hence 'wild' or 'swimming' (the nantia lumina of G. 4, 496; Aen. 5, 856), as in Val. Fl. 6, 277: extremus cum lumina corripit error; Stat. Silv. 5, 1, 170: oculisque novissimus error; rather than as in Aen. 4, 363-364 and Prop. 3, 14, 27, where the eyes merely wander over all the details, i.e., scan carefully; cf. Mahne, Miscellanea Latinitatis (1845), 107 (on epithets applied to the eyes).

692. quaesivit . . . lucem: cf. Eur. Hec. 411-412: (δὸς) νῦν πανύστατον / ἀκτίνα κλύον θ' ἡλίου προσέβομαι; Alc. 206-207: βλέψαι πρὸς αὐγὰς βούλεται τῆς ἡλίου / ὥς οὐ ποτ' αἶθε, ἀλλὰ νῦν πανύστατον; I. A. 1509: χαῖρέ μοι, φίλον φάος; Enn. Ann. 473: semianimesque micant oculi lucemque requirunt; Aen. 10, 781-782: caelumque / adspicit et dulcis moriens reminiscitur Argos; 10, 898-899: auras / suspiciens hausit caelum; Ov. Tr. 4, 3, 43-44: supremoque die notum spectantia caelum / texissent digiti lumina nostra tui; Sen. H. O. 519: ille, iam quaerens diem; Val. Fl. 6, 561-562: dulces iam cassus in auras / respicit ac nulla caelum reparabitur gaza; Stat. Silv. 5, 1, 174-175: nec sole supremo / lumina sed dulci mavult satiare marito (cf. Theb. 8, 649-650); Sil. 6, 10-11: nec cernere decet / frustra seminecum quaerentia lumina caelum; 7, 729: solemque pavent agnoscere visu; Hier. Ep. 1, 12, 2: oculis quaerentibus lucem; Amm. Marc. 16, 12, 53: alii semineces labente iam spiritu, lucis usuram oculis morientibus inquirebant; Foscolo, Dei Sepolcri, 121-123: gli occhi dell' uom cercan

morendo / il sole. Light typifies life, and is contrasted with the oncoming darkness of death (cf. Eur. Hipp. 1444: αἰαῖ, κατ' ὄσσω κινχάνει μ' ἦδη σκότος; G. 4, 496: conditque nantia lumina somnus); cf. Aen. 6, 721: quae lucis miseris tam dira cupido?

692. ingemuitque: so Turnus dies (12, 952) cum gemitu. Serv.: atqui dixit (4, 631) 'invisam quaerens quam primum abrumpere lucem,' sed ostendit morientes sua inprobare desideria, ut in sexto (436-437) 'quam vellent aethere in alto / nunc et pauperiem et duos perferre labores.' Henry (Aeneidea, 2 (1878), 848-849) discusses the sentimental connotations of this word, which he thinks the most touching in the whole Aeneid. Thus Virgil sums up the whole Dido episode in a single word, more effective and tasteful than any enlargement upon her physical suffering or than any further speech of hers could be.

692. reperta: cf. Boeth. Cons. 3, poet. 9, 23-24: da luce reperta / in te conspicuus animi defigere visus.

693. tum, etc.: from this point on the calmer ending of the story suggests a Greek tragedy and is contrasted with that of the Turnus tragedy which closes, at the end of the twelfth book, without any such relief. Norden (on 6, 854-886) has remarked that the death of Creusa falls almost at the end of Book II, that of Anchises at the end of III, that of Palinurus at the end of V, that of Marcellus near the end of VI, while Mezentius dies at the end of X and Turnus at that of XII. So Tacitus ends books of the Annals with the deaths of Arminius, Sejanus, Messalina, Claudius, and Octavia. Is it mere chance that Iris, typifying the rainbow, makes her first appearance in the story at this point, after the tempest of the preceding

693. Tum Iuno omnipotens longum miserata dolorem
difficilisque obitus Irim demisit Olympo

omnipudens c. dolore M (dolorem M²), laborem dell.
(diffi)cilis P, difficilis O. P. 1099, difficiles a. dimisit γ¹π. olimpo a.

693. tum . . . omnipotens: [Prob.] De ult. Syll. (G. L. K. 4, 221). 693. longum dolorem: Gl. Ansil. 345, 155.

694. difficilis obitus: Gl. Ansil. 177, 262. 694. dimisit: Gl. Ansil. 178, 462; q. v.

lines? Cf. Amm. Marc. 20, 11, 30: quoniam indicium est permutationis aurae . . . ideo apud poetas legimus saepe Irim de caelo tunc mitti cum praesentium rerum verti necesse est status.

693. Iuno omnipotens: Serv.: aut pronuba aut inferna. Juno is so characterized in 7, 428; cf. Val. Fl. 1, 81: omnipotens regina; cf. also 4, 107-108, above: quis talia demens / abnuat aut tecum malit contendere bello? Juno now appears for the last time as the patroness of Carthage and its queen, though it seems ironical that she should be described as omnipotens when her plans have been so completely frustrated.

693. miserata: for the divine pity cf. 10, 758-759: di Iovis in tectis iram miserantur inanem / amborum et tantos mortalibus esse labores; Sen. Apocol. 3, 1: tum Mercurius . . . unam e tribus Parcis seducit et ait: 'quid, femina crudelissima, hominem miserum torqueri poteris . . . annus sexagesimus quartus est ex quo cum anima luctatur,' etc. With the verse-ending cf. Stat. Theb. 3, 679: miserata dolorem; Vida, Christias, 5, 833. Pichon, Hist. de la Litt. Lat., 5 ed. (1912), 357, quotes Fénelon's observation that Virgil never represents anyone as dying without coupling with that fact some touching circumstance, so that his poem is "a book of pity and of death."

693. dolorem: cf. 4, 393: dolentem; 4, 419: dolorem; 4, 474: evicta dolore; 5, 5-6: duri magno sed amore dolores / polluto. On the slow separation of Dido's soul and body cf. Hirzel in Archiv f. Religionswiss. 11 (1908), 440, n. o, who thinks Virgil is here following popular rather than philosophic beliefs.

694. difficilis obitus: Serv.: quia supererat vita ei quae casu, non aut fato aut

natura moriebatur (cf. Mythogr. Vat. III, 9, 11). Juno acts to save Dido from having to wander about after death until the balance of her allotted time is completed (cf. Plaut. Most. 499-500; Tert. De An. 56: aiunt et immatura morte praeventas eo usque vagari istic donec reliquatio compleatur aetatis quam tum pervixissent si non intempestive obissent; Porphy. ad Hor. Ep. 2, 2, 209: umbras vagantes hominum ante diem mortuorum et ideo metuendas; Nettleship, Suggestions introductory to a Study of the Aeneid (1875), 44, n. o); now at death she may pass directly to her abode in the underworld; cf. Prescott, Development of Virgil's Art (1927), 290. The plural obitus avoids hiatus with the following vowel; cf. Norden, 2 ed. of Book VI (1916), 409; yet see also Braumüller, Ueber Tropen u. Figuren in Vergil's Aeneis, 1 (1877), 16. Sabbadini (ad loc.) thinks that the plural designates the different moments of her dying agony. With the phrase cf. also Vida, Christias, 5, 415.

694. Irim: Serv.: trahit hoc de Alceste Euripidis, qui inducit Mercurium ei comam secantem quia fato peribat mariti (it is really Thanatos who performs this office; cf. Eur. Alc. 73-76; and, on the errors of Servius, Dessau in Hermes, 49 (1914), 521-525). Iris is sometimes the messenger of Jupiter (e.g., 9, 803-804: caelo nam Iuppiter Irim / demisit) but in Virgil usually of Juno (5, 606: Irim de caelo misit Saturnia Iuno (= 9, 2); cf. 10, 38; 10, 73); cf. Ov. M. 1, 270: nuntia Iunonis; 11, 585; 14, 85: Iris Iunonia; 14, 829-830; Stat. Theb. 10, 81; Anth. Lat. no. 550, 1 (2, p. 71 Riese): nuntia Iunonis. In the Iliad she often appears as the messenger of Zeus; e.g., 3, 121; 8, 398; 11, 185; 15, 55; 15, 156; 24, 77; 24, 143; while in 18, 166-184 she is sent by Hera (as in Apoll. Rh.

695. quae luctantem animam nexosque resolveret artus.
nam quia nec fato merita nec morte peribat,

(qu)ae P. nexaeque O. P. 1099 (καί [sic] δέδεμένοι). absolueret cm. artos p.
quea P (quia P²). merito c, mérita O. P. 1099. peribit O. P. 1099 (ἀπόλλυται [sic] corr. in ἀπόλλυται [sic]).

695. nexosque . . . artus: Serv. Aen. 4, 703.

696. nam . . . peribat: Gell. 13, 1, 5; Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 450; Serv. Aen. 4, 694.

696. nam . . . merita nec: [Prob.] De ult. Syll. (G. L. K. 4, 252). 696. nam . . . fato: Anth. Lat. no. 15, 134 (1, p. 55 Riese).

4, 753-782); for her service to other gods cf. Weicker in *P.-W.* 9 (1916), 2038-2039; 2041; in Eur. *Herc.* 823 she calls herself the servant of the gods; cf. also Mayer in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 2 (1890), 325-332; Baldemair, *Quae Hom. atque Verg. de Iride . . . finxerunt*, etc. (1894), I have not seen. The distinction according to which Iris is sent to produce discord and Mercury to produce concord (Serv. Aen. 5, 606; 9, 2; Lact. Plac. ad Stat. *Achill.* 1, 220; Mythogr. Vat. II, 6; III, 4, 6) rests on a folk-etymology (ἴρις ἔρις); cf. Mayer, *op. cit.*, 331; 337. In the *Iliad* she is the regular messenger and in the *Odyssey* Mercury; cf. Schol. *Od.* 5, 29. For the artistic representation of Iris cf. Friedrichs, *De Iride Dea* (1892), 3-33. In a painting by Carracci in the Palazzo Zambecari at Bologna (Zabughin, *Vergilio nel Rinascimento ital.* 2 (1923), 396) showing the cutting of Dido's lock the place of Iris is not inappropriately taken by an angel. Virgil regularly uses *Irim* rather than *Irin*; cf. Cottino, *La Flessione dei Nomi greci in Virgilio* (1906), 30-31.

694. demisit Olympo: cf. Braumüller, *op. cit.*, 2 (1882), 16 for this use of *Olympus*; also Val. Fl. 4, 77: demisit nubibus *Irim*; Sil. 9, 471: demittit proptere succinclat nubibus *Irim*; 9, 551: *Irim* proptere demittit Olympo.

695. luctantem animam: cf. Sen. Oed. 344: animamque fessus vix reluctantem exprimit; Luc. 3, 578: hi luctantem animam lenta cum morte trahentes. Here, however, the *anima* is less concerned with the notion of breathing; the body constrains the soul, which, impatient to escape from its prison (cf. the old σῶμα σῆμα concept of the Orphics, recognized by Virgil himself in 6, 734: clausae

tenebris et carcere caeco), wrestles with the body which restrains it; cf. 11, 828-829 (Camilla dying): frigida toto / paulatim exsolvit se corpore; Lucr. 2, 949-950: donec materies, omnis concussa per artus, / vitalis animae nodos a corpore solvet; Ov. M. 11, 787-789 (Aesacus): indignatur amans invilum vivere cogi, / obstarique animae, misera de sede volenti / exire; 12, 425: animae fugienti obsistere temptat; Sil. 6, 125-126: nec virtutem exiit ullam / ante reluctantis liquit quam spiritus artus; 10, 577 (Paulus): aetherias anima exultans evasit in auras; Henry, *Aeneidea*, 2 (1878), 849-855; and, for the figure from the palaestra, Ov. M. 6, 242-243: et iam contulerant arto luctantia nexu / pectora pectoribus.

695. nexos, etc.: we perhaps have here expressed not merely the separation of the soul from the limbs but the dispersion of these from one another and the destruction of the organism which they compose; cf. Eur. *Hipp.* 199: λέλυμαι μέλεων σύνδεσμα; Claud. *In Rufin.* 2, 412-413: amputat ille pedes, umerum quatit ille solutis / nexibus. Buscaroli (*ad loc.*) emphasizes, by various passages (including *Ecl.* 6, 23-24), the essential opposition of *necto* and *solvo*.

696. nec fato: Schol. Dan.: cum dicit Vergilius (10, 467) 'stat sua cuique dies,' quomodo hic dicit 'nam quia nec fato merita nec morte peribat sed misera ante diem'? nam si fato vivimus quid agunt merita? si pensamus meritis quae vis fati? Their following lengthy attempt to reconcile these ideas on a theory of *fata denuntiatio* contrasted to *fata condicionalia* assumes a metaphysician rather than a poet as the author of the passage (cf. Mackail, *ad loc.*). Virgil here speaks

697. sed misera ante diem subitque accensa furore,

(s)ed P.

697. sed . . . furore: Non. p. 526 M. (p. 845 L.). 697. sed . . . diem: Serv. Aen. 4, 620; 10, 467; Anth. Lat. no. 15, 135 (1, p. 55 Riese); [Acro] in Hor. C. 1, 3, 17; Mythogr. Vat. III, 9, 9. 697. subitque . . . furore: Anth. Lat. no. 11, 69 (1, p. 43 Riese) — acensa furore A —.

in practical rather than philosophic language; cf. Conway, *The Vergilian Age* (1928), 102, n. 2, who remarks that the will of Heaven is carried out by human beings stirred by feelings which they imagine are their own. Miss Matthaei (in *Cl. Quart.* 11 (1917), 25) says: "the suicide of Dido is at once the greatest inconsistency and also the crowning achievement of Vergil's philosophy"; cf. *id.*, 26, where Dido is described as defying not Aeneas but the whole ordering of fate. Yet only by the divine grace (in this case of Juno) can she die, so that we return to the supremacy of law and order.

Deaths may be roughly divided (cf. Plat. *Tim.* 81 e; Arist. *De Respirat.* 478 b 24) into those arising from natural causes (*fato*; κατά φύσιν), such as old age, when one has completed his appointed years (Tib. 1, 3, 53: si fatales iam nunc explevimus annos; Ov. *Tr.* 3, 3, 29: si tamen implevit mea sors quos debuit annos; Tac. *Ann.* 2, 71: si fato concederem; Gaius, 4, 81: eum . . . qui fato suo vita excesserit), and those *nec fato* (παρά φύσιν, θάνατος βίαιος; cf. Plat. *Legg.* 9, 873 c: τὴν τῆς εἰμαρμένης βίαν ἀποστερών μοῖραν), and the latter class into the deaths of those punished for criminal acts (*merita . . . morte*; their souls are placed in Tartarus, according to 6, 548-625) and those whose life is ended untimely (*ante diem*; ἄωροι, ἄωροθάνατοι, πρόμοιροι), who in 6, 426-547 include infants, those condemned on false charges, suicides, and deaths from love and in war (so Norden, in *Hermes*, 28 (1893), 375, n. 1, cites Ammon. *De Diff. Voc.* p. 116 Valck. for a distinction between those who die πρό μόρας (i.e., βίαιος) and those who die πρό ὥρας (i.e., ἐν νεότητι); also cf. Wide in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 12 (1909), 224-233 on ἄωροι, βίαιοθάνατοι). Cf. also Tert. *De An.* 56: aiunt et immatura morte praeventas eo usque vagari istic donec reliquatio compleatur aetatum

quas tum pervixissent si non intempestive obiissent. Typical passages contrasting the two main groups are Tac. *Ann.* 2, 42: finem vitae sponte an fato implevit; 6, 23: sponte vel necessitate incertum; 6, 25; 14, 7; Plin. *Ep.* 1, 12, 1 (of the suicide of Corellius Rufus): est enim lucentissimum genus mortis quae non ex natura nec fatalis videtur; Justin, 39, 4, 5: non fato sed parricidio; Anon. ap. Quintil. 8, 6, 10: ferro non fato moerens Argivom occidit. To the unphilosophic mind it may seem possible to retard the approach of death (e.g., 11, 160: vivendo vici mea fata, where Servius says: id est, naturalem ordinem vita longiore superavi; 12, 395; also Hdt. 1, 91; Hor. C. 2, 17, 24-25: volucrisque fati / tardavit alas; Apul. *M.* 11, 6; Heinze, *Virgils epische Technik*, 3 ed. (1915), 296, n. 1), but one who dies a natural death at a ripe age is described as *fato functus* and by similar terms (cf. Vell. Pat. 2, 48, 6; Val. Max. 1, 8, Ext. 5; 2, 10, 3; etc.; Tac. *Ann.* 1, 3; 2, 71; 6, 10; 11, 2; 14, 12; 14, 14; 14, 62; H. 5, 10; Justin, 9, 8, 3: partim fato, partim ferro perire; Suet. *Calig.* 6; C. I. L. IX, 944: fato cessit; etc.). Although, as Gellius (13, 1) in his discussion of this question remarks, when speaking of the Homeric ὑπὲρ μοῖραν (*Il.* 20, 336; cf. ὑπέρμορα in *Il.* 2, 155, and other references in Leaf's n.), nihil autem dubium est quin violentiam et inopinatam mortem significaverit, quae quidem potest recte videri accidere praeter naturam, yet the thoughtless might consider such a death as not only *praeter naturam* but also *praeter* (or *extra*) *fatum*; cf. Cic. *Ad Fam.* 6, 7, 1; Phil. 1, 10: si quid mihi humanitus accidisset — multa autem impendere videntur praeter naturam etiam praeterque fatum; Carm. Lat. epigr. no. 152, 3-4 Engström; Donat. *Interp. Verg.*, proem. p. 3 Georgii; also Eur. *Hipp.* 1143: πτόμῳ ἀποτμῶν; Phoen. 1305-1306: ἄ-/ποτμός ἀποτμός ὁ φόνος. Suet. *Caes.*

698. nondum illi flavom Proserpina vertice crinem

(n)ecdum P, necdum γ, nōndum O. P. 1099 (οὐδῶπω, fortasse correctum), nondum cell. flauum Mabc, flauum O. P. 1099. proserpina O. P. 1099. crine M (crinem M¹).

698-699. nondum . . . Orco: *Macrob. Sat. 5, 19, 1* — flauum; stigioq. P —; *Non. p. 276 M. (p. 424 L.)* — flauum; canum damnauerat A^a —.

89 says that of the murderers of Caesar none died *sua morte*.

696. *merita nec*: on the position of *nec* cf. 4, 33, n. (*Veneris nec*); with *morte* . . . *merita* 2, 433-434: *si fata fuissent / ut caderem, meruisse manu*; 11, 849: *morte luel merita*; *Cir. 277: quam merui . . . mortem*; 456-457: *vel fato fuerit nobis haec debita pestis, / vel casu incerto, merita vel denique culpa*; *Ov. F. 3, 707: morte iacent merita*; also *Od. 1, 46: τοικόντι κείται δλθρῳ*.

697. *misera*: cf. 4, 20, n. (*miseri*); 4, 117; 4, 420, n. (*miseræ . . . mihi*).

697. *ante diem*: cf. 4, 68, n. (*infelix*); 4, 308, n. (*crudeli funere*); 4, 696, n. (*nec fato*). Dido had prayed that Aeneas might die *ante diem*, and she does this herself; cf. 4, 620, n. (*cadat ante diem*). Lier (in *Philologus*, 62 (1903), 453) states that of the extant Roman tombstones about a fifth contain such expressions as *mors praematura*, *immatura*, *acerba*, etc. With *ante diem* cf. *Porphyr. ad Hor. Ep. 2, 2, 209: umbras vagantes hominum ante diem mortuorum*; *Drac. Orest. 169-170: mactabil utrumque / turbidus ante diem*; also *Soph. Ant. 461-462: εἰ δὲ τοῦ χρόνου / πρόσθεν θανούμαι*; 896: *πρὶν μοι μοῖραν ἐξήκειν βίον*; *Shakesp. Macbeth, Act 5, Sc. 5*: "She should have died hereafter" (as contrasted with the "timely-parted ghost" of *II Hen. VI, Act 3, Sc. 2*). Cicero remarks (*Tusc. 1, 93*): *pellantur ergo istae ineptiae paene aniles, ante tempus mori miserum esse. quod tandem tempus? naturaene? etc.*; *Ov. Ars am. 3, 18: fertur et ante annos occubuisse suos*. Dido, though classed in 6, 450-476 with the untimely dead, is placed, not among the suicides (6, 434-439), but among those who died of love, the wrong she had suffered prevailing over that which she had done. Sychaeus belongs in the same large class of the untimely dead, though since he had not died of love he should hardly be placed in

the subdivision where he is, if we depended on logical classification alone. But with the poet art must be allowed to prevail over logic.

697. *subito . . . furore*: cf. G. 4, 488: *subita . . . dementia*; *Aen. 12, 599: subito mentem turbata dolore*. To what extent Dido's suicide can be laid to a sudden impulse it is hard to say, the latter half of the book having shown alternations of hope and suicidal intentions. The whole time involved, however, is so short in actual days, and the time since the sailing of the fleet (4, 581-583), which terminated Dido's last hopes, so short in hours, that her final resolve might be ascribed to a sudden impulse. *Donat.*: 'subito furore' dixit non tantum repentino verum etiam non pertractato; *furentes enim consilium non habent et mox quicquid occurrerit faciunt*.

697. *accensa furore*: *Schol. Dan.*: *quia pudica in amorem devenerat*; cf. 7, 392: *furiisque accensas*; *Catull. 64, 253: tuoque incensus amore*; *Aug. Sermon. 276, 3: facibus furoris accensus*.

698. *nondum*: cf. *Stat. Theb. 8, 9-11: necdum illum aut trunca lustraverat obvia taxo / Eumenis, aut furvo Proserpina poste notarat / coetibus adsumptum functis*.

698. *flavom*: cf. 4, 590, n. (*flaventis . . . comas*); *Serv.*: *matronis numquam flava coma dabatur, sed nigra, unde Iuvenalis (6, 120) 'et nigro flavum [Juv. really says nigrum flavo] crinem abscondente galero'* (where the scholia: *ideo flavo, nigro nam crine matronae utebantur*); *Sextus Amarius, Sermon. 4, 51: flavos delecto vertice crines*.

698. *Proserpina*: *Macrob. Sat. 5, 19, 2-5* (after quoting lines 698-699): *hanc Vergilius non de nihilo fabulam fingit, sicut vir alias doctissimus Cornutus existimat, qui adnotationem eius modi adposuit his versibus: 'unde haec historia ut crinis auferendus sit morientibus ignoratur, sed adsuevit poetico more aliqua fingere ut de aureo ramo.' haec Cornutus, sed*

*me pudet quod tantus vir, Graecarum etiam doctissimus litterarum, ignoravit Euripidis nobilissimam fabulam Alkestim. in hac enim fabula (73-76) in scaenam Orcus inducitur gladium gestans quo crinem abscedat Alcestidis, et sic loquitur: ἡ δ' οὖν γυνὴ κάτεισεν εἰς Ἄιδου δόμους. / στειλὼ δ' ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὡς κατάρξωμαι ξίφει, / ἱερὸς γὰρ οὗτος τῷ κατὰ χθονὸς θεῷ / δῖῳ τῷδ' ἔγχος κρατὸς ἀγνίστη τρίχα. proditum est, ut opinor, quem secutus Vergilius fabulam abscedendi crinis induxerit, ἀγνίσται αὐτὴν Graece dicunt 'dis consecrare,' unde poeta vester ait ex Iridis persona 'hunc ego Diti,' etc.; cf. *Serv. Aen. 3, 46: obicitur Vergilio . . . cur Iris Didoni comam secuerit. sed hoc purgatur Euripidis exemplo, qui de Alcesti hoc dixit cum subiret fatum mariti*. Elsewhere this function is assigned to Proserpina; cf. *Hor. C. 1, 28, 19-20: nullum / saeva caput Proserpina fugit*; *Stat. Silo. 2, 1, 147: iam complexa manu crinem tenet infera Iuno*; *Mart. 3, 43, 3-4: scilicet te Proserpina canum; / personam capiti detrahet illa tuo*; *Himer. Or. 23, 7: τίς ἀπέκειρε δαίμων τῆς ἐμῆς ἐστίας τὸν χρυσοῦν βόστρυχον*; *Elym. magn. s.v. ἀπεσκολυμμένος: σκόλλυς γὰρ ἡ θρίξ ἡ ἐπὶ τοῦ ἄκρου ἦν ἐφύλαττον ἀκόρευτον, θεοῖς ἀνατιθέντες*; a figurative use is found in *Demades, 12: ἀπέκειρε γὰρ τὴν ἀκμὴν τῆς Σπάρτης ὁ Θηβαῖος*; *Gesta Apollonii, 257 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 2, 492): signavit rapto mortem Proserpina cirro*.*

698. *vertice crinem* = *Cir. 281 (cf. 122)*; *Ov. M. 13, 427*; cf. *Catull. 64, 350*; *Luc. 1, 188*; *Sil. 3, 284*.

In Homeric sacrifices first fruits (ἀπαρχαί) of some part of the victim, especially the hair, were first removed and thrown into the fire; cf. *Il. 3, 273: ἀνῶν ἐκ κεφαλῶν τάμνε τρίχας*; 19, 254: *κάπρου ἀπὸ τρίχας ἀρξάμενος*; *Od. 3, 446: εὐχετ' ἀπαρχόμενος, κεφαλῆς τρίχας ἐν πυρὶ βάλλων* (cf. 14, 422); for later practice *Hdt. 4, 188* (of the ear); *Eur. El. 811-812: μοσχέλιαν τρίχα / τεμὼν ἐφ' ἄγρον πῦρ ἔθηκε δεξιᾷ*; *Aen. 6, 245-246: et summas carpens media inter cornua seclas, / ignibus imponit sacris libamina prima*; 12, 173-174: *tempora ferro / summa nolant pecudum*; *Phryn. Attic. s.v. μετωπίδια θρίξ: ἡ τῶν θυομένων ἱερείων, ἣν πρὸ τοῦ θύεσθαι ἀποκείροντες εἰς τὸ πῦρ ἐμβάλλουσιν*; *Mythogr. Vat. III, 6, 32: setas etiam de capite hostiae ante*

immolationem vulsas aris prima libamina imponebant, sicque iam victima immolationi praesignabatur; *C. I. L. VI, 32328, 73: pilum de fron(te) hos(tiae) secavit*; *Eitrem, Opferritus u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer (1915), 407-410*. The use of wool in sacrifices shows analogies to that of other forms of hair (*Eitrem, op. cit.*, 404-405; *Kroll in P.-W. 12 (1924), 616*).

The use of human hair, as a substitute for an offering of the whole person (cf. *Rohde, Psyche, 4 ed., 1 (1907), 17, n. 1*; *Stengel, Opferbräuche der Gr. (1910), 46*; *Samter, Geburt, Hochzeit u. Tod (1911), 179-185*; *Sommer in P.-W. 7 (1912), 2108*; *Eitrem, op. cit., 407*), appeared not only in Jewish ritual (*Numbers, 6, 18*; *Philo Jud. De special. Leg. 1, 254*), but also when the gymnosophist Callanus ascended the pyre, *ἐπευξάμενος καὶ κατασπείσας ἑαυτοῦ καὶ τῶν τριχῶν ἀπαρξάμενος* (*Plut. Alex. 69, 3*), when Iphigenia prepared to sacrifice Orestes (*Eur. I. T. 622*), and on the part of Orestes himself (*Strab. 12, 2, 3*; *Procop. 1, 17, 13-19* — aetiological explanations of the name Comana). Cf. also *Paus. 2, 3, 7*. Like the cutting of the nails, this act, though unattended by pain to the individual (*Philo, l. c.*), was regarded as a sort of *νέκρωσις τῶν ἐν ἡμῖν μορίων* (*Plut. ex Comm. in Hes. 76 (7, 91 Bernardakis)*), and the hair was taken from the most vulnerable spot on the body; cf. *Il. 8, 84*.

Further, the hair is closely associated with physical strength, as in the story of Samson, and with the seat of life itself (*Knaack, in Rh. Mus. 57 (1902), 217, n. 3*; *Abt, Die Apol. des Apul. (1908), 107*; *Penquitt, De Didonis Vergilianae Exitu (1910), 67*; *Hopkins in Proc. Am. philos. Soc. 49 (1910), 31-34*; *Schredelseker, De Superstitionibus Graecorum quae ad Crines pertinent (1913), 22-48*; *Kiesow in Miscellanea di Studi critici in Onore di E. Stampini (1921), 222*; *Hopkins, Origin and Evolution of Religion (1925), 115-128*; *Williams, Oriental Affinities of the Legend of the hairy Anchorite, 1 (1925), 25; 33; 50-51*; and works there cited), as in the stories of the purple lock of Nisus (*G. 1, 405; Ciris, passim*; *Roscher in Ausf. Lex. 3 (1897), 426-428*; *Schmidt in P.-W., 2 ser. 3 (1927), 655-658*) and the golden lock of Pterelaus (*Höfer*

699. abstulerat Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco.

abstulerat O. P. 1099. damnáuerat O. P. 1099. órco O. P. 1099.

[698*]

in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 3 (1909), 3263; Cook, *Zeus*, I (1914), 344, as well as with certain Slavic nymphs (*Vilas*) who die when one of their golden hairs is plucked out (Reinach, *Orpheus*, Engl. tr. (1909), 146); cf. also Ariosto, *Orl. fur.* 15, 79-87; other parallels are noted by Frazer, *Golden Bough*, 3 ed., 11 (1913), 103-104; 148; Cook, *op. cit.*, I, 343-344. Eitrem (*op. cit.*, 410) considers the lock of hair as magically binding the soul to the body, like a magic bond or knot, and compares the custom in ancient India of cutting the hair and the nails of the deceased before cremation.

With the concept of hair as a temporary or a permanent substitute for the entire person it is easy to understand the frequent use of such locks in offerings to deceased friends, either immediately after death or later, at the tomb; e.g., *Il.* 23, 45-46; 23, 135-136; 23, 141; *Od.* 4, 198; Aesch. *Choeph.* 167-180; *Soph. El.* 52-53; 448-451; 900-901; *Aias*, 1173-1174 (and Jebb's n.); *Eur. Alc.* 103-105; 215; 427-429; 512; 818; 827; *Hipp.* 1425-1427; *Suppl.* 97; 973-974; *Tr.* 279; 480; 1182-1183; *I. T.* 703; 820; *Hel.* 367-368; 1054; 1087; 1124; 1188; 1224; *Phoen.* 322-323; *Orest.* 96; 113; 128; 458; 966; *I. A.* 1437; *Hdt.* 2, 66; 6, 21; 9, 24; *Isaeus*, 4, 7; *Callim. Hymn.* 3, 126; *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 1533-1534; *Dion. Hal.* 11, 39; *Strab.* 12, 2, 3; *Ov. M.* 13, 427-428; *F.* 3, 561 (and Frazer's n.); *Cons. ad Liv.* 435-436; *Petron.* 111, 9; *Sen. De Ben.* 5, 5, 3; *Plut. De Is. et Os.* 4, 14; *Quaest. Rom.* 14; *Thes.* 5; *Pelop.* 34; *Ael. V. H.* 7, 8; *Lucian, De Sacrif.* 15; *Paus.* 1, 43, 4; 2, 32, 1; 7, 17, 8; 8, 34, 3 (and Frazer's nn. on these passages); *Suet. Calig.* 5; *Athen.* 15, 16; *Philostr. Ep.* 16, 3; *Solin.* 9, 14; *Dict. Cret.* 4, 21; *Heliod. Aethiop.* 6, 8; 7, 14; *Donat. ad Ter. Phorm.* 91; *Hier. Comm. in Ezech.* 2, p. 73 Vall.: *calvitium quoque capitis luctus est signum*; *Anth. Pal.* 7, 412, 2; 7, 489, 3-4; 7, 528, 1-2; 7, 593, 3-4; also *Jeremiah*, 7, 29; *Glötz, L'Oréalie dans*

la Grèce primitive (1904), 71, n. 1; *Gruppe, Gr. Myth. u. Relig.* 2 (1906), 913; *Eitrem, Opferritus u. Voropfer d. Gr. u. Römer* (1915), 344-351; *Crawley-Besterman, Mystic Rose*, 2 ed., 1 (1927), 275; *Bächtold-Stäubli in Hoffmann-Krayer, Handwörterbuch d. deutsch. Aberglaubens*, 3 (1931), 1267-1271.

Other forms of the sacrifice of substitutes for the person himself are probably to be seen in the tonsure of a part — or, in the case of priests of Isis (Roeder in *P.-W.* 9 (1916), 2130), of the whole — of the head, the cutting of the hair of nuns (thought of as dead to the world), or hair-offerings as a substitute for the giving up of virginity (Toy, *Introd. to the Hist. of Relig.* (1913), 518, n. 4; *Eitrem, op. cit.*, 362-367; *Crawley-Besterman, op. cit.*, 2, 49-50). Offerings of hair to divinities, often presented by boys and girls near the age of marriage, are found in Aesch. *Choeph.* 6; *Hdt.* 4, 34; *Callim. Coma Berenices* (cf. *Catull.* 66); *Hymn.* 4, 296-298; *Apoll. Rh.* 4, 27-28; *Plut. Thes.* 5, 1; *Lucian, De Dea Syr.* 60; *Paus.* 1, 37, 3; 1, 43, 4 (and Frazer's n.); 2, 11, 6; 8, 41, 3; *Sallustius, De Diis*, 16; *Xen. Eph.* 5, 11; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 6, 184; in *Achill.* 1, 629; *Anth. Pal.* 6, 173, 5; 6, 201, 2; 6, 210, 3; 6, 217, 10; 6, 234, 6; 6, 237, 1; 6, 277, 4; 6, 278, 1-2; 6, 279, 1-2; *Ballentine in Harv. Stud. in cl. Philol.* 15 (1904), 101-102; *Schredelseker, op. cit.*, 48-63.

Shorn hair often appears in magic rites (cf. *Riese in P.-W.* 1 (1894), 86-87; *Sommer in P.-W.* 7 (1912), 2109; *Schredelseker, op. cit.*, 65-79; *Crawley-Besterman, op. cit.*, 1, 162-163; 223; *Frazer on Ov. F.* 6, 229-230), and hence special precautions were taken to prevent it from falling into the hands of enemies or witches.

Whether Virgil here archaizes (or even invents, as Cornutus ap. *Macrobius l.c.* held) is disputed; cf. *Wundt, Völkerpsychologie*, 2 ed., 4 (1910), 132; *Sommer, Das Haar in Relig. u. Aberglaube der Gr.* (1912), 62-63.

700. ergo Iris croceis per caelum roscida pinnis
mille trahens varios adverso sole colores,

crocaeis *M* (croceis *M*²). poscida (*corr. in roscida*) *P*, poscida *Donati codd. LR* (*in roscida corr. L*³). pennis *ab*.
mille *O. P.* 1099. aduerso *O. P.* 1099. aduersa luce *p*.

701. mille . . . colores: *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 10, 81 — trahit —; *Mythogr. Val. III*, 4, 2; *Iulian. Tolet. De Vitiis et Figuris*, 6, 45 — trahit; auerso —. 701. aduerso sole: *Gl. Ansil.* 33, 903.

In any case the act seems to symbolize the release of the soul from the body (McCartney in *Papers of Mich. Acad. of Sci., Arts, and Letters*, 16 (1931), 183), and the taking possession by the powers of death of the person dedicated (*sacra*) to them; *Sommer, op. cit.*, 63-64, citing modern Greek parallels.

699. Stygio . . . Orco: cf. 4, 242, n. (*Orco*); 4, 638, n. (*Iovi Stygio*).

699. damnaverat: *Schol. Dan.: potest accipi 'Stygioque caput damnaverat Orco,' ut Didonem volo liberaret, quod semper omnes optant, ut sine cruciatu moriantur . . . vel illud ab Orco nondum liberaverat, cum illa devotum crinem adhuc retinens inter reos esset. ergo cuiuscumque debiti, id est, reatus, damnatio finem facit. 'damnare' autem est damno adficere, id est, debilo liberare. ideo et cum vota suscipimus, rei voti dicimur, donec consequamur beneficium et donec condemnemur, id est, promissa solvamus, ut (Ecl. 5, 80) 'damnabis tu quoque votis.' Cf. *Hor. C.* 3, 3, 22-23: *mihi / castaeque damnatum Minervae*; *Prop.* 4, 6, 21: *classis . . . Teucro damnata Quirino*; *Luc.* 6, 413: *damnata fati tellure*; 6, 640-641: *quem tristis Erichtho / damnavit sacris*; *Stat. Theb.* 7, 239; *Sil.* 4, 229: *damnati superis*; 5, 241-242: *nisi quem deus ima colentum / damnavisset Stygiae neci*; 15, 76: *degeneres tenebris animas damnavit Avernus*.*

700. Iris . . . roscida: *Serv.: quia cum nubibus est, quae rore non carent*; *Sen. N. Q.* 1, 3, 11: *illud dubium esse nulli potest quin arcus imago solis sit roscida et cava nube concepta. quod ex hoc tibi appareat: numquam non adversa soli est, etc.* The identity of Iris, the divine messenger, with the rainbow is not recognized by Homer but appears in Hesiod, and often thereafter it is mentioned as her route of descent (cf. *Weicker in P.-W.* 9

(1916), 2039-2042; also Mayer in *Roscher, Ausf. Lex.* 2 (1890), 332). Descriptions of the rainbow and discussions of its cause are numerous in ancient writers; e.g., *Il.* 11, 27-28; 17, 547-548; *Anaximenes*, fr. 7, 8 *Diels* (ap. *Hippol. Ref.* 1, 7); *Xenoph.* fr. 32 *Diels* (ap. *Eustath. ad Il.* 11, 27); *Arist. Meteor.* 3, 373a 33-377a 27; [*Epic.*] *Ep. ad Pyth.* 109 (*Usener, Epicurea*, 51); *Posid. ap. Sen. N. Q.* 1, 4, 4 and *Diog. L.* 7, 152; *Cic. N. D.* 3, 51; *Lucr.* 6, 524-526; *Babr.* 72, 1; *Aen.* 5, 609: *illa viam celerans per mille coloribus arcum*; 5, 658; 9, 18-20; *Ov. M.* 6, 63-67; 11, 590; 11, 632; 14, 830; 14, 838; *Sen. N. Q.* 1, 3-8; *Plut. De Plac. Philos.* 3, 5 (*Doxogr. Gr.* 371-374); *De Is. et Os.* 20; *Amatorius*, 20; *De Amore*, 3; *Sen. Oed.* 315-320 (315-316: *imbrifer a qualis implicat varios sibi / Iris colores*); *Stat. Theb.* 10, 118-124 (118-119: *virgo / discolor*); *Silv.* 5, 1, 103-104; [*Clem.*] *Recognit.* 8, 42; *Ael. V. H.* 4, 17; *Apul. De Mundo*, 6; *Clem. Protr.* 10, p. 73 *Stählin*; *Ambros. De Noe et Arca*, 103; *Anth. Lat. nos.* 543-554 (2, pp. 69-72 *Riese*) — a series of *tristicha de arcu caeli*; *Amm. Marc.* 20, 11, 26-30; *Basil, Ep.* 38; *Hier. Comm. in Dan.* p. 647 *Vall.*; *Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb.* 1, 311; *Fulg. Myth.* 2, 1, 69-70; *Isid. Etym.* 13, 10, 1; also the works cited at 4, 694, n. (*Irim*).

700. croceis: cf. 4, 585, n. (*croceum*).

700. roscida: on the connection of the rainbow with dampness cf. Mayer, *op. cit.*, 2, 321-322.

701. mille, etc.: cf. 5, 88-89: *cum nubibus arcus / mille iacit varios adverso sole colores* (cf. *Sparrow, Half-lines and Repetitions in Virgil* (1931), 120); 5, 609: *illa viam celerans per mille coloribus arcum*; *Ov. M.* 6, 65: *nileant cum mille colores*; 10, 261: *flores*

702. devolat, et supra caput adstitit: 'hunc ego Diti
sacrum iussa fero teque isto corpore solvo.'

deuolat O. P. 1099. supra P (supra P²). astitit MPacp, adstitit M²b, astitit (a m. 2 add.) γ.
diti huic O. P. 1099.

702-703. hunc . . . solvo: Macrob. Sat. 5, 19, 5 — sacrum R —; Schol. Dan. Aen. 4, 683.
702. devolat . . . adstitit: Cento Probae, 398 — astitit —. 702. devolat: Gl. Ansil. 173,
1305; q.v. 702. supra . . . adstitit: Gl. Ansil. 547, 730 — super caput stat —.

[702*] 703. teque . . . solvo: Serv. Aen. 11, 829; Sacerd. Art. gram. 1 (G. L. K. 6, 444) —
corpore s. (corp. s. B) —.

mille colorum; 11, 580-590: induitur vela-
mina mille colorum / Iris; Rem. Am. 353:
rerum mille colores; Theodulfus, Carm. 50,
21 (Poet. Aevi Carol. 1, 551): et quae mille
trahens pennas expansa colores; Vida, Poet.
3, 25: mille trahens varia secum ratione co-
lores; Flamin. Ad Ant. Mirandulam, 17-18:
discere nubigenam quae mille coloribus Irim /
vis pingat, imbris nuntiam; Bénaky, Du Sens
chromatique dans l'Antiquité (1897), 302;
and, for the hyperbole, Hunziker, Die Figur
der Hyperbel i. d. Ged. Vergils (1896), 37-39;
Clark, Numerical Phraseology in Vergil
(1913), 74-75. Cf. the adjective multicolor
in Anth. Lat. no. 543, 2 (2, p. 69 Riese) and
no. 554, 3 (2, p. 72 Riese).

701. trahens: perhaps suggesting length
(cf. Conington, ad loc.), yet cf. Ov. M. 2,
236; 14, 393; Quintil. 12, 10, 44, where there
is no such notion.

701. varios . . . colores: cf. Ecl. 4, 42;
G. 1, 452; Cir. 502; Ov. M. 1, 270: nuntia
Iunonis varios induta colores (cf. Anth. Lat.
no. 550, 1 (2, p. 71 Riese)); also the changes
rung on this phrase in Anth. Lat. nos. 544,
3; 546, 3; 547, 2; 550, 1; 553, 1 (2, pp. 69-
71 Riese); Isid. Etym. 13, 10, 1.

701. adverso sole: cf. 4, 47, n. (surgere
regna); Serv.: bene naturale rem expressit.
Iris enim nisi e regione solis non fit, cui varios
colores illa dat res, quia aqua tenuis, aër
lucidus et nubes caligantes inradiata varios
creant colores; Lact. Plac. ad Stat. Theb. 1,
311; Anth. Lat. nos. 548, 2; 549, 2; 554, 2
(2, pp. 70-72 Riese).

702. supra caput adstitit: cf. Il. 2, 20
(= Od. 4, 803; 6, 21): στή δ' ἄρ' ὑπὲρ κε-
φαλῆς; Lucr. 3, 959: et nec opinanti mors ad

caput adstitit; Aen. 3, 194: supra caput
adstitit imber (= 5, 10); also G. 4, 319; Vida,
Christias, 6, 920: supra caput adstitit ingens;
and for adsistere of the unexpected appear-
ance of gods, ghosts, etc., Thes. Ling. Lat.
2 (1900), 899, 59-82.

702. hunc, etc.: cf. 4, 30, n. (sic effata).
The reference is to the crinem of 4, 608.

702. Diti sacrum: Schol. Dan.: Euri-
pides (cf. Alc. 75-76) Alcestin Diti sacrum
habuisse crinem dicit, quod poeta transtulit
ad Didonem; cf. 4, 638, n. (sacra, etc.).

703. iussa: Donat.: bene dixit 'iussa',
quia quod factum fuerat alieni fuit officii
perindeque ab usurpationis crimine potuit ex-
cusari quae potioris habuit faciendi auctori-
tatem.

703. isto corpore solvo: Schol. Dan.: id
est, animam tuam; cf. 4, 695, n. (luculentem
animam); the parallelism of this line to 4,
695 is well emphasized by Henry (Aeneidea,
2 (1878), 860), since ego corresponds to quae,
te to luculentem animam, isto corpore to nexos
artus, and solvo to resolveret. Thus the com-
mand of Juno is exactly performed. Cf. also
11, 828-829: frigida toto / paulatim exsoluit
se corpore; Sen. Ep. 76, 25: solutae corpori-
bus animae; Aug. C. D. 9, 9: nulla morte
. . . animi eorum solvuntur a corpore; Ep.
111, 6: utrum eos febris an ferrum de corpore
solverit. Cartault (L'Art de Virgile dans
l'Énéide, 1 (1926), 336) remarks that the
language is like that used of a martyr, and
that Dido is essentially a martyr, her sin
being that of the body but not of the soul.

704. sic ait et: = 1, 142; 2, 296; 3, 189;
5, 365; 9, 749; 11, 520; Stat. Silv. 3, 4, 98;
3, 4, 106; etc.

704. sic ait et dextra crinem secat; omnis et una
dilapsus calor atque in ventos vita recessit.

séquat O. P. 1099, tulit cod. Longob. Pierii.
delapsus M (dilapsus M²). calor O. P. 1099.

705. dilapsus . . . recessit: Anth. Lat. no. 15, 162 (1, p. 56 Riese) — color (calor adque
inuentor A) —; Lact. Plac. in Stat. Theb. 2, 1; Mythogr. Vat. I, 183. 705. atque . . . reces-
sit: Serv. Aen. 1, 98; 2, 562; 8, 403. 705. in ventos: Gl. Ansil. 315, 1943.

704. dextra: apparently the hand regu-
larly used for this rite. Smale (in Cl. Rev.
25 (1911), 200) points out that in Luc. 6,
563 Erichtho, in a travesty of this custom,
comam laeva morienti abscedit ephebo.

704. omnis et una: Serv.: uno impetu
effusa est vita, id est, anima.

705. dilapsus, etc.: cf. 3, 308 (of a faint):
calor ossa reliquit (= 9, 475); Mythogr. Vat.
III, 9, 12: de Didone expirante 'dilapsus'
dicit Vergilius 'calorem,' eos imitalus qui
animam dicunt calorem esse, qua recedente
corpus frigit, 'et in ventos vitam recessisse,' etc.
Calor, of 'vital heat,' is found in G. 3, 272;
Cic. N. D. 2, 23; etc.

705. in ventos: cf. 2, 791 (the ghost of
Creusa): tenuisque recessit in auras; 4, 322,
n. (sidera); 5, 526-527 (of an arrow):
tenuisque recessit / consumpta in ventos; 5,
740 (of the ghost of Anchises): tenuis fugit
ceu fumus in auras (cf. G. 4, 499-500); 10,
819-820: tum vita per auras / concessit maesta
ad manis corpusque reliquit; 11, 617: vitam
dispergit in auras; 11, 831 (= 12, 952):
vitaque cum gemitu fugit indignata sub umbras;
Il. 23, 100-101: ψυχὴ δὲ κατὰ χθονὸς ἦντε
καπνὸς / ὥχετο τετραγυῖα; Emped. 2, 4 Diels:
ὠκύμοροι καπνοῖο δίκην ἀρβέντες ἀπέπταν;
Plat. Phaedo, 70 a: (men are afraid for the
soul) μή . . . ἐκβαίνουσα ὥσπερ πνεῦμα ἢ καπ-
νὸς διασκεδασθεῖσα οἴχηται διαπτομένη; Arist.
De An. 1, 410 b 28: ὁ ἐν τοῖς Ὀρφικοῖς
ἔπειτα καλούμενος λόγος: φησὶ γὰρ τὴν ψυχὴν
ἐκ τοῦ θύλου εἰσέναι ἀναπνεύοντων, φερομένην
ὑπὸ τῶν ἀνέμων; Lucr. 3, 455-456: ergo dis-
solui quoque convenit omnem animai / natu-
ram, ceu fumus in altis aëris auras; 3, 580-
583: denique cum corpus nequeat perferre
animai / discidium quin in laetro labescat
odore, / quid dubitas quin ex imo penitusque

coorta / emanarit uti fumus diffusa animae
vis; Cic. Tusc. 1, 42: animus . . . ex in-
flammata anima constat . . . superiora capes-
sal necesse est; Ov. M. 6, 253: cumque anima
cruor est effusus in auras; 8, 524: inque leves
abiit paulatim spiritalis auras; 11, 43: in
ventos anima exhalata recessit; Plut. De An.
2; [Clem.] Homil. 15, 2; Sext. Emp. 9, 72: καὶ
καθ' αὐτὰς δὲ διαμένονσι (sc. αἱ ψυχαί), καὶ οὐχ,
ὡς ἔλεγε γὰρ ὁ Ἐπικούρου, ἀπολυθεῖσαι τῶν σωμά-
των, καπνοῦ δίκην σκιδναύται; Amm. Marc.
19, 2, 5: animis in ventum solutis; I. G. I,
442 (945 of ed. minor): αἰθέρ μὲν φύσας
ὑπεδέχσατο, σμάτα δὲ χθόν; Kaibel, Epi-
gramm. Gr. no. 646 a 3; 723, 1; 1063, 3
etc.; Isid. Etym. 11, 1, 7: anima autem a
gentibus nomen accepit eo quod ventus sit;
Politian, Manto, 314: afflavitque animam
tenuisque recessit in auras; Roscher, Hermes
der Windgott (1878), 54-62; Rohde, Psyche,
4 ed., 1 (1907), 248, n. 1; 2 (1907), 264, n. 2;
Cumont, Astrol. and Relig. among the Greeks
and Romans (1912), 191-193; Toy, Introd. to
the Hist. of Relig. (1913), 22-23; Cook, Zeus,
2 (1925), 1039. For the comparison of soul
to air or wind, into which it is at death re-
solved, cf. Serv.: dicendo 'in ventos' aut eos
sequitur qui animum aërem dicunt, hoc est,
'in materiam quam rediit,' aut certe eos qui
dicunt animam perire cum corpore, ut intel-
legamus 'evanuit, in ventos recessit,' ut in
nono (312-313) 'sed auras / omnia discer-
punt.' Cf. also expressions for giving up the
ghost: e.g., Matt. 27, 50; Acts, 5, 10; Phi-
lostr. Vit. Sophist. 2, 10: τὴν ψυχὴν . . .
ἀφῆκεν. Buscaroli (ad loc.) observes that
Virgil uses ventos rather than auras in order
to secure an alliteration.

705. recessit: cf. 3, 311: lux alma recessit.
For the quiet ending cf. 4, 693, n. (tum, etc.).

ADDENDA

(1 MAY, 1935)

Intr., n. 22: on Book II as a tragedy cf. Fécherolle in *Les Études class.* 3 (1934), 540-545.

Intr., n. 26: for Actium as a triumph of Western over Oriental ideals cf. Campbell, *Horace* (1924), 104.

Intr., n. 28: for the contrast between the odd and even books of the *Aeneid* cf. Conway in *Bull. of John Rylands Library*, 9, 2 (1925), 13-17.

Intr., n. 148: add Demimuid, *De Bernardo Carnotensi . . . Interprete Virgilii* (1873), esp. 36-37 (4, 129-172, describing the hunt, typifies forgetfulness of one's creator amid the pleasures of youth; 4, 165-172 (the cave scene) symbolizes *immunditia carnis*).

Intr., n. 164: Tarn (*Camb. anc. Hist.* 10 (1934), 35) minimizes Cleopatra's beauty.

Intr., n. 166: Tarn, though recognizing (*op. cit.*, 10, 77) likenesses between the two queens, believes (*op. cit.*, 10, 110, n. 1) that Octavian's temptation by Cleopatra is an invented story, designed to glorify his continence.

Intr., n. 172: for Cleopatra's wealth cf. Tarn, *op. cit.*, 10, 37. In the first century after Christ she was believed to have possessed the secret of making gold by alchemy; cf. Taylor in *Journ. of Hellen. Stud.* 50 (1930), 116-117.

Intr., n. 201: add Tarn in *Camb. anc. Hist.* 10 (1934), 80; 97, and n. 2.

Intr., n. 237: cf. the minor characters in other ancient writings, e.g., the Pauline epistles.

Intr., n. 244: in connection with Landor's remark it should be realized that the visit of Teucer to Sidon (1, 619-621) was after the fall of Troy.

Intr., n. 289: on Virgil's philosophy add Conway in *Bull. of John Rylands Library*, 6, 4 (1922), 14-15; 9, 2 (1925), 19; Nock in *Camb. anc. Hist.* 10 (1934), 504.

Intr., n. 290: on the character of Aeneas add Espinosa Polit, *Virgilio el Poeta y su Mision providencial* (1932), 477-496; Longi, *Studi nell' Epica romana*, 1 (n.d.; 1934?), 51.

Intr., n. 311: Longi (*op. cit.*, 1, 36) emphasizes in Aeneas the character of an *οικιστής* and a *πολιτικός*.

Intr., n. 354: for the likenesses between Augustus and Apollo cf. Ercole in *Ann. d. r. Scuola norm. sup. di Pisa*, ser. 2, 3 (1934), 416-423.

Intr., n. 434: an epic poem is a chapter in the history of Providence; cf. Seeley and Abbott cited by Conway in *Bull. of John Rylands Library*, 9, 2 (1925), 4.

Intr., n. 468: if Book V originally preceded Book IV the phrase *septima aetas* might be more easily explained, as well as the contradiction between 5, 854-861 and 6, 338: *Libyco . . . cursu*; cf. Butler, ed. of Book IV (1935), 32-33.

Intr., n. 470: add Van der Vliet, *Studia eccles.*, Tertull. 1 (1891), 10-12; Schrödinger, *Das Epos des Arator . . . in seinem Verhältnis zu Vergil* (1911).

Intr., n. 472: add Delepierre, *Rev. analyt. des Ouvrages écrits en Centon* (1878); *id.*, *Tableau de la Litt. du Centon* (1874-1875).

Intr., n. 498: on this African tradition cf. Gsell in *Cinquantenaire de la Fac. des Lettres d'Alger* (1932), 10-11.

Intr., n. 511: add Shannon, *Chaucer and the Roman Poets* (*Harvard Stud. in comp. Lit.* 7 (1929)), esp. 48-119; 169-301.

Intr., n. 524: add Friedrich, *Die Dido-dramen des Dolce, Jodelle, u. Marlowe*, etc. (1888); also Dido-tragedies by von Stein-Rochberg (1794), Suringar (1880), and Wilson, *Sunt Lacrimae Rerum* (1930).

Intr., n. 532: add Jarislowsky, *Schillers Übertragungen aus Vergil* (1928).

Intr., n. 534: add Guiard, *Virgile et Victor Hugo* (1910).

Intr., n. 544: add De Wit in *Mnemosyne*, 3 ser., 1 (1933/1934), 217-231, on the origin of these illustrations and their relation to North African mosaics.

1. at: so in Book XII its theme is immediately introduced by placing Turnus as the first word.

1. *regina*: on Cleopatra as the queen *par excellence* cf. Tarn in *Camb. anc. Hist.* 10 (1934), 38.

1. *cura*: cf. Plaut. *Epid.* 135.

5. *postera*, etc.: Mandra, *The Time Element in the Aeneid of Vergil* (1934), 112-173 (especially 116-126 on Book IV), gives another chronological scheme, arranging the first books thus: I. 1, 34-305; II. 1, 306-4, 5; III. 4, 6-4, 85; then an indeterminate interval, including most of Aeneas's stay at Carthage, from 4, 86-4, 128; I. 4, 129-168; another indeterminate interval, from 4, 169-197; I. 4, 198-583; II. 4, 584-5, 41. In Book IV this differs little from Heinze's treatment.

8. *male sana*: cf. C. I. L. XIII, 1602, 2 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr.*, Suppl. 1998, 2 Lommatzsch): *(m)ale sa(nu)s*.

9. *Anna*, etc.: Friedrich (in *Hermes*, 69 (1934), 312) finds in the following lines the influence of Eur. *Ἰππόλυτος καλυπτόμενος*, especially in the dream-motive.

12. *credo equidem*: add Grillius, *Comm. in Cic. Rhét.* p. 15 Martin: *credo equidem nec vana fides genus esse deorum — quidem cod. M—*.

12. *genus . . . deorum*: add 7, 556: *Veneris genus*; 12, 127; 12, 515.

14. *exhausta*: add Grillius, *op. cit.*, p. 12 Martin: *quae bella exhausta canebat — qui cod. G—*.

22. *inflexit*: cf. Avit. *Carm.* 2, 255: *inflexos . . . sensus*.

22. *impulit*: cf. Ter. *Andr.* 266: *dum in dubios animus paulo momento huc vel illuc impellitur*.

24. *sed*, etc.: for swallowing by the earth cf. Apul. *M.* 1, 15; Thompson, *Motif-index of Folk-literature* (*Indiana Univ. Stud.* no. 101 (1933)), 3, 187; and on lovers' oaths add: Otto, *Die Sprichwörter . . . der Römer* (1890), 31; Merrill on Catull. 70, 3; Pearson on Soph. *Frag.* 811; Apollod. *Bibl.* 2, 1, 3: *διό φησιν Ἡσίοδος οὐκ ἐπισπᾶσθαι τὴν ἀπὸ τῶν θεῶν ὀργὴν γινόμενους ὄρκους ὑπὲρ ἔρωτος*.

26. *Erebo*: on this *lectio difficilior* cf. Funaioli in *Atti della Soc. ital. per il Progr. delle Scienze*, 21, 3 (1932), 117-132. On the derivation cf. also Harris in *Bull. of John Rylands Library*, 9, 1 (1925), 25.

29. *habeat*: on *univirae* cf. Kroll, *Die Kultur d. cic. Zeit*, 2 (1933), 49.

44. *germanique*, etc.: against the view that Virgil's half-lines are intentional cf. Owen in *The Year's Work in cl. Stud.* 23 (1930), 21.

52. *hiems*: for a résumé of opinions upon the season meant cf. Mandra, *op. cit.*, especially 154-161, who concludes that "Aeneas did not pass more than five or six weeks in Carthage," and that these were in the winter; cf. 4, 193.

55. *solvitque pudorem*: cf. Prud. *Hamart.* 260: *solvendi . . . pudoris*.

57. *de more*: cf. *Il. Lat.* 550; *caeduntque sacras ex more bidentes*.

57. *bidentis*: Dunbabin (in *Cl. Rev.* 48 (1934), 212) remarks: "Bidens is what is called in Tasmania a 'two-tooth.'"

58. *legiferae*, etc.: the settled life represented by these deities is contrasted with the nomadic lawlessness of the tribes described in 4, 40-43.

68. *infelix*: cf. *Corp. Hermet.* 2, 17a (1, p. 144 Scott): *μέγιστον ἀτύχημα καὶ ἀσέβημά ἐστιν ἀτεκνόν τινα ἐξ ἀνθρώπων ἀπαλλαγῆναι*; Basil, *Ep.* 300: (a youth dies) *πρὶν εἰς μέτρον ἡλικίας ἐλθεῖν . . . καὶ διαδοχὴν τοῦ γένους καταλεῖν*; *id.*, *Ep.* 301.

76. *incipit*, etc.: cf. Anon. *De Semiram. et Nino* (*Erot. Frag. papyr.* 8, 27-28 Lava-gnini): *(καὶ ἐσο)ύλετό τι λέγειν, (πρὶν δὲ φθέγγε)σθαι ἀπεπαυετο*; 8, 32-34.

84. *gremio*: against the view that we have here the real Ascanius cf. Mandra, *op. cit.*, 119, n. 252.

88. *minae*: cf. the St. Gall Glossary (*Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 15 (1885), 168, 93): *minas: altitudinis propugnaculum*.

89. *ingentes*: on the use of this word in poetry cf. Skard in *Avhandlingar . . . Norske Videnskaps-Akademi i Oslo*, Hist.-Fil. Kl. 2, 4 (1933), 40-41.

93. *egregiam*: sarcastic also in Apul. *M.* 2, 14.

119. *Titan*: add Petron. 122, 128.

126. *conubio*, etc.: cf. *Carm. Lat. epigr.*, Suppl. 1942, 1 Lommatzsch: *(co)nubio iuncti*.

132. *odora*: on the scent of dogs add Sext. *Emp. Pyrrhon.* 1, 64.

132. *canum vis*: for the monosyllable cf. Campbell, *Horace* (1924), 279, n. 1.

134. *ostro*: purple and gold were combined at Rome in the *factiones* established by Domitian; cf. Pollack in *P.-W.* 6 (1909), 1955. For the discovery of cloth dyed this color see Albright in *Am. Journ. Arch.* 39 (1935), 148.

136. *stipante*: *spissante* (St. Gall Glossary in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 15 (1885), 182, 260).

137. *chlamydem*: *id.*, 181, 189.

138. *pharetra*: as Dido is here compared to Diana so in 6, 451-454 she is compared to the moon itself.

146. *pictique Agathyrsi*: on tattooing cf. the very important account by Cook, *Zeus*, 2 (1925), 122-124 and fig. 76; and the elaborate articles of Dölger in *Antike u. Christentum*, 1 (1929), 197-211; 2 (1930), 100-116; 2, 160; 2, 297-300; 3 (1932), 204-209; 3, 257-259. The relation of the Agathyrsi to Delos is perhaps to be explained in connection with the 'Hyperborean offerings'; cf. Hdt. 4, 33-35.

159. *aprum*: cf. Knapp in *Cl. Weekly*, 28 (1935), 81-84 on boar-hunting.

165. *speluncam*, etc.: the words *speluncam* . . . *deveniunt* are said to have been used by Loyola in exorcizing an evil spirit from one possessed; cf. the Bipontine ed. of Virgil (1783), *Notitia litteraria*, 273.

166. *pronuba Iuno*: cf. St. Gall Glossary (*Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 15 (1885), 176, 458).

173. *Fama*: Professor A. D. Nock calls to my attention the long description of Rumor in Aeschin. *Cont. Timarch.* 127-129, in which cf. *πλανᾶται φήμη κατὰ τὴν πόλιν* (127) with Virgil's *magnas il Fama per urbes*.

174. *Fama*: as a testimonium add Tert. *Ad Nat.* 1, 7: *fama malum quo non aliud velocius ullum*.

175. *adquirat*: cf. Avit. *Carm.* 6, 135: *si non adquirat eundo*.

177. *ingreditur*, etc.: add 3, 619-620: *ipse arduus atlaque pulsat / sidera*.

189. *tum*: on Virgil's use of this word cf. 4, 222; Mandra, *op. cit.*, 33; 178-179.

193. *quam longa*: cf. 4, 52, add. n. (*hiems*); Mandra, *op. cit.*, 64, n. 153.

198. *Garamantide*: on remains of the military power of this race cf. P(icard) in *Rev. arch.* 6 ser., 4 (1934), 190.

206. *Maurusia*: *Mauretania* (St. Gall Glossary in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 15 (1885), 167, 45).

211. *errans*: is there here perhaps an allusion to a common ancient etymology of Dido as = *πλανήτης*? Cf. Timaeus (quoted on p. 16) and *Etym. M.* s.v. *Διδώ* (quoted at p. 22, n. 142); Meltzer in Roscher, *Ausf. Lex.* 1 (1890), 1013; Rossbach in *P.-W.* 5 (1905), 431; the word would then translate [*ne*] *didā*, 'the wanderer.' But for other suggested etymologies see Meltzer, *op. cit.*, 1016-1017; Rossbach, *l.c.*; Harris, *Ascent of Olympus* (1917), 111; 132; 4, 335, n. (*Elisae*), above.

216. *mitra*: *corona et amictus capillorum* (*id.*, 168, 94). For this notion of taboo cf. Hewitt in *Cl. Philol.* 30 (1935), 15.

218. *foveamus*: Butler (*ad loc.*) compares the prayer of Triopas to Poseidon (Callim. *Hymn.* 6, 98-99): *εἴπερ ἐγὼ μὲν / σέυ τε καὶ Αἰολίδος Κανάκας γένος*.

219. *arasque tenentem*: on touching of altars add Dölger in *Antike u. Christentum*, 2 (1930), 161-173.

223. *vade age*: add Grillius, *Comm. in Cic. Rhet.* p. 38 Martin: *vade age, nate, voca zephyros et labere pennis — et labere pennis om. codd. BFM* —.

227. *non illum*: add Grillius, *op. cit.*, p. 44 Martin: *non illum nobis genitrix pulcherrima talem / promisit*.

237. *naviget*: add Grillius, *op. cit.*, p. 38 Martin: *naviget! haec summa est*.

247. *Atlantis*: on sky-supporting mountains cf. Thompson, *Motif-index of Folk-lit.* (*Indiana Univ. Stud.* no. 96 (1932)), 1, 104; 1, 125; no. 101 (1933), 3, 9.

251. *riget*, etc.: cf. Petron. 122, 150: *glacie concreta riget*; 123, 200.

254. *circum . . . circum*: with this repetition cf. those in 12, 476; 12, 479.

258. *Cyllenia proles*: add Petron. 124, 269.

290. *rebus . . . novandis*: on Ennius as a possible source for Sallust and Virgil cf. Klotz in *Philol. Woch.* 54 (1934), 748.

301. *bacchatur*: *discurrit* (St. Gall Glos-

sary in *Trans. Am. philol. Assoc.* 15 (1885), 145, 5).

302. *trieterica . . . orgia*: add Nilsson in *Acta Univ. Lundensis*, N. S., 14, 21 (1918), 42, n. 2.

304. *ultro*: in contrast to Aeneas's doubt how to begin the colloquy (4, 284; 4, 291-294).

305. *perfide*: on 'Punic faith' add Kroll, *Die Kultur d. cic. Zeit.*, 1 (1933), 26-27. On the good faith of Aeneas cf. the boast of Ilioneus in 7, 235.

309. *hiberno*: on the meaning of *sidere* (= 'storm') cf. Powell in *Philologus*, 89 (1934), 388.

310. *mediis*: on ancient winter navigation cf. Mandra, *op. cit.*, 157, n. 306, with many cases from Cicero; and for the meaning of *aquilo* (connected with *aquilus* and opposed to *albus*) see Knight in *Cl. Rev.* 48 (1934), 124-125.

322. *sidera*: cf. *C. I. L.* XIII, 128, 5-6 (= *Carm. Lat. epigr.*, Suppl. 2099, 5-6 Lommatzsch): *te tua pro meritis virtutis ad astra vehebat / intuleratque alto debita fama polo*.

327. *saltem*: Mandra (*op. cit.*, 159-160) thinks that Aeneas left before Dido could have known whether she was pregnant, i.e., within four weeks after the cave scene, and he feels that there is in epic no place for the barren woman. Yet there were no children by her marriage with Sychaeus, and Dido would hardly have committed suicide before she could know that there would be no *parvulus Aeneas*. Cf. also 4, 190, n. (*infecta*), above.

345. *Gryneus*: Columba (in *Atti d. r. Acc. d. Sci., Lett., e belle Arti di Palermo*, 17, 1 (1931), as cited by Ercole in *Ann. d. r. Scula norm. sup. di Pisa*, ser. 2, 3 (1934), 416, n. 2) suggests that Aeneas, in order to persuade Dido, uses for the god Apollo the appellation under which he must have been known to the peoples of Asia (and also to the Phoenicians); cf. the use of *Thymbraeus* in 3, 85.

365. *nec*, etc.: add Grillius, *Comm. in Cic. Rhet.* p. 15 Martin: *non [sic] tibi diva parens — patens cod. M* —.

366. *duris*: cf. Sil. 1, 638-639: *et, quem insana freta aut coetus genuere ferarum, /*

vidimus Hannibalem; Basil, *Ep.* 269: *τίς δὲ οὕτω λίθινος τὴν καρδίαν, κτλ.* On men born from stone, earth, or trees add Dixon, *Oceanic Mythol.* (1916), 111; Thompson, *Motif-index of Folk-lit.* (*Indiana Univ. Stud.* no. 96 (1932), 1, 154-156).

369. *lumina flexit*: cf. Ov. *Tr.* 3, 9, 22: *lumina flexa tulit*; Avit. *Carm.* 2, 250: *lumina cur flectis?*

387. *veniet . . . fama*: add 6, 694.

390. *multa*: on the adverbial use cf. Pease on Cic. *De Div.* 1, 41.

393. *at*: Aeneas becomes *pious* when he is again in spirit the old Aeneas; cf. Mandra, *op. cit.*, 62, n. 151; also Espinosa Polit, *Virgilio el Poeta y su Mision providencial* (1932), 490; Longi, *Studi nell' Epica romana*, 1 (n. d.; 1934?), 33.

401. *cernas*: Mandra (*op. cit.*, 122) thinks this word and *totaque ex urbe* imply full daylight.

408. *quis*, etc.: Espinosa Polit, *op. cit.*, 202, discusses such apostrophes and (460, n. o) cites from a Roman Catholic office of the Dolores of the Virgin, in the midst of Gospel verses describing the Crucifixion, the apostrophe of the Virgin: *quis tibi nunc sensus, dum cernis talia, Virgo?*

414. *summittere*: cf. Avit. *Carm.* 5, 108: *submittite corda timori*.

415. *ne quid*, etc.: cf. Arator, 1, 225: *ne quid inexpertum*.

418. *puppibus*: possibly an allusion to olive branches used to garland a ship at sailing may be seen in Petron. 108, 13.

427. *cineres manesve*: Funaioli (in *Atti d. Soc. ital. per il Progr. delle Scienze*, 21, 3 (1932), 126) defends the reading *cineres*.

436. *quam*, etc.: I had thought of emending *cumulatam* to *tumulata* in — 'when I am dead and buried'; cf. the use of *tumulata* in *Carm. Lat. epigr.*, Suppl. 1997, 8; 2097, 2 Lommatzsch —, but on further consideration prefer to retain the text as printed. Against Ribbeck's emendation *monte* cf. also Wick, *Spigolature Virgiliane e Lucreziane* (1904), 5-8. In defence of *dederis* cf. Frank in *Cl. Journ.* 30 (1935), 464.

446. *aetherias*: cf. *Carm. Lat. epigr.*, Suppl. 1943, 9 Lommatzsch: *aetherias . . . auras*.

462. *sola . . . bubo*: add Thompson, *Motif-index of Folk-lit.* (Indiana Univ. Stud. no. 96 (1932)), 1, 303. Mr. M. P. Charlesworth calls to my notice a very apposite case of the owl as a death-portent in Joseph. *Antiq. Iud.* 18, 6, 7; cf. 19, 8, 2.

477. *fronte serenat*: so when Dido was planning flight from Pygmalion (Justin, 18, 4, 9), *dissimulato odio mitigatoque interim vultu fugam tacita molitur*.

480. *solemque cadentem*: though mythology often refers to a goddess of dawn (Eos, Aurora) it has no corresponding one for sunset in the way in which Hesperus corresponds to Lucifer. Among persons mentioned as dying about sunset were Socrates (Plat. *Phaedo*, p. 116 e) and Alexander (Plut. *Alex.* 76, 4; Budge, *Hist. of Alex. the Great* (1896), 352-353). Bernert (in *P.-W.* 16 (1935), 1852) discusses ancient fear of the night.

482. *stellis*, etc.: cf. Shorey on Plat. *Rep.* 7, p. 529 c.

483. *monstrata sacerdos*: on witches in Latin literature cf. Hartshorne in *Vassar Journ. of undergrad. Studies*, 14 (1929), 27-44. Professor A. D. Nock calls to my attention the absence of witches from the magical papyri.

484. *draconi*: on dragon-guardians of treasure add Basil, *Serm. de leg. Libr. Gentilium*, 17; Thompson, *op. cit.*, 1, 278; 2, 88.

485. *servabat*, etc.: for yellow as a color naturally associated with apples cf. Sext. Emp. *Pyrrhon*, 1, 194; for golden apples Thompson, *op. cit.*, 3, 174.

485. *ramos*: the passage cited from Salustius, however, refers to the apple of Paris.

486. *papaver*: Dunbabin (in *Cl. Rev.* 49 (1935), 10) thinks that *papaver* itself may mean 'poppy-seed.'

487. *solvere*: cf. Paul. Nol. *Carm.* 13, 20: *solvere mentes*.

488. *quas velit*: add Petron. 134, 12, 2-3: *cum volo . . . / cum volo*; Budge, *Hist. of Alex. the Great* (1896), 8, where Nectanebus could constrain the gods "whensoever he desired."

489. *sistere*, etc.: for the stopping of rivers cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 2, 327. Petron.

134, 12, 16 says *et rursum fluvios in summo vertice ponam*; Apul. *M.* 2, 5.

489. *vertere*: add Petron. 129, 10: *in hac civitate in qua mulieres etiam lunam deducunt*.

490. *manis*: cf. Kroll, *Gott u. Hölle* (1932), 487; Hopfner in *P.-W.* 16 (1935), 2218-2234.

493. *invitam*: in 33 B.C. Agrippa had banished from Rome *τοὺς ἀστρολόγους τοὺς τε γόητας*; add also Philostr. *Vit. Soph.* p. 590: *οἱ μὲν οὖν ἀνὴρ πεπαιδευμένος οὐκ ἂν ποτε ἐς γοήτων ὑπαχθεῖν τέχνας ἱκανὸς . . . εἴρηκα*.

495. *viri*: note that this word is also used in verse to avoid oblique cases of *is*; cf. 4, 423; 4, 440; 4, 498; Norden on *Aen.* 6, 174.

497. *superimponas*: for a defence of *superimponant* (sc. *famulae*) cf. Funaioli in *Atti d. Soc. ital. per il Progr. delle Scienze*, 21, 3 (1932), 125.

499. *haec effata*: cf. Avit. *Carm.* 2, 252: *haec effata*.

501. *furores*: cf. Avit. *Carm.* 2, 41: *concepit corde furem*.

513. *falcibus . . . aënis*: on the religious conservatism involved cf. Ps. Callisth. 17, 31 (p. 113 Kroll): *σιδηρον οὐ καθήκει εἰς τὸ ἱερὸν εἰσελθεῖν*; Budge, *Hist. of Alex. the Great* (1896), 163; Hartland, *Science of Fairy Tales*, 2 ed. (1925), 306-309; Kroll, *Die Kultur d. cic. Zeit*, 1 (1933), 41; Thompson, *Motif-index of Folk-lit.* (Indiana Univ. Stud. no. 96 (1932)), 1, 409; *id.*, no. 101 (1933), 3, 57; for gathering herbs without the use of iron add Marc. Emp. 14, 69; 20, 106; 23, 35; 25, 14; 26, 10; 26, 25; 26, 96: *palo ligneo eruas*; 26, 115: *vulnerabis cupro*; 34, 76; Hartland, *op. cit.*, 307 (gathering herbs barefoot, without use of iron); and for gathering *ante solis ortum* cf. Marc. Emp. 26, 41. Richardson (in *Am. Journ. Arch.* 38 (1934), 558) thinks the use of iron for weapons and tools dates from about 1000 B.C., and suggests (561) that the taboo upon it was originally economic, arising among those who lacked iron or the means of working it.

515. *nascentis equi*: the *hippomanes* also appears, doubtless by error, in the MS reading of Marc. Emp. 30, 14. May we also compare the remedy which he tells us (29, 51)

was taken from the forehead of a first-born lamb at birth?

518. *unum*, etc.: add Marc. Emp. 23, 78; Hartland, *op. cit.*, 307; Thompson, *op. cit.*, 3, 369; Brunel in *Rev. arch.*, 6 ser., 4 (1934), 34-43 (on Jason *μονοκρήπις*); Oepke in *Archiv f. Religionswiss.* 31 (1934), 53; Pfister in *P.-W.* 16 (1935), 1546.

520. *aequo foedere*: add Shakesp. *Merch. of Ven.* Act 3, Sc. 4, 15: "an egal yoke of love."

522. *nox erat*, etc.: cf. *Anth. Lat.* no. 698, 11-14 (2, p. 170 Riese); Shakesp. 2 *Hen. IV*, Act 3, Sc. 1. Professor Campbell Bonner also calls to my attention *Pap. Gr. mag.* 2 (1931), 14-15 Preisendanz, though the context is there different, namely, an emphasis upon silence for the success of magic rites; cf. Nock in *Cl. Rev.* 39 (1925), 18.

528. *corda*: cf. Coripp. *Ioh.* 7, 17: *tunc corda oblita laborum*.

534. *quid ago*: for the indicative cf. also 3, 367; Kern in *Bl. f. d. bayer. Gymnasial-schulwesen*, 27 (1891), 165-166.

534. *inrisa*: cf. Soph. *Aias*, 79; 497-504.

554. *celsa in puppi*: for a description of the vessel of Aeneas cf. Procop. 8, 22, 7-16, who states that it was 120 ft. long and was still preserved in a shed at Rome beside the Tiber.

561. *cernis*: add Petron. 121, 111 (and Baldwin's n.); 114.

569. *varium*, etc.: with the neuter compare Soph. *Aias*, 580: *φιλοκτιστον γυνή*; Eur. *El.* 1035: *μῶρον μὲν οὖν γυναῖκες*; Jebb on Soph. *O. C.* 592.

576. *sancte deorum*: on the Homeric parallels cf. Hopkins in *Ling. Soc. of Am., Language Dissertations*, 12 (1932), 52.

581. *rapiuntque ruuntque*: repeated in Prud. *Hamartig.* 237.

585. *Tithoni*, etc.: cf. Dante, *Purg.* 9, 1-3.

590. *flaventis . . . comas*: add Polemo, 41 (*Script. physiogn.* 1, 250 Foerster); Adamant. 37 (*Script. physiogn.* 1, 393 Foerster), on the Scythians and Celts; Anon. *Physiogn. Lat.* 14 (*Script. physiogn.* 2, 24 Foerster): *capilli flavi tenues bonos mores ostendunt*, etc.; 92 (*Script. physiogn.* 2, 120), an indication of the ingenious. Sieglin, *Die blonden Haare der*

indog. Völker des Altertums (1935), I have not seen.

596. *infelix Dido*: only here does Dido apply to herself this familiar epithet.

599. *quem*, etc.: cf. the scene on a coin of Julius Caesar; Grueber, *Coins of the Roman Republic*, 2 (1910), 469, no. 31.

602. *patriis . . . mensis*: additional references to the eating of children or kinsmen are given by Thompson, *Motif-index of Folk-lit.* (Indiana Univ. Stud. no. 101 (1933)), 3, 206-207.

607. *Sol*: cf. Apul. *M.* 1, 5: *deierabo solem istum (omni)videntem*.

609. *triviis*: on magical power at cross-roads cf. Thompson, *op. cit.*, 2, 275.

615. *at*, etc.: Conway (*New Studies of a great Inheritance* (1921), 162, n.) contrasts Dido's curses with those in Apoll. Rh. 4, 382-390, where Medea, anticipating desertion, threatens Jason and he in fear promises to marry her, and points out the greater dignity and pathos of the Virgilian account.

645. *limina*: Gummere (in *Ling. Soc. of Am., Lang. Dissertations*, 17 (1934), 7) thinks this a poetic plural, of a single threshold, but Johnston (in *Cl. Journ.* 30 (1935), 502) suggests that Dido passed through more than one door.

646. *rogos*: for the plural cf. Gummere, *op. cit.*, 17 (1934), 7-8.

651. *sinebat*: cf. C. I. L. XI, 7476 (*Carm. Lat. epigr.*, Suppl. 1944, 3 Lommatzsch): *dum fata deusqu(e) sinebant*.

657. *felix*, etc.: add *Carm. Lat. epigr.*, Suppl. 2296, 17 Lommatzsch: (*felix*), *heu nimium felix*, *si*, etc.

673. *pectora pugnīs*: add *Carm. Lat. epigr.*, Suppl. 2018, 1 Lommatzsch: (*ne p*) *ectora tundite v(estra)*; 2155, 5: *quid pectora plangis?*

682. *populumque patresque*: cf. Cic. *De Cons.* 2, 57 (ap. *De Div.* 1, 20): *populus sanctusque senatus*.

689. *stridit*: add Apul. *M.* 1, 13 (of one whose throat has been cut): *stridorem incertum per vulnus effunderet et spiritum ebulliret*.

693. *miserata*: cf. Claud. *Carm. min.* 53, 2: *crebros miserata dolores*; Prud. *Peristeph.* 9, 85-88: *tandem luctantis miseratus ab aethere Christus / iubet resolvi pectoris ligamina /*

*difficilesque moras animae ac retinacula vitae /
relaxat artas et latebras expedit.*

696. *nec fato*: cf. Petron. 111, 11: *si
antequam fata poscant indemnatum spiritum
effunderis.*

696. *merita nec*: but cf. 4, 547: *quin
morere, ut merita es*; Guillemin in *Rev. des
Études lat.* 12 (1934), 218.

705. *recessit*: cf. Lucr. 3, 439: *cum semel
ex hominis membris ablata recessit* (sc. *anima*).
The theory of Miss Crump (*Growth of the
Aeneid* (1920), 72-73) that the book may

have originally been planned to end with the
landing at Cumae is ingenious but improb-
able, for while it creates an analogy to the
end of Book V it destroys the more important
parallel to the end of Book XII. As it is, Books
IV and XII both end with the last breath
of dangerous adversaries of Rome's future.

The school-editions of Book IV by A.
Pasoli (1933) and E. Rapisarda (1934) I
have not yet seen. Bailey, *Religion in Virgil*
(1935) reached me too late to be used in this
volume.

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